

^oDecimus Junius Juvenalis,
A N D
Aulus Persius Flaccus
T R A N S L A T E D
A N D
ILLUSTRATED,
As well with
Sculpture as Notes.

By *BARTHE HOLTDAT*, D. D.
and late Arch-Deacon of Oxon.



O X F O R D,
Printed by *W. Downing*, for *F. Oxlad Senior*, *J. Adams*, and
F. Oxlad Junior. Anno Dom. 1673.

R L n

TO THE
 REVEREND AND LEARNED
 The DEAN and CANONS
 of Christ-Church in Oxon.

Reverend Sirs,

He Great Esteem the Authour of this Translation had of Christ-Church, and especially of your Worthy Persons, emboldens me to prefix your Honoured names to this Posthumous Work, not without (I am confident) the approbation of his Ashes, and I hope not without a favourable Acceptance in that Place, where his Parts and Abilities were so well known, which I shall not in the least endeavor to blazen to the World, because my best Performance will be but a diminution of his Worth; when as the Works of Eminent Men are wont to carry (as I conceive this will) their own Certificats and Letters Commendatory with them. There is nothing, I presume, can obstruct or blurre the present Impression of this Book, but that it may be thought, only *actum agere*; To which I reply (not mentioning what light the other Translation already extant borrowed from this Taper) that it was long since promised by the Author to the World, and so became due thereto, and I his Executor cannot with safe Conscience plead *Plene Administravi* as long as any Debt of his remains unsatisfied, having wherewithal to discharge it. Worthy Sirs, If you will vouchsafe this Orphan your Fatherly Protection, I have my desired end in the assurance of its safety under your Patronage, and I shall thereby do Justice to the Author and the World in the discharge of my Trust: What others say of it or me, I shall not value, if so be the Book may enjoy your Favours, and I be honoured with the Badge and Character of

Honoured Sirs,

Your most Faithful and Humble Servant

W. Dewy.



The PREFACE to the READER,
CONCERNING
JUVENAL and the INTERPRETATION.

D*ecimus Junius Juvenalis* was born of wealthy Parents at *Aquinum*, a City of the *Volsci*. Till his middle age he used, according to the custome of those times, to Declame, though more for his own Content, then for any intention to prepare himself either for Schools or Law-Courts. Afterwards applying his mind to Poetry, particularly Satyres, though at the first he feared to commit himself to any great Auditory, yet he quickly found great encrease of Auditors and Fame. Upon which encouragement, inserting into his later Compositions some of his first sharp lines, as namely that, *Sat. 7. Prefectos Pelopæa facit, Philomela tribunos*, wherein he seem'd to touch one *Paris* a Player, so strangely potent with the Emperor *Domitian*, that he could procure for his Friends Military Offices; his jest was in his old Age made his punishment, he being sent into *Egypt* by way of an honorary Service with a Military Command, the Vertue and Fame of the Man awing his adversaries from farther Revenge. But this disfavour he long out-lived, reaching into part of *Adrians* reign. That he lived to be an old Man, he himself implies, *Sat. 11.* where he says of himself and of *Persius*, to whom he writes, *Nostra bibit vernum contracta cuticula solem, Effugiatque togam---*. For his Person, some describe him to have been of a large Stature; and Antiquity has left unto us this Portraiture of him.



lup. pref.

For

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For the Ability and Manner of his Life, though he reckons not himself among the Wealthy, saying of himself, *Sat. 12. Si res ampla domi similisque affectibus esset*: yet *Sat. 11.* he describes his Country-house, his Cheer, his Attendants, which argue a sufficient Plenty to so wise a Mind. There is no mention that he was ever Married, nor is it probable; if we consider his belief of the Women of that Age! For his acquaintance, besides *Vmbritius* a famous *Aruspex* (mention'd, *Sat. 3.*) and others, he was singularly belov'd and respected by *Martial* the Poet, as his Epigrams testify: prais'd also by *Quintilian*, in his Oratory Institutions, *lib. 10.* as the chief of Satyrists. *Ammianus Marcellinus* (*lib. 28. Histor.*) Says, that some who did detest Learning, did notwithstanding in their most profound retiredness, diligently employ themselves in his Works. To omit *Suidas* and some other of the Ancients which mention him, *Porphyrio* the Commentator on *Horace*, confesses that *Horace* had excelled, had not *Juvenal* written. And this has been the judgment also of the famous *Scaligers*, *Rigaltius* and others: but the learned *Heinsius* has in this comparison oppos'd his Fame. Whose chief ground is in effect this, that according to the ancient art and law of Satyre, it should be nearer the Comedy, then the Tragedy, not declaiming against Vice, but jeering at it. Which though he proves with much Learning, yet this reaches but to the ancient Satyre: which way, it is apparent *Juvenal* understood, and in part left. Satyre was for a time a jeer, but it was but for a time: and what Poems have not with time much alter'd their fashion? which alteration is to after-times as good warrant as the first. Besides, *Juvenal* and *Persius* were not of *Horace* his judgment, for their choice: for though they had seen his Satyres, yet they chose this form, not so much like a Flout, as a Declamation. *Persius* acknowledges that *Horace* jeer'd, saying *Circum praeordia ludit*, and --- *vitium* --- *ridenti amico Targit*, and terming him *Vaser Flaccus*; but speaking of *Lucilius* he says, *secutur-urbem*, and *genuinum fregit in illis*: which was plainly to take notice of different forms of Satyre before him. And does not *Juvenal* the like? Does he not profess, that he was provoked to this way of writing, saying, --- *quis tam ferreus, ut teneat se?* Does he not profess the Cause and Degree of the Provocation, whiles he says, *Omne in praecipiti vitium stetit*---? Does he not also defend his way, his Zeal of stile, by some precedents of former times, asking --- *unde illa priorum Scribendi quodcumque animo flagrante liceret Simplicitas*---? Does he not more particularly defend himself by *Lucilius* his example, his fierce example, as he expresses it saying, *Ense velut stricto quoties Lucilius ardens Infremuit*---? We may not confine free Spirits to one form: the Body not admitting such servitude from Apparel. As for such particular exceptions, against our Author, as seem'd more considerable, I have in their own places delivered my own Opinion without the prejudice of Truth and Liberty. But for the general defence and comparison of our Author, the praises, shall I say, yea the Reasons alleadged by some will be found weighry. The Elder *Scaliger* calls *Horace* a Scoffer, his Speech vulgar, his Verse negligent, only his *Latin* pure. But *Juvenal*, says he, *ardet, instat, aperte jugulat*; his Purity is *Roman*, his Composure happy, his Verse better, his Sentences sharper, his Phrase more open, his Satyre more accurate. *Horace* did not more exceed *Lucilius*, then *Juvenal* *Horace*; whether we respect the variety of Arguments, the dexterity of handling, the plenty of invention, the frequency of sentences, the sharpness of reprehension, or the urbanity of the quippe. In the same Arguments *Juvenal* never came short of him, often out-went him; *Juvenal's* eighth Satyre of true Nobility is far more excellent, then, of the same argument, *Horace* his Sixth. Compare *Juvenal's* Tenth with *Horace* his First, of the Desires of Men,

(let

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(let *Julius Scaliger* speak the close in his own words) *sane ille tibi Juvenalis poeta videbitur, hic Horatius jejuna cujuspiani thesæos tenuis tentator*; surely thou wilt acknowledge *Juvenal* to be a Poet, but *Horace* to be some poor Theme-maker. The quick *Lipsius* readily approves this approbation, saying of *Scaliger*, *Ille me judice inter multa certi & elegantis judicii nihil verius protulit*; preferring him before *Horace*, for his Ardor, his Loftiness, his Liberty. And for my own part, though I willingly admire his felicity in his *Lyrics*, yet certainly I believe he injuriously untun'd himself in his fall from the *Ode* to the *Satyre*. Besides, *Juvenal's* change of the ancient *Satyre* was, methinks, not only a Change, but a Perfection. For, what is the End of *Satyre*, but to Reform? whereas a perpetual Grin does rather Anger than Mend. Wherefore the Old *Satyre* and the New, and so *Horace* and *Juvenal*, may seem to differ as the Jester and the Orator, the Face of an Ape and of a Man, or as the Fiddle and Thunder. We willingly allow unto *Horace* the nature of *Satyre*, as it was in his own time, gentle, according to that of *Lipsius* of him, *monet sæpius quàm castigat*: nor conceal the Elogy which he adds, *Sed ita præclare tamen hoc ipsum: ut in ea parte & arte nihil possit supra eum*. Yet this amounts but to an art of admonition, not the bravery of Chastisement; for which, in his Heat and Height, and Freedom, *id est, suo quodam genere* (says the same Author) *supra Horatium est: quod ipsum maxime Satyræ proprium videtur*. Wherefore I judge the Learned *Rigaltius* his Judgment and Distinction to be accurate: who says that *Horace* is jeering, and so fit for *Augustus* his times; *Persius* grave, and so more fit for leud *Nero's* days; and *Juvenal* Terrible, and so most fit for *Domitian's* desperate Age. He denies also any (supposed) excess of words in his 13th *Satyre*, making his enumeration of the Gods but a needful expression of the absurd fictions of their several Gods, whom he every where flouts-at, seeming to make Exact Nature his God! A happy man, had he ascended to the right understanding of the God of Nature! *Nævulus* likewise (*Sat. 9.*) he accounts here no fouler, then in *Arnobius* (*Disput. 5.*) the description of the *Grecian Ishphallica*: besides, that by shame men are naturally driven from acts of shame. Yet what openness of Speech has in this kind been used by *Juvenal*, I have in my rendring of him, endeavour'd rather to correct, then excuse: both commending the wisdom of *Rader* and some others, and fixing it for a Rule unto my self, that Better it is a Book should be lost, then a Man. Nor do I approve the unhappy Industry of some Interpreters of our Author, *Britannicus* and *Lubin* (to omit others) who think they expound nothing at all, if they expound not All: but I shall always think it an unhappy praise, to be accounted a better *Grammarians*, then a *Christian*. The example of *Petrus Colvius* (as Fame informs us) is not to be forgotten; whose excellent wit did learnedly expound *Apuleius* his Asse: but having been too diligent in expounding as much his Beastliness, as his Sport, a very Asse gave him his reward. For as on a time he was in a Journey, coming into an Inne, an Asse which was there taking some casual offence, unhappily striking at him, kill'd him in the place. But (if we set aside this Licence) and look upon the Invention of our Poet, though a Natural man, O how admirable are his Instructions? His Passions how Devout? What are his *Satyres*, but the Great Commentary of Nature upon the Law of Nature? The Multitude of Gods does he not count a Multitude (*Sat. 13.*) making them as destitute of Wisdom, as of Power? A God in Statue does he not confess to be the Artificers Creature, and Mighty *Mars* (*Sat. 13.*) to be so silly, or weak, as to be robbed of his own weapons? The variety of their Oaths, does he not describe and detest, as the variety of their Gods (*Sat. 13.*) shewing how they would excuse themselves out of one guilt by another? Set days of divine

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worship to the Author of them, does he not acknowledge, whiles he reprehends the superstition in the performance of it (*Sat. 6.*) Indeed a Beast is but an Offering from the Earth; but Time is a present from Heaven it self: That is a part of our Goods; This of our Life. The *Duty to a Father*, yea but to a Beard, does not his Gravity Deserve, whiles he Describes it? The *Duty from a Father* does he not so excellently set-out (*Sat. 14.*) that by the Art of Instruction, he makes himself the honest Father of other mens Children? *Bloody Out-rage* does he not detest with such wounding compassion (*Sat. 15.*) as if he would make the Murderer execute himself with Remorse? Against the foul flames of *Lust* are not the pure flames of his Zeal opposed, to shame them by Dissimilitude (*Sat. 6.*) and with a more happy separation, then once were those of the *Theban Brothers*? Against Barren Lust (*Sat. 9.*) is not his Wit Fruitful? Oppression, *Rapine*, *Cousenage*, (*Sat. 1. 8. 13.*) are they not as far from his Bosome, as their Booty from his Hand? As if unjust Increase were not Wealth, but Accumulation, and a sad exchange of Innocence for Gold. Against the cowardly silencing of true *Witness*, (*Sat. 16.*) is he not stoutly Eloquent? And would he not rather burn in *Perillus* his Bull, (*Sat. 8.*) then have the guilt of Perjury burn in his Breast, (*Sat. 13.*)? The very Purpose, nay the Deliberating *Desire of Sin*, (*Sat. 13.*) before it is grown up to the Age of Act, does he not Condemn, and by endeavor Prevent? And like an exact *Casuis*t (*Sat. 13.*) does he not make *Conscience* Man's Keeper and Judge? O that we could Argue him into a Christian! And yet if Friendship can make it probable, we may please our selves with a hope at the endeavor of such, as would prove that *Martial*, our Poets intimate Friend, in his later age Reviv'd into Christianity. And could their Loves communicate less joys, and stand at distance in the Greatest? But howsoever seeing that among the Heathen God raised-up so excellent an Instructor, was it not pittie, the Instruction should be either not understood, or misunderstood? Especially when some disdainful sinners, that are unhappily less sensible of Christian motives, may peradventure startle at the spur of a Heathen. Wherefore in Hope and Zeal I ventur'd on this work, not doubting but that a man may, not without success, though without custome, Preach in Verse. Which purpose being understood by some worthy friends, was not condemn'd but encourag'd by a free and happy supply of diverse excellent Manuscripts of our Author. My honour'd friend Mr. *John Selden* (of such eminency in the Studies of Antiquities and Languages) and Mr. *Farnaby* (whose learned Industry speaks much for him in a little) procur'd me a fair Manuscript Copy from the famous Library at St. James's, and a Manuscript Commentary from our Herald of Learning, Mr. *Cambden*. My dear friend, the Patriarch of our Poets, *Ben. Johnson* sent-in also an ancient Manuscript partly written in the *Saxon* Character. My learned friend Dr. *Merick Casaubon* afforded likewise an elegant Manuscript from the Study of his exact Father. The ready and singular courtesie of Dr. *Anyan* sometime President, and the Fellows, of *Corpus-Christi-Colledge*, lent me from their publick Library a large and excellent Manuscript. My ancient friend Mr. *Thomas Allen*, the perpetual Monument of *Glocester-Hall*, yielded me also a parcel of a Manuscript, the first three Satyres. Nor may I omit my ingenuous and learned friend Dr. *John Price*, who imparted to me divers forreign Criticks, whose Labours, though publish'd, are but rarely brought into these parts, but collected by his diligent choice, in his Travels into *France, Italy, and Greece*: to which I added mine own store, and what choice ones my youth had observed in our *Oxford-Library*.

With

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With this preparation I entered on this task; studying to make my Translation first True, next as free from Annotations, as the Argument would permit. But the work implying such plenty of Antiquities, I had wronged both the Work and the Reader had I left them in darkness. Illustrations therefore grew necessary: wherein, besides the Manuscripts, I perus'd the most judicious Commentaries, chiefly of the *Scholiast*, *Britannicus*, *Lubin*, and *Autumnus*: to whom I added the chief Antiquaries and Criticks, (which in my search I had lighted on) who in other labours had occasionally touch'd upon our Author. Concerning whose opinions I have deliver'd mine own with such ingenuous liberty, as I suppose they us'd; leaving it to the like judge, the Readers Judgment. As for publishing Poetry, it needs no defence; there being a Divine rapture in it, if my Lord of *Verulam's* judgment shall be admitted. To which I may adde, that Majesty has not despis'd it, witness *David*, and our good *Edward the Sixth*, whose Royal wit writ a Comedy, as our *Bate* tells us, witness *Nazianzen* and the Learned *Prosper*: whose Compositions are their own Praise and our Delight. Witness *Petrarch*, Arch-deacon of *Parma*, and (one of mine one Predecessors) *Walter Mapes* sometime Arch-deacon of *Oxford*; a witty Satyrist, and a Favourite to our great *Henry the Second*: nay, witness the profound wit of *Macchiavel*, who has left unto us his pleasant Plots, as well in (*Italian*) Comedy, as in Discourse. And for the study of Antiquities in the expression of human Authors, witness the labours of *Torrentius*, *Antonius Augustinus*, and of *Eusebius* in former times; men of high honour in the Christian Church. And now after all my labour I would not delude my self with more Joy, then Success: not with *Egyptian* vanity take up a *εἰδωλον*, for the finding of a quick Idol instead of a Deity; and had rather not be, then be a *Suffenus*. I acknowledge then our Author to be of more difficulties, then any other, which *Greece* or *Rome* can shew; of greater difficulties then they can shew: nor will I, whiles I say so, fear to remember *Lycophron's* Prophetess, nor *Tertullian's* Mantle. Some passages will prove this, being lyable to a manifold, a ten-fold Exposition; yet every one to a Reader not very Intentive very probable; that we may say, the *Delphick* Oracle was less Riddle. Yet I think the difficulties in *Persius* and *Juvenal* to have a difference: the trouble in *Persius* being to Find a meaning; in *Juvenal* to Choose it. If therefore we sometimes miss, (Error being as possible, as a Hair in the Pen) we will yet sustain our selves (but after just industry) with the frailty of some great ones, who in their search of the Quadrature of the Circle have been eminent for Wit and Mistake. Yet have I not over-leap'd the hardest places: nor presum'd to place in my Translation an opinion, though the best, without giving a reason in the Illustrations, least otherwise with Justice and Suspicion it might be ask'd, Sir, how came you by this Choice? In equity therefore I give an Account, and endeavor not to fail in the *Arithmetick*. To which circumspection I am the rather mov'd from that severe Caution of our admirable Instructor in the Laws (in his Preface to the sixth part of his *Reports*) Every man that writes ought to be so careful of setting down truth, as if the credit of his whole work consisted upon the certainty of every particular period. So that had not an ancient Promise, a Love of Truth, and a Self-justice to transmit a right Copy of my endeavors to after-times prevail'd with me, I had not only delay'd them, but suppress'd them. But upon these motives, intending about ten years since to have publish'd them, a new inconvenience besel them, my translation of the first Five Satyres being at that time borrow'd of me by an

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especial Friend, and accidentally passing farther into other hands, then by me intended; a Translation of these Satyres by another, some few months after, appear'd in Print. Yet having seen divers parts of this Author formerly render'd and publish'd by divers, as other Authors in the like kind; as *Ovid*, and *Lucan* by others, and anciently *David's Devotions*, by *Eobanus*, *Beza*, *Buchanan*, every one having the choice of his own studies: in a like freedom, after diverse and necessary delays, though perchance, Reader, without thy loss, I have at last been persuaded to be so hardy, as to present youth in age. Indeed *Horace* enjoyns the suppression of a Poem thrice three years, as if he would, methinks, have every one of the Muses to pass her judgment on it. The judicious *Scrivenerius* having written learned Notes upon *Martial*, suppress'd them, as he himself tells us, thrice five years. The famous *Italian* Fable-weaver *Ariosto*, was by the rude discourtesie of Law-suites disturb'd in the pleasure of his Phansie twice seven years: all which, with the overwhelming Calamities of late times, may sufficiently excuse either the Necessity or the Choice of my Delay. Nor will I now seek to eternize my work by the way and phansie of Old *Ennius*, who ended his Poem with *Acrosticks*, which said, as *Cicero* tells us, *Q. Ennius fecit*: or with the like device of *Gulielmus Canterus*, in the close of his Translation of *Lycophron*: or with a like Crochet to that of the voluminous *Spanish* Musitian, *Cerone*, who closes his work with several sentences beginning with the Musical Notes, *Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La*. They that like such Musick, may for me endure their pleasure: for my part, I had rather excuse, then Triumph (though I think both but vain, yet both in use); and in the modesty of the old *Romans* in somewhat a like case, deliver my opinion in some passages of the work, by a Lot inscrib'd with *N L*.

And so I rest

Thine

BARTEN HOLYDAY.

TO

To my most Worthy friend Mr. *Barten Holyday* in
Christ-Church in *Oxon.*

Good Sir,

NOt ignorant of your purpose and advancement in *Juvenal*, which by some of your House, and your Letter to a Stationer in *London*, I know you had long since gone through with, neither out of any immodest, dishonest desire by your prejudice to gratifie any man; much less undervaluing your worth, did I send you with a Letter of mine, another's request and not mine: but that you might therein see *Os hominis & mentem*, who on so small acquaintance, as but having heard my place of abode, boarded me with a *Crispian* affront, and now the second time with that Letter: whose Author being Master of no better style, flatters his confidence with ability to Master *Juvenal*. But leaving him answered with yours sent him this Morning, I return to your self, now my friend, for so I see you give me leave, And as you have deserv'd with the World the esteem of Learning; so now my Learned friend, give me leave among the number of your far more worthy friends to wish you a fair issue of your intendment. In *Persius* I admir'd not, with the many, your tempering and working of so harsh and affected obscure style to so fluent and smooth *English*, but the riches of your understanding and Judgment, which made your expression so powerful and renditions so happy; And conferring some passages, I began to please my self, that I had been of the same mind with him, who had sounded the depth so well. Yet of others whom I ever heard deliver their judgments or opinions of your pains therein, praising and generally thanking you, I must acknowledge my self in a deeper bond of thankfulness engaged to you, for that honour done me by your mention of me ranked with your Expositors. And I would there had been or were in me to deserve it. The unfortunate mispending of my younger and better years in Sea affairs, as one hoping and labouring never to be beholding to Scholarship, may not pretend any claim to learning, out of which courses, when it pleased the high directing hand to cast me upon this Anchor, I thus condemn'd to this Horse-mill, content my self with my round course, from the top of my studies to come about again to *In Speech*. Where having at request of a Stationer, in hast broken the Ice in *Juvenal* and *Persius*, though I might say with him, *Imposui vulgo & eruditus visus sum*; yet I never hoped to satisfy the more learned, or please my self. Now what I long desir'd, I hope to see, light of those places, which I have in vain sought in all my reading. A loose Manuscript I sent this morning for, to Mr. *Selden*; his answer I send you here inclos'd. What office I may do you else command me; and for your judgment of me worthy any such employment; as for your kind approbation of my late pains on *Lucan*, which I would to God it were as your love styles it, I shall ever rest thankful to you, and desire to approve my self

March 13. 1618.

Your deserved friend

THOMAS FARNABY.

To my Honour'd Friend Mr. *Thomas Farnaby*.

Worthy Sir,

IWill think farther for Manuscripts of *Juvenal*, especially because I see (or conjecture) that Mr. *Holyday* means to turn him. That which I sent you, is of a Text good enough; at least ancient enough. But if I meet with any other, I shall be ready, and with speed, to impart it. What Mr. *Camden* hath, I suppose you shall receive now; if not, you shall have it by my personal procuring it. I confess, I think not that Mr. *Holyday* wants any thing to the fulness of happy translation, if he want not exact old Copies and helps to make them so, or Old *Scholiasts*, which are such helps, as the best must use. I have by me the first and second Satyre lately brought me to look on, translated by a Londoner. I give him no other name, though he were sometimes of some University. It is not bad, but yet I make no question but it is largely beneath what the Christ-Church Gentleman will do, if he but equal his first. Sir,

I bid you farewell, and rest yours

March 13. 1672.

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J. SELDEN.

To his very good Friend Mr. Barten Holyday Master of Arts
and Student of Christ-Church in Oxon.

I Will not raise up Ghosts, nor pitch the time,
When Juvenal's Genius from his unknown clime,
Came to thy Study, to impart his sense:
I will not in thee muster Monuments,
Or make Old Rome envy her New high Crimes,
For being fam'd thus to succeeding Times,
By two such Authors, Juvenal and Thee.
I cannot wind up an Hyperbole
To the full height of Wit. I dare not, I
Make my Muse wings, but gaze at them that fly.
My Ambitions not a Poet, but a Friend:
Plain Innocent Truth I'll speak, and that defend,
Th' art thine own still, and more, if more may be,
This Age will Praise, the next shall Honour thee.

William White.

To his dear Friend Mr. Barten Holyday, upon his
English Juvenal.

MAny choice Wits are pos'd, when they debate,
Which hath most Man, to Invent, or to Translate.
Let them Dispute, and wear away their sloath;
Which does the best, I care not: Thou dost both;
Whil'st Thou Translat'st, what is best Pen'd, and then
All covet to Translate, if thou dost Pen.

Robert Gomerfal.

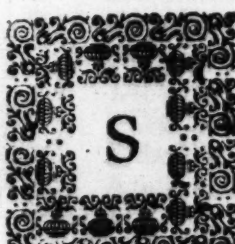
DECIMUS

Decimus [1] Junius Juvenalis
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S A T Y R E S.

S A T Y R E. I.

A R G U M E N T.

*Fables our Author scornes, the Times
Being so fruitful of great Crimes.
When Information, Pride, Unjust
Indulgence, Dice, Oppression, Lust,
Riot and Poison, grow Too-bold,
Our Poet sayes he cannot hold.
Yet since the Living he doth dread,
He points his Style against the Dead;
And Acts, ev'n on the Stygian Coasts,
The Zealous Tyrant or'e foule Ghosts.
He makes their Graves with op'ning Jaws,
To teach the Living, Vertue's Lawes.
When Goodness cannot, dangerous Fame
Curbs-in wild Crimes, and makes them tame.
Satyre is Story. He begins
The blushing Annals of Rome's Sins.*

 Hall I be still an Auditor? and ne're
Repay, that have so often had mine eare
Vext with hoarse Codrus (a) Theseads? Shall one sweat
Whiles his gown'd Comique [2] Scene he does repeat?
Another, whiles his Elegies (b) soft strain
He reads? and shall not I vex them again?
Shall mighty Telephus be unrequited,
That spends a Day in being All recited?
Or Volume-swolne Orestes, that does fill
The Margin of an ample Book, yet still
(As if the Book were mad too) is extended
Upon the very back, [3] nor yet is ended?

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

No Man knowes better his own house, then I
 The Grove of *Mars*, [4] and *Vulcan's* *Ætna* (c) nigh
 Th' *Æolian* Rocks; what the winds do; what Ghost
Æacus does Torment; and from what Coast
 Another stole the golden Fleece; what vast
 Ash-trees the *Centaure Monychus* did cast;
Fronto's [5] Plane-trees and shaken Marbles (d) crye
 Allways, that this their daily Poetrie
 Has cleft the trembling Pillars; and look what
 The Best wits choose, [6] the Worst dare write of That.
 Our hand then from the *ferula* [7] we have
 Withdrawn. Advice we once to *Sylla* gave [8]
 To sleep retir'd and safe. But since we meet
 Poets (such is the *shore*) in ev'ry street;
 'Twere silly Clemency to spare the cost
 Of paper; [9] though ('tis likely) 'twil be lost.
 Yet wherefore in this field [10] I rather run,
 In which happy *Aurunca's* worthy Son [11]
 With Art did turn his Horses; if you are
 At leasure, and will hear, I will declare.

When a soft *Eunuch* Weds, [12] and *Mevia* strikes
 A *Tuscan* (e) Boar, [13] nor with bare breasts dislikes
 To shake a Hunting-spear; when one dares vie
 For vast Wealth (f) with our whole Nobilitie,
 One whose officious Sizzers went snip, snip,
 As he my troublesome young Beard did clip:
 When one of *Nilus's* Rout, a servile pate,
Crispinus a *Canopian* (whiles in state
 His Shoulder does his purple Cloak [14] recall)
 Upon his sweating fingers fannes his small
 Summer-rings, [15] and a larger Jewels weight
 Shunn'es as a burden: who but needs must straight
 Breathe Satyre? Who can tow'rds leud Rome remaine
 So Tame? Who's so stark Ir'n, as to containe?
 When pleading *Matro* comes yee in his New
 Litter fill'd with himself, and next we view
 One that betrays [16] his great Friend, then does waite
 To snatch what's left of his consum'd Estate;
 Whom *Massa* fears, [17] whom *Carm* bribes, a faire
Thymele too, [18] sent closely, that he'd spare
 Trembling *Latinus*: when they Thee remove, [19]
 Who become Heirs for Night-work, and now prove
 That the best way of mounting to the skies,
 Is by an old rich Widdows Lust to rise;
 A Twelfth part *Proculeius* [20] does inherit,
Gillo Elev'n: they're Siz'd by Chamber-merit,
 And let them take't, the price of Blood, (g) and be
 As pale, as one that with bare heels too free
 Has crush'd a Snake, or one prepar'd for Fame
 At the *Lugdunian* Altar [21] to Declame.

What

S A T Y R E. I.

3

What should I tell, how my dri'd liver burns
With wrath, when a young VVard a *Pathique* turns,
Made Needy by his *Guardian*, whose vast train
Throngs-up the People; and condemn'd in vain [22]
(For, *What's Disgrace where Wealth is safe?*) now quaffs,
In Exile, from th' Eighth hour; [23] Thus *Marius* laughs,
T' Enjoy his Angry Gods: but Thou, Prevailing
Province, findst for thy wrongs no help but wailing!

 Claime not these Crimes *Flaccus's Venusian* light?
And shan't I vex them? shall I rather write
Of *Hercules* or *Diomedes* luck, (b)
Of the loud *Minotaure*, or the Sea struck
By falling *Icarus*, or th' happier wing
Of *Dadalus*, that flew from his fierce King?
VVhen One, his own wives pandar, becomes heire
To her Adult'rer, whiles the Law takes care [24]
Shee shall not; when to th' feeling he looks-up,
Or with a watchful Nose snortes by a Cup.
VVhen He dares hope for a *Prætorian* Band,
VVho has on Stables spent with a vain hand
His ancient Means, whiles with swift Axle-tree
O're the *Flaminian* way he flies: for He [25]
Like young *Automedon* the Rains did guide [26]
VVhen by his VVarlike Mistress [27] he'd be Ey'd.
Should not then Satyre in the Crosse-ways fill
Large Table-books? [28] when less then six necks will
Not serve, to bear one in his gazing Chaire,
[After *Mecenas's* garb] who has by rare
Forgery got a brave Estate; by small
VVills and a moistn'd Ring, that seal'd them all?
Loe, a rich Dame mild *Calene* wine as due,
To' her Husbands thirst brings, but brings roads juice too.
Her Nieces this *Locusta* [29] shews the way,
In spite of Fame and People, to conveigh
Stain'd Husbands to their fun'ralls. *Something dare*
Worthy the narrow Gyarus, [30] or th' aire
Of a loath'd Jaile, if some body thou'dst be:
Honesty's Prais'd, and *Quakes* with cold, we see.
Unto their Crimes they owe their whole Estate,
Palaces, Gardens, Tables, Ancient Plate,
The Goat too, [31] which from their proud boulds juts-out,
VVho can take rest for one that beyond doubt
Bribes his Son's wife to Lust! For Male-brides and
Adult'rous (i) Boyes! [32] If Nature want command
Verse, Indignation shall at least indite
Such lines, as *I* or *Cluvienus* write.

 From That time, that *Deucalion's* Ship ascended
Parnassus's top [show'rs to the Sea extended]
VVhen he his Lot enquir'd, and soft stones grew
VVarm with a soul; when Maids, that vail ne'r knew,

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

Pyrrha to Men did bring; what's ere men do,
 Their Vows, Fear, VVrath, Delight, Joy, Visits too,
 Is our Book's Mixture. And when e're did Vice
 More flow? VVhen open lay to Avarice
 A larger Haven? VVhen did Dice Intrace
 Our minds Thus? For they go to th' Tables chance
 Not with a Purse; the Chest's at stake! There see
 Their Battels with their Stewards, such as be
 Squires of their Dice and Coine! To cast-away
 A hundred *Sesterces*, [33] and then not pay
 A coat to' a Quaking Servant, is't a small
 Madnesse? So many brave Piles [34] which of all
 Th' Ancients built in the Country? VVho alone [35]
 Supp'd with seaven dishes? Now there's only knowne
 A Basket-doal [36] at the outmost door to wait,
 VVhich will by the gown'd rout be snatch'd-up straight.
 Yet first the Steward sees one's face, and quakes
 Fearing one by some forg'd name craves and takes,
 VVhen known, th' art serv'd. He bids the Crier next
 Call our Prime *Trojans*; for the thresholds next
 By these too. Serve the *Prator*; then dispatch
 The *Tribune*. But a *Libertine* [37] lies at th' catch
 As First; *I me First*, sayes he; nor may I fear
 Or doubt to prove my Place, although born near
Euphrates, as the dainty windows [38] show
 In my freed ear, though I deny't. But know
 Five *Burses*, which I let, adde to my store
 Four hundred *Sesterces*. [39] And, pray, what more
 Can Purple give? If your *Corvinus* keep
 In the *Laurentine* fields anothers Sheep?
Pallas and the *Licinii* [40] in estate
 I far surpass; let then your *Tribunes* waite.
 Let *Wealth* take place; and let not him, that come
 But th' other day with his chalk'd feet [41] to *Rome*
 Once yield to sacred Honor; (k) since we hold
 As most Divine the Majestie of Gold!
 Though, woeful *Mony*, Temple none thou hast, [42]
 VVhiles *Peace*, *Faith*, *Vertue*, *Virtue* thus are grac'd,
 And *Concord*, whose old Temple, [43] which yields store
 Of Storks, sounds when with Beak their Nest th' adore.
 But when your Great Ones at th' years end account;
 To what the Doal does make their gains amount;
 VVhat shall poor Clients do, who hence must buy
 Gown, Shoes, Bread, Fire? A throng of Litters cry-
 Out for the *Hundred Farthings*: (l) their VVives jumble
 After, though Sick, or Great as they can tumble.
 One craves for's Absent wife by a trick now known:
 A litter clos'd [44] he shews; but wife there's none.
 My *Galla* 'tis, sayes he; Quick order keep:
Galla appear. No noise, Sir; shee's asleep.

The Day does th' Order of their Business follow.
 The Doal's First; Next, the Law-court and *Apollo* (m)
 Grown Lawyer; the Triumphal Statues too:
 'Mongst which a vile *Egyptian*, one that drew
 Gain from th' *Arabian* Custome, [45] has not fear'd
 To have his Titles; but at this high-rear'd
 Image not only leak you may. Then th' old
 Tir'd Clients leave the Porches, and their bold
 Appetite, a short Meals Long, Long Desire!
 And now, poor men, they must buy Herbs and Fire!
 Mean whiles what choise, Forrests or Seas afford,
 Their Lord (n) devours at's Ghuestless Couch and Board.
 For of so many large Round-tables, neat
 And ancient, they at one their whole stare Eat.
 Now not a Parasite finds room! But who
 Loaths not such Niggard-Gluttons? O throat New
 And Vast, to which a Boar's a Dish! a Beast
 VVhich ne're was purpos'd-out, but for a Feast.
 But Judgments Instant, when thy Panch devested
 Bears to the Bathes thy Peacock undigested. (o)
 Hence sodaine deaths are; hence Intestate age!
 The News not sad is Table-talke. VVith Rage
 His friends dispatch the funeral. So Bad
 And near a one being gone, they should be glad.
 Our Crimes for after-times have left no Fact:
 Our Nephews must the same things Love and Ad.
 All Vice is at the Pitch-pole? Then set saile;
 Spread all thy Canvase. But where's now the gale
 Of wit, thou'lt say, fit for th' attempt? Now where
 Th' old Libertie of writing what so e're
 A mind inflam'd did dictate? VVhere the same
 Simplicities, which now I dare not name?
 VVho car'd for *Mutius's* pardon? [46] *Tigelline*
 But touch, thou shalt in that dire taper shine [47]
 Wherein they stand and burn, whose own foul smoak
 And a sharp gag under their throats half-choak.
 Shall He then, that has drench'd three Uncles, be
 Mounted in Down, and thence sleight our degree?
 And, from the sand, and shews when carry'd-out
 Make a large furrow [48] through the trampled rout?
 Yes, meeting Him lay finger on thy lip:
 'Tis slander, [49] if but the VVords, That's He, slip.
 Of *Turnus* and *Aeneas's* furious steel
 VVrite freely. VVho *Achilles's* wound does feel?
 Or greives, that long-sought *Hylas* fetching water
 Let fall his Pitcher, and himself fell after?
 Yet when inflam'd *Lucilius* did with dread
 Shake his drawn blade, the bearer straight grew red,
 Whose secret crimes drove from his Breast all heat,
 And cast his Guilt into a quaking sweat.

Revenge and Tears burst hence. VVeigh all then right [50]
 E're Trumpets sound. *When Arm'd for single-fight,*
Too late 'tis to Repent. I then will trie
 VVhat I may speak 'gainst Those, whose ashes [51] lie
 Under proud Tombes erect to their bold praise
 In the *Flaminian* and *Latine* [52] wayes.

NOTES on JUVENAL, Sat. I.

(a) **H**E had nothing of a Poet, but his Poverty; of which, if we do but suppose that his Inventory *Sat. 3. vers. 203.* or Himself the occasion of the Proverb, *Codro Pauperior*, his proportion was enough, had he really been so good a Poet as he thought himself; or his *Theseis* as excellent as the *Aeneis* of *Virgil*. Yet this he made his Pattern in his Heroick Poem of *Theseus's* Feats of Chivalry; But came so infinitely short of it, that the like Names only of the Poems, made his *Theseis* seem an imitation of the *Aeneis*.

(b) This sort of Verse being Womanish and unmanly, heightens the Poets Indignation at their recital. For they either contained the little tooleries of Love, especially if that was unsuccessful, as in 3. *De Arte &c. Eleg. 1. Flendus amor meus est, Elegia flebile Carmen*; Or some impertinent commendations men give (and perhaps never till then) the deceased. For *Proclus* in *Photius* says, τὸ σῆμα ἑλίων ἰσχυροὶ παλαιὸι ἢ τὰς τελευτησάντας δ' αὐτὸ ἀλέγουν. The Ancients call'd Mourning, Elegy, and with it commended their Dead. And thence according to some, *Elegia quasi Eulogia*. But the true deduction of the word is from ἑλίων, that being by *Aristophanes* frequently used as a Note of Mourning. Yet the Verses themselves were not only so; *Isaac Causabon* telling us, that in them young Poets began first to breath their Muses, and that before they themselves were fully inspired. So that their Productions, being cheap and of little esteem, gave too just occasion of calling any ordinary and trite peice of Poetry by the same Name of *Elegies*. Hence *Persius*, --- *Nam si qua Elegidia Crudi Didicistis Proceres*. --- He shews the Raw Authors, and *Horace* calls the pitiful Work *Exiguus Elegos* in his *Arte Poet.* *Dio Chrysostome lib. 4. de Regno*, calls the common Epitaph on *Sardanapalus* ἑλεγος, although Heroick Verses. So that our angry Poet here, in the Name of the Verse, shews the reason of his Passion.

(c) *Antrum Vulcani*] 'Tis the Hollow on the top of Mount *Aetna*, now *Monte Gibello*, where, because of the constant Eruptions of Fire, the Poets supposed Vulcan did forge *Joves* Thunder-bolts, and therefore in *Strongyle*, the nearest of the *Liparean* or *Aeolian* Islands, placed *Aeolus* the God of Winds, as if on purpose the more conveniently to blow the God of Fire's Bellows. When in truth these Islands became the Signorie of *Aeolus*, from the good Prognosticks of Winds the Inhabitants of them could make. For they could by the smook three days before, certainly tell what Winds would blow.

(d) By *Convulsa Marmora*, most understand the Pillars that sustained, when they might as well have interpreted them the Statues that adorned their Portico's. For that was the Roman fashion. *Sat. 6. v. 164.* --- *Vetus Porticibus disponit Avos*. --- And then the *Rupte Columnae* in the next verse is significative, and not superfluous, as well as the sense clearly thus. Well might our Author be offended at the Recitations of those Poetasters, at whose hideous yellings, even these Statues, as in strong Convulsions, shrunk up together, and shrieked for fear.

(e) And therefore the fiercest of any in *Italy*. But not so fierce as *Mavia* or other Women, one of which on the *Amphitheater* slew a Lyon, *Mart. Epigr. 6. Spectac.* And the Custome grew so common for Women to turn Gladiators, that in *Xiphilines Severus* we find it forbidden, by a Decree of the Senat: *Μακίτι μηδέναι γυναῖκα μοτομαχῆν.*

(f) Single Romans have had vast Estates, such as would perswade one, did not our Author contradict it, that the wealth of a whole Order of Men amongst them, their Nobility, would as soon exceed Arithmetick, as it's self be exceeded, especially by one man.

man. For we find one *Crispin* a Freeman of *Vercelli*, to be worth *Bis Millies*, or 1562500 l. and *Cæsar* once needed a greater sum then this, *Bis Milles quingenties* 1953125. l. that by this much (as he wittily expressed the paying his Debts) he might be worth nothing. *M. Crassus* and *Seneca* had *Ter Millies* a peice, of our Mony 2343750. l. and of this the Philosopher had in *England* alone *Quadringenties*, or 3125000 l. at Use. *Cn. Lemulus* the Augur in *Augustus's* time had *Quater Millies*, or 3125000 l. Yet all this, and a great deal more, comes short of the *Estate* here mentioned. The Master of which, as at first he rose from nothing, so at last came to nothing; for upon some ill success at Law he fled into *Sicilie*, and left his Riches: And by *Mart. lib. 7. ep. 63.* as unfit for any other employment, is remanded to his primitive one of a Barber. *Quod superest, iterum Cinname Tonfor eris.* There you have his Name; and his former felicities are intimated, besides in this place before us, in *Sat. 10. v. 225.*

(g) *Sanguis*, as in that of *Plautus*, *Apagæ à me istas sorores qui hominum sorbent sanguinem*, is here put *pro Semine*. An easy Metonymie will shew us the Reason. For in Nature the *Semen* is but a perfecter concoction and preparation of the Blood. Yet this, by that Preparation, is so much enspirited, that to lose one dram of *Semen*, weakens as much as the loss of 60 ounces of Blood, if the observation of some Physicians in *Dr. Brown's Pseud. Epid. lib. 3. cap. 9.* may be credited. And this supposed, the Poet very well adds of a venereous person,

— Et sic
Palleat, ut nudis præsit qui calcibus Anguem.

(b) The old Stories of *Hercules* are so numerous amongst the Trivial Poets, that their Labours seem well nigh as troublesome (at least to the Readers) as his they commended. The Luck of *Diomedes* King of *Ætolia* (not the *Ibracian* Tyrant) so often commended by *Homer* especially *Il. 5.* was; that at his return from *Troy*, unwilling again to live with his Whorish wife, and wandring in several places of *Italy*, at last he settled in *Apulia*: There he found Divinity; and a Temple in those small Islands of the *Adriatick* that bear his Name. Worshippers he had in other places along that shore, and in *Venice* it self. His Companions in Travel, bore him company to Heaven no farther then Birds could fly, into which they being turn'd, were call'd *Aves Diomedææ*. *Uno in loco totius terrarum Orbis visuntur, in Insula, quam diximus Nobilem Diomedis tumulo atque Delubro, contra Apulie Oram, fulicarum similes. Advenas Barbaros clangore infestant, Græcis tantum adulantur; miro discrimine velut Generi Diomedis hoc tribuentes; Ademque illam quotidie pleno gutture, madentibus pennis perluunt, atque purificant. Unde Origo fabule, Diomedis Socios in earum Effigies mutatos.* *Plin. lib. 10. cap. 44. D. August. de C. D. lib. 18. cap. 16.*

(i) *Prætextatus Adulter* is render'd by Adulterous boyes, because they were the young Nobility of *Rome*, that wore the *Prætexta* or Gown border'd with Purple. Not but that *Prætextati* are sometimes put for Magistrates, who first wore this Gown, though 'tis here, and commonly understood of Children, and *Prætextata ætas* is Childhood. For to the end of that, namely till 16 years of Age they did not leave off this Gown; And they could not by Law be arraigned before they were divested of it; though they could, I perceive by our Poet, commit enormous crimes that deserved it.

(k) The Honor of the Tribunes is here call'd Sacred, either because 'twas great, as *ισχυρὸν μὲν τὸ Ἀρχὴν*, is the great strength, &c. Or, as now the Majesty of Kings is Sacred, that is inviolable, according to *Festus*. *Quod sacrum est, idem lege aut instituto Majorum Sanctum esse, ait, ut violari id sine pena non possit.* And *Erasmus* in the Proverb, *Sacer Piscis*, says *Sacer dicebatur. Cui nemo nocebat, sed sui juris erat.* Which was in a special manner allowed to the Tribunes of the People at their first Creation; they only among the Romans being *Magistratus Sacrosancti*. They only were created *per Legem Sacratam*. *Liv. lib. 2. Dec. 1.* which Law *Sanctum jubet esse alicui Deorum*, devotes the family and the goods of the Offender against it to some one of the Gods, *Godelevens* on *Livy*, pag. 38. so that the difference of *Sacrum* and *Sanctum* we find in *Popna*, is not constantly observed. For, as there are *Sancti Legati*, so there are *Sacri Tribuni*, and upon the same Account, and for the same Reason. In *Livy lib. 3.* there are *Sacri Dii*, in *Ovid. 3. Amor. Sacri vates*. From this Reverence their Laws allowed the Tribunes, the sauciness of these Clients that here sleighted them, must needs be as much, as could be expected in the loosest times.

(l) Which was the summe of mony the Patrons gave their Clients instead of the Sportula or doal of meat they usually gave. *Inst. 36. & Mart. Ep. 6c. lib. 1. & Ep. 7. 13.*

[m] That

[m] That is *Apollo Palatinus*, so called from the Temple *Augustus* built him in the Palace. *Suet. Aug. cap. 29.* And the Scholiast on our Author assures us, that by (or in) this Temple the Lawyers usually met and discoursed the doubtful cases in the Law.

[n] The Peacock and his Train, as at ours a Pheasant and his, was a fine sight at a Roman Table. *Horace. --- Quia veniat au'o, Rara Avis; & picta pandat Spectacula Cauda.* The whole Reason of it I think he has given us, for from necessity there can be none. *Num Esuriens fastidis omnia præter Pavonem, Rhombumque? Ambitiosa non est Fames, contenta definire est: quo definat non nimis curat.* *Hortensius* the Augur at his Installation Feast first brought this Fowl to dinner, as *Varro*. And but small thanks are due to his Invention if *St. Augustus's* Experiment be true, that the flesh of it will never putrefie. *De Civ. l. 21. c. 4.* For it must needs be of a very hard Concoction, as our Poet here observes, and as full of inconveniencies as in the next verse we read.

[o] Proverbially before the sight begin, which was usually signified by the sound of Trumpets. Thence the Proverb of a Coward, *Ante tubam timidus*; one that's afraid when there is no appearance of Danger. Other signals of Battel were in use among the Romans, as the hanging a red Banner in form of a coat over the Generals Pavillion, and this in *Cæsar* is call'd *Proponere Vexillum*. See *Lips. ad Lib. 1. Annal. Tac.* Our Poet in *Sat. 2. v. 101.* calls it *Tollere Vexilla*.

ILLU

ILLUSTRATIONS

Of the Obscurer Passages in the

SATYRES

OF

D. Junius Juvenalis.

SATYRE. I.

The Mistake of some about Juvenal's Prænomen. Togatæ and Palliatæ. Pallium, Lacer-na, Penula. Ομάζευαφα. Lucus Martis. The Ancient Custome of Poets to Read in Publick their Compositions. Ara Lugdunensis. The Roman Division and Employment of the Day. The Number and Distinction of the Roman Meals. Prân-dium, us'd amongst the Ancients. Merenda. Pugillares. Stylus, the Fashion and Matter of it. Prætextatum. Sestertius and Sestertium Distinguished and Valew'd. Atrium. The Ancient Custome of Supping with their Doors open; and the Reason. The Number anciently of their Dishes at Supper. Coena Recta. Δείπνον ἐν ἀνεύξει, Sportula; Centum quadrantes. A Roman Knight's necessary Revenue by Law. Pecunia; a Goddesse. Sella and Lectica. Arabarches; the Name, Office, and Person here intended. Tunica Molestæ. Lipsius his conjecture alleadg'd about that verse, Et latum media sulcum deducit arena: Ptolemæus Flavius his Opinion about the same. The Roman custome of Burning the Bodies of the Dead: The differ-ent Custome of the Persians and Egyptians; and in some cases amongst the Ro-mans. Suggundaria. The Custome of Burying in Caves, Groves, Gardens, at the foot of a Hill; before the Gate of a City; in private Houses. Diverse Names of a Sepulcher. Burial in Citties, Forbidden. Different places for the People and the Nobility. Tombs in Fields, by the Sides of the High-ways. Burial, by the Lace-dæmonians, permitted in Cities (and in some places, near the Forum,) to some also amongst the Romans; and at last in Temples.

I. *Decimus Junius Juvenalis.*

Decimus Junius Juvenalis: Those that have hitherto in pub-lishing this Authour, bestow'd three names upon him, have for the first, either with a secure ambiguity, prefix'd only the let-ter D. or with a liberality of Pen and error, written at large Decius Junius Juvenalis: amongst which last is Petrus Crinitus (who is there-fore justly taxed by Ludovicus Carrio, in his Emen-dations, lib. 1. cap. 1.) and also Cernius before his Pa-raprase upon this Authour, alleadging Crinitus his words without correcting them. But, to stay the

farther propagation of this error, amongst the three sorts of Names which the Romans had, the first whereof was called Prænomen, the second Nomen, the third Cognomen (under which last, with Onuphrius Panvinus, I comprehend Agnomen) it is to be noted that Decius was a Nomen; as also may appear by the Catalogue of the natural Roman Prænomina, which were about thirty, as they are reckon'd up by Sigonius, de Nom. Roman. amongst which Decius is not mention'd. This D. therefore is Decimus, as it is written in all those Manuscripts in which it is writ-ten at large; and this agrees with Antiquitie, for Decimus was a Prænomen amongst the Romans. This

may be also confirm'd by those, who wrote the Roman story in Greek, as by *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Dionysius*, *Plutarch*, *Dion*: who alwayes when they found the letter D. used in *Latine Historians* for a *Pranomen*, as it is here, expounded it at large by *Decimus*. Yet *Lubine*, in his annotation upon that in his fourth Satyre, vers. 103. — *Quis priscum illud miratur acumen, Brute, tuum?* — Makes *Decius* a *Pranomen*, calling him that expell'd *Tarquin*, *Decius Junius Brutus*. But herein he multiplies an error: for first, he that expell'd *Tarquin*, and which is there meant by *Juvenal*, was called *Lucius Junius Brutus*, as is manifest by the Roman *Fasts*. Secondly, he that was called *D. Junius Brutus*, was one of them that conspir'd against *Cesar*; and thirdly, that conspirator was not called *Decius*, but *Decimus Junius Brutus*, as it is manifest by the *Grecian writers* of the Roman story; And therefore in the exacter Editions of *Dio*, published by *Xylander*, and *Neuchovius*, when this *Brutus* is in the Text called *Decius*, it is corrected with a variety of Reading in the Margin, by *Decimus*; and in one place, where he is said to be nam'd in *Cesar's Testament*, he is absolutely called *Decimus*, without the mentioning of his other names, and on this place is no diverse Reading, or correction in the Margin. So likewise he is by *Appian* absolutely called *Decimus*, without the mentioning of his other names. I think the more plainly to distinguish him from the other *Brutus*, who was the chief in the same conspiracy, and was called *Marcus Junius Brutus*. It is an error therefore in the Author of the *Prosaical part* of our Grammar, called *Lily's Grammar*, p. 2. where he says, that when D. stands for a *Pranomen*, it signifies *Decius*. But it will be needless to remove one scruple. In *Lucilius* his *Fragments*, p. 13. Num. 101. we find this verse, *Perfium non curio legere, hac: Lelium Decimum volo*: which words are so recited also in *Tully*, *de Oratore*, lib. 2. and by *Pliny*, *Nat. Hist.* lib. 1. *Epist. ad Vespas.* *Hac doctissimum Perfium legere volo, Lelium Decimum volo*. The sense is, *Lucilius* would not have the learned *Perfium* (not the Poet, but) one, who in *Tully's* judgment was, as he says, *Omnium fere nostrorum doctissimus*: but he would have a less learned Reader, such a one as *Lelium Decimus*. By which order of the names, *Decimus* seems not to be a *Pranomen*. It is therefore to be known, that all the common Copies of *Pliny* (and so consequently of *Tully* and *Lucilius*) are corrupted. For all the ancient Printed and Manuscript Copies of *Pliny*, as *Hermolaus Barbarus* observes, and after him *Fr. Doussa*, on *Lucilius*, pag. 105. read, not *Lelium Decimum*, but *Junium Congium*, or *Lelium Congrium*. But by a licentious transposition, the cognomen was sometimes set before the *Pranomen*, as in that *Maluginensis M. Scipio*; (see *Robertellus*, and *Sigonius de Nom. Rom.* cap. 24. and 52.) which seems to have been the first occasion of the vulgar error.

2. Whiles his gown'd Comick Scene. The Roman Comedy, so called from the Habit, which by propriety of Country the Romans wore, as the *Gracians* did Cloaks. So the *Scholiast* on this place, according to *Pitbeus* his Edition, *Togata sunt Comedie Latina, Palliata Græca, quales Afranius scribit*. Yet because *Afranius* does not write Greek Comedies, correct the Reading, as *Rutgersius* does very well, in his *Var. Lession.* lib. 6. cap. 18. reading it thus, *Togata sunt Comedie Latina, quales Afranius scripsit, Palliata Græca*. And here note, that although *Toga* and *Pallium* are oppos'd as the Roman and *Græcian* garments, the Gown and the Cloak, yet some garments used by the Romans, neither have been, nor in our

Tongue can be more properly render'd, then by the name of Cloaks, as *Lacerna* and *Penula*; yet *Pallium* doth not only signify the *Græcian Cloak*, but also a garment which the Roman Women wore over their *stola* or their long coat down to the heel. Sometimes also it is taken for bedcloaths, as *Antonius Augustinus de Legib.* 12. Tab. p. 267. observes out of *Juvenal*, Sat. 6. in that verse, *Advocat Archigenen onerosaque pallia jactat*; and as *Passe-rinus* notes in his *Prelectiones* upon *Propertius*, lib. 4. p. 589. The *Lacerna* and *Penula* are both in the Old Gloss upon *Perfius*, Sat. 1. vers. 68. called *pallia*: which identitie of name doubtless arose from the near similitude which they had each with other, and both with the *Græcian Cloak*: nay the Roman Gown too was almost of the same form, as *Laxius* shews in his *Commentaries*, lib. 8. cap. 3. The *Lacerna* by the descriptions of the ancients was a kind of Cloak first used in the Camp, but afterwards through civil wars it got into the City, and was worn upon their gowns to defend them from Cold and Rain. The *penula* was used for the like defence; yet this by *Laxius* his description, lib. 16. cap. 11. was shorter and fitter for expedition, and therefore chiefly used in travel. And yet according to diversitie of times it was more or less frequently used, as *Lipsius* shews, *Elect.* lib. 1. cap. 13. I judged it necessary here to shew the diverse acceptions of the word *pallium* and Cloak, because here it seems to be appropriated to the *Græcian*, when notwithstanding we shal frequently hereafter in this Author render those Roman garments *lacerna* and *penula* by our word Cloak: which without the prevention of a note might peradventure have been to some the occasion of some error.

3. Upon the very back. The custome of the Romans was to write but on one side of the leaf, leaving the other for any after-thoughts, or brief remembrances. But in a continued course to fill the second side, they accounted extremely folly or extreme industrie; and such writings the Latines called *à tergo scripta*, the *Græcians* *ὀπίσθεν*. See *Coranemus* on *Pliny*, lib. 3. *epist.* 5. and *Claudius Minois*. *Rader* on *Martial*, lib. 8. *epig.* 62. *Alexander Neapol.* in his *Genial. Dier.* lib. 2. cap. 30. and *Tiraquet* on that place.

4. The Grove of *Mars*. The common Reading is *Lucus Martis*; but *Ptolemaus Flavius* in his *Conjectan.* cap. 29. tells us of another Reading, which *Johannes Baptista Blausius* hath, and that is *Lucus Martis*; but whether this be grounded upon copie or conjecture I know not. The sense they make diverse, and so uncertain, understanding one while the adultery of *Mars* and *Venus*, another while the fight between *Mars* and *Diomedes* in the *Trojan* war, and so they would obscurely have *Nero* touch'd, who set Rome on fire, that he might write his *Troica*. But all this being rather wit then truth, and a stranger to all the Manuscripts, which I have seen, the old Reading is to be retain'd, which also is subject to as much variety of interpretation. Some travel as far as *Athens* to find *Lucus Martis* there, others as far as *Colchos* to find it there; where they are both as far from the Poet's intent, as *Athens* or *Colchos* are from Rome. The *Lucus Martis*, which some would have at *Athens*, was, as they say, the *Athenian Areopagus*: but *Britannicus* his exception will stand against this, who says, That was not *Lucus* but *Villa Martis*, though the margin of one manuscript (but without any proof) says that there was also *Lucus Martis*. *Calderinus* thinks it might be understood of a place at *Colchos*, where the golden

den fleece was; but I approve not this conjecture: for then, methinks, we should scarce quit our Author of a rautologic; seeing that by and by after he reckons-up that of the golden fleece, as a distinct argument, which the cheap versifiers of those times did trade in. Others not taking the pains to go out of Rome, make *Lucus Martii* there, and so take it for a place, wherein the Poets did use to read their poems. But this opinion *Lubine*, wittily derides, urging that by consequence the Poet should say, that he had not been likewise in *Vulcan's Aëna*, for this immediately follows in the like sense. Yet this jest of *Lubine* may be answer'd in earnest; for *Baptista Egnatius* in his *Racemations*, cap. 6. urges out of *P. Viſtor*, de *Urbis regionibus*, that *Antrum Vulcani* was a place in Rome, in the fourth region of the City, but the copies which we now have of *Viſtor*, have in that place not *antrum* but *area Vulcani*; which how it can be made to signify *antrum*, I see not. There is besides in *Viſtor*, in the ninth region, *Aëder Vulcani*, and this peradventure may with a less violent abuse be called *Antrum Vulcani*. Now *Egnatius* thinks that this was a place where Poets did use to recite their poems; indeed the Old Scholiast says so of *Lucus Martii*; but as the Scholiast hath some singular remembrances of less-obvious antiquities, so hath he likewise some uncertainties. For if we view the contexture of the place, we shall find, that he does not here speak of *Lucus Martii*, as of a place wherein poets did read, but as of a vain argument, which they handled. The learned *Parrhasius*, *Epist.* 2. besides all these brings another exposition, saying that by *Lucus Martii*, *Valerius Flaccus* is touch'd, whom, as he says our Poet did emulate, they living at the same time together under the *Vespasians*, whom *Flaccus* flatter'd, and *Juvenal* hated; and therefore flouts at many passages of his *Argonautica*, as *Parrhasius* by a diligent parallel of diverse places shews at large. Which conceit some highly approve, and ſo do I, yet with some abatement from so full an approbation; and that for these reasons. First, I dislike that he assigns as a partial motive of *Juvenal's* anger, *Emulation*: for, which of the learned is so young, as to compare the labours of young *Flaccus*, at the best imperfect and but an imitation of *Apollonius* (though a commendable Essay for a young wit) with the masculine and subact judgement of *Juvenal*, to whom, for the admirable mixture of advanced Passion and equal wit, old Rome from all her monuments cannot easily produce a parallel. The other motive which *Parrhasius* assigns, we ought to believe; that is, the just indignation, which *Juvenal's* zeal conceiv'd against the impotent disingenuitie of *Flaccus*, who for outward respects would flatter a vile Prince. Secondly though *Parrhasius* his conjecture on this place be true, yet it is but an allusive, not an absolute exposition; so that it may be admitted but in a second place. To find out then the true interpretation we will neither travel to *Cokehos* nor stay at Rome, but with a moderate and neighbour journey to *Alba*, and find there the grove where *Rhea* brought forth *Romulus* and *Remus*; which place was called *Lucus Martii*, as *Merula* in his *Commentary* on this place, shews out of *Iustine* and *Plutarch*. To deliver then the absolute and best meaning of our Author, which I would choose; We may understand *Lucus Martii* either Metonymically for the story of *Rhea* done there, or Synecdochically for any grove, according to the sense of that in *Persius*, *Sat.* 1. —*Nec ponere lucum Artifices*— such stories and such

descriptions being the first tria's of slight wits. This interpretation I take to be most natural, as being upon examination true, and not far fetch'd: which conditions I think to be safe rules for all interpretation. After an absolute exposition allusions take place, and so in the next place we may embrace *Parrhasius* his apt conjecture.

5. *Fronto's Plane-trees*. A noble Roman famous for learning and bounty, who used to lend his stately house encompassed with shady trees, to the Poets of his time, wherein they did read their Poems. This is at large describ'd by *Persius* in his first Satyre, and by *Juvenal* in his seventh. Of the delightful shade and spreading branches of the Plane-tree, see *Claudius Aënos* on *Pliny*, lib. 1. *epist.* 3. *Biscola* in his *Hor. Subseciv.* lib. 9. cap. 21. and *Womerus de Umbra*, cap. 26. The imitation of this Roman custome of publique and Voluntary Reading, though not in such a manner of place, hath been heretofore amongst Us; as Mr. *Candem* notes in his Epistle before his *Anglica, Normannica, &c.* For when *Giraldus Cambrensis* was return'd out of Ireland with John, King Henry the second's Son, to whom he was Tutor, he read publicly in Oxford, in the year 1200, his *Topographie of Ireland*.

6. And look what the best wits choose. *Expeſſes eadem a summo minimoque poeta*. Amongst the diverse conjectures which are deliver'd upon this verse, this which I here use seems to me the most consonant to the nature of the place. For the Poet here intending to express first why he writ, secondly why he writ Satyres, gives the reason of the first in this verse; which was because Every one writ, both Good and Bad, say the worst durst writ of the highest arguments, when as our Poet knew himself furnish'd with as much School-learning either in *Grammar* or *Rhetorique*, as many of them: and therefore as he passes from this verse, he marks it with the particle or sign of a reason thus, *Et nos Ergo manum Ferula, &c.* We therefore Now, &c. The reason of the second he makes to be the crimes of Rome, as the text it self clearly shews.

7. From the *Ferula*. The virtuous indignation of the Poet who having in the Schools learn'd the grounds of *Grammar*, and practis'd himself in the *Rhetorique* of a Declamation, would not any longer endure to be an Auditor of others, and as it were suffer the *ferula* again, but would now after his declamation upon *Sylla*, or the like argument, perform'd by him in the Schools, attempt the writing of a Satyre, especially the Ignorant with the confidence of the learned daily publishing the fruits of their wits.

8. We Once to *Sylla* gave. There is an especial *Emphasis* to be put in the Præterperfect tenses *Subduximus* and *Dedimus*, as *Turnebus* acutely observes in his *Advers.* lib. 28. cap. 24. For though our Author had perform'd these younger exercises Heretofore, yet Now, he saith, he will venture upon a more manly task.

9. To spare the cost of paper. Seeing that others spoil paper, he will spoil some too, though (in the modest apprehension of his own worth) he thinks that what he shall write will quickly perish.

10. Yet wherefore in this field. The Field of writing Satyres.

11. In which happy *Aurunca's* worthy Son. *Lucilius* born at *Aurunca* a City of the *Rutilians*, as some say; others would have him only educated there, but born at *Suessa* a City of the *Aurunci*, a Mediterranean City in *Campania*, says *Ptoleme*. *Suessa Pometia*, says *Florus*, was the chief City of the

the Volsci in Campania; which, as *Livy* relates, the *Aurunci* forsaking their own through fear, came in to, and called it *Aurunca*. *Livy*, lib. 32. makes mention of *Suessa Aurunca*. Add what *Ortelius* in his *Theſaurus* says from *Sylburgius*, &c. *Caius Lucilius* (to speak of the man) being about the age of 16. was a souldier under *P. Scipio Africanus Minor* in the *Numantian* war, as *Fr. Douja*, notes on *Lucilius*, p. 98. He was a Roman Knight, and great Uncle to *Pompey the Great*. He was a souldier in Spain, 18. years. At Rome he dwelt in the house that was built for King *Antiochus* his Son, when he was a hostage at Rome. *Lucilius* died at Naples, and had there a public funeral. *Eusebius* says he died in the 46. year of his age: but *Horace* implies, that he was an old man; — *quo fit, ut omnis Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella vita Senis*. He did save diverse of the Roman Nobilitie, and the most famous Poets though dead, as *Euripides*, *Ennius*, *Cæcilius*, *Pacuvius*, *Ætius* and Others: nay, he is sayd to have written his own life, and not to have spared himself. See his *Reliquias*, p. 20. He was of most familiar acquaintance with *Scipio Africanus* and *Latius*.

12. Weds. The wit of Lust! to marry an Eunuch, so to enjoy marriage without Child-bearing.

13. And *Mævia* strikes a Thyscan boar. A familiar but strange impudence of Women (yea Noble ones) in *Domitian's* time, to combat with wild beasts (not upon a stage, but) in the Amphitheater. See *Onuphrius de Ludis Circ.* lib. 2. cap. 1. and *Marcellus Donatus* on *Sueton's Domitian.* cap. 4.

14. His Purple cloak recall. The slipping of his cloak implies the impatient delicacy of *Crispinus* in wearing his cloak loose; it being the custome of the Romans to fasten their *Lacerna* about their neck; as appears by that of *An. Marcellinus*, lib. 14. *Sudant sub ponderibus lacernarum, quas in colli exerta singulis ipsis adnectant*: which place *Marcellus Donatus* upon *Sueton's Augustus*, cap. 40. rightly amends by reading, *for singula, fibula*.

15. His small Summer-rings. The dainty pride of the Romans had great rings for winter and smaller for Summer.

16. One that betrays. *Heliodorus* a Stoick Philosopher greatly favour'd by the Emperor *Domitian*.

17. Whom *Massa* fears. One flatterer flatter'd another if greater than himself.

18. A fair *Thyme*. The receiv'd story and interpretation of this place hath commonly been this; *Latius* and *Thyme* his wife were Mimiques very grateful to the Emperor: but *Latius* being by *Heliodorus* taken in adultery with *Messalina* the wife of *Claudius*, as the manuscript commentary hath it, or the wife of *Nero*, as the *Scholiast*, or the wife of *Domitian*, as one Manuscript hath it in the margin, to prevent accusation and ruin which he feared, sent his wife *Thyme* to winn *Heliodorus* to a silence, either by delighting him with some mimique sports, or, as some would have it, by the prostitution of her self to his desires; for *submissa* bears either of those senses. But *Calderinus* dislikes the last; for, saith he, what beauty could there be in a Mimique to move desire in the great *Heliodorus*? But this may be easily answer'd; for why may we not justly think, that the wife though a Mimique had beauty enough to content a favorite, when as her husband of the same profession had enough to be desired by an Emperer? Hereupon, saith the manuscript Commentator, the matter was conceal'd; yet afterward, as the *Scholiast* tells us, it was known and he was put to death by *Nero*. This narration if it were true, were a sufficient in-

terpretation of the place: but to bring it to a brief examination. That *Latius* and *Thyme* were mimiques greatly favour'd by the Emperor, it is manifest by many testimonies; but that *Thyme* was his wife, *Politian. lib. 7. epist. 33.* eagerly denies: yet herein may be used some moderation; for as there are not any authorities alleadged to prove them married, so neither are there absolutely to denie it. And being that the explication of the place depends not upon any necessity of such relation between them, as it will appear, we may leave it as a point not more uncertain then impertinent. But for the rest of the story it may be thus opposed; first, *Latius* was not put to death by *Nero*, as *Sueton* testifies in his *Domitian*: Secondly, he was guilty of no such crime, but died in the great love of the Emperor; for *Martial* writing his Epitaph, lib. 9. *epig. 29.* expresseth the innocency of his mirth, and the Emperor's love towards him. The Epitaph is made in the person of *Latius* speaking of himself: wherein after that he hath expressed the sports he shew'd in his parts, he adds,

Sed nihil a nostro sumpsit mea vita theatrum,

Et sola tantum Scenicus arte feror.

Non poteram gratus Domino sine moribus esse,

Interius mentes inspicit ille Deus. (In effect this)

The stage did not express my Life, but skill:

I did but Personate, not Practise ill.

I had not else pleas'd my great Lord, that weigh'd With what a mind I liv'd, with what I play'd.

Leaving therefore this opinion too much hither to receiv'd, I most willingly embrace the interpretation of *Turnebus*, who in his *adversar. lib. 20. cap. 8.* gives this exposition; *Latius* and *Thyme* famous mimicks had often on the stage as an adulterer & an adulteress performed their parts: in which personated work the adulterer had either been taken, or at least been suspected by the husband of the adulteress; whereupon she by the instruction of her lover went to her husband with much flattery, like some love, to smooth-up the matter and clear the adulterer, which stage device was generally known in Rome; and the like is imitated in the sixth Satyre in that verse, *Quem toties texit perituri cista Latini*: for this *Latius* had play'd the adulterer, and upon the apprehension of the Husbands comming, was sodainly clapt into a chest. The poet then saith, that as *Latius* upon the stage did send his adulteress to make peace for him, so do many now adays that offend, use the mediation of others to bribe great informers to a silence. Therefore I understand it not by way of story but of allusion; it being false in the person, but in the allusion true: because *Thyme* did not bribe him: but as *Thyme* excused her adulterer to her husband, so some she-intercedents did obtain pardon of great informers for some offenders.

19. When they thee remove. An apostrophe of the Poet, to any true heir disinherited by an adulterer.

20. *Procleius* and *Gillo*. Famous adulterers.

21. At the *Lugdunian* Altar. A contention of Orators was instituted by *Caligula*, as *Sueton* in his Life, cap. 20. relates, at *Lions* in France: where was a famous Altar (mentioned by *Strabo*) and where he that was overcome was to write the praises of his Conquerer, and bestow a reward upon him. If he did extremely displease the Auditory, he wiped out his own lines with a sponge or with his Tongue, unless he chose rather to be punish'd with a *ferula* and (not drown'd, but) ducked over head and ears in the next River; as *Sueton's* learned

ped Interpreter renders it in English.

22. Condemn'd in vain. *Marius Priscus Proconsul of Africa*, for spoiling the Country of great sums of money, was forced, upon the complaint of the *Africans*, to pay a fine to the *Roman Treasury*, and was banish'd *Italy*. Yet reserving the greater part of his former spoils, he lived in a wanton exile; while the distressed *Africans* had the sentence of Law pass'd on their side, but no restitution. The sum, in which he was condemn'd, was, as some tell us 7000 *Sestertii*, herein following *Lubin*, who says, 7000. *nummum*; but the sum it self might shew the error, this being not so many two-pences, and in exact reckoning but 54l. 13s. 9d. but if they had consulted with *Arrianicus*, he would have told them, it was *Septingenta millia*, that is, if deduced to our coin, 3468l. 15s. though this also was but a trifling fine for such an Offender.

23. The eighth hour. The *Romans* greatly differ'd from our times in the division of the day: for we use a Civil day, that is the space of day and night, which we divide into 24. parts, or Equinoctial hours, which are always constantly equal. They used a Natural day, which is the space, from the Sun-rising to the Sun-setting; as *Censorinus* shews, *De Die Natali*, cap. 23. so that their own hours varied according to the season of the year; an hour at Mid-Sommer being a twelfth part of their longest day, and an hour at the deep of Winter, being but a twelfth part of their shortest day. The like was the division of the night. Thus they had only one fix'd hour both of day and night, when the Sun was at the Meridian in either Hemisphere. So that when we would render their hours by ours, we must not make the comparison absolutely, but consider the time of the year. Yet for the aptest and general equation, we may consider the *Roman* hours when they are the same with the Equinoctial, which is when the Sun is in the first points of *Aries* and *Libra*; and then the sixth hour, both *Roman* and Equinoctial, being at 12. of the clock, their eighth hour was at our two of the clock; And so consequently their hours at all seasons of the year, may be easily reduced by allowance or abatement. Now their custom was to allow the first part of the day for business, and at the ninth hour to Sup; according to that of *Martial*, *Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros*. To bath and Sup sooner was accounted Luxury, except on Festival days, for then they might prevent this time; as is implied in that of the eleventh Satyre, — *Quamquam Solida bora superfit Ad Sexum* —. See *Achilles Statius* in his Observations, cap. 9. and *Parrhasius* in his 63. *Epist.* touching some part of this argument, and *Lipsius* in his Excursions on *Tacitus*, *Annal.* 14. de *Conviviis tempestivis*. Concerning the hour of Bathing, read *Biscola*, in his *Hor. Subseciv.* lib. 9. cap. 20. *Alexand. Neapol. Genial. Dier.* lib. 4. cap. 20. and *Tirraquel's* Annotations on him. For the division of the day, according to the Ancients, see *Rader* on *Martial*, lib. 4. *epig.* 7. and the more diligent Expositors of *St. Mark*, cap. 15. *vers.* 25. as also *Beroald.* *Cbron.* lib. 1. cap. 3. and *Aldus* de *Diurnis generibus* & *horis*, by way of Commentary upon *Palladius de Re Rustica*. Concerning the Number and Distinction of the *Roman* Meals, or times of repast, as *Jentatio*, *Prandiculus*, *Prandium*, *Merenda*, *Cena*, *Vesperna*, & *Commissatio*, there is diversity of opinions. *Servius* denies *Prandium* to have been in use amongst the Ancients: but *Philip Beroald.* in his Annotations on *Servius*, does abundantly prove this to be an error; as likewise *Stuckius* in his *Antiquitas Convivial.* lib. 1. cap. 11. to which

we may adde that of our own Poet, *Sat.* 13. *Prandebat sibi quisque Deus* —. See also *Martilius Cognatus* in his *Var. Observation.* lib. 1. cap. 17. Some have held, that the *Romans* did use to eat but once in a day: but this likewise is refuted by *Muret.* in his *Var. Lellion.* lib. 4. cap. 12. The truth of their custom was this; There were in all Five times of repast in a day: which before we reckon and parallel with ours, one difference is to be observed concerning *Prandium* and *Merenda*. *Prandium* is by *Festus* made the same with *Merenda*; but *Nonius* distinguishes them, making *Merenda* to be in the Afternoon: which controverfie between these two, *Aldus Manutius de Quasiis per Epistol.* lib. 1. *Epist.* 4. endeavours to compose, saying that *Merenda* (a word in use before *Prandium*, and derived a *meridie*, the time of the day wherein it was) did at the first signifie that, which was afterwards called *Prandium*; which thus came to pass. The *Romans* at the first, called their repast at Noon, *Merenda*; and used to fast from that time till Supper: but afterwards Luxury encreasing amongst them, they thought it too much to fast so long, and therefore made another meal between; then calling that meal *Prandium*, which before was called *Merenda*, and bestowing this name *Merenda* on the new repast, which their delicacy invented. Yet *Andreas Baccius*, de *Conviviis Antiquorum*, lib. 4. hath a conceit, though he denies not the former Etymologie of *Merenda*; thinking that it may be equally called so a *Merendo*, and so that it properly signified the repast of Labourers; which for conceit we may commend, whiles we approve *Manutius* his Opinion for Truth. This doubt then being removed, the times of their repast were these; First, their *Jentaculum* (which was the same with *Prandiculus*) answered to our Break-fast. Their second, *Prandium*, in an ordinary acceptation, answered to our Dinner; but in an accurate, it agreed neither in time nor quantity of food; theirs being about Noon, or our twelve of the clock, and but a light repast. Their third, *Merenda*, bears apt proportion to our After-noon Bever, or drinking. Their fourth, *Cena*, (called also *Vesperna*) answered to our Supper. Their fifth, *Commissatio*, was a Drinking about two or three hours after Supper. All these were used by the luxurious; but the temperate were content with few. Break-fasts were scarce used by any but Children: Dinners likewise were made a full meal only by Them, as too tender to endure hunger, and by Labourers, in whom the repair of strength makes food more necessary. The better sort, if they dined at all, did it but slightly. The *Merenda* was required by the merit of Labourers, and the tenderness of Children. Their *Cena* was the only meal which the better sort usually made; and unto This were their most respected Invitations. Their *Commissatio* was by the Riotous often abused: but the learned made it the occasion of enjoying each others virtue and learning by discourse. This light diet amongst the *Romans* may be understood to have been caused by the heat of their Climate; whiles by experience we see that they which dwell far Northward, when they come into the heat of Southerne Countries, have an abatement of appetite.

23. Whiles the Law takes care. Adulterers used to bequeath their whole Estates to their Adulteresses: which enormity *Domitian* endeavour'd to prevent by a Law, by which he made all such infamous Women incapable of Legacies; who did notwithstanding delude the Law, by making their own Husbands Pandars to their Lust, and so causing

the Legacies to be given to Them.

25. For He. Even in his Youth, like another *Automedon*, *Achilles* his Chariotier.

26. The rains did guide. It was a humour in the Roman dames to fall in love with such Gallants, as could drive a Chariot bravely: and therefore your young Nobles did use to shew themselves in the pride of their Art, to their admiring Mistresses. Which vanity is partly taxed in the eighth Satyre, in that verse on *Damasippus*, *Ipse rotam stringit multo sufflamine Consul*, *Noſte quidem*—, and in that other, —*Clara Damasippus Luce flagellum sumet*—.

27. His Warlike Mistress. *Britannicus* in this place by *Lacernata amica*, understands *Nero's Sporn*, being the rather induced to believe thus, as we may conceive, because by *Lacerna*, we may Metonymically understand the Sex, (it being the Man's Garment) and, by *amica*, vilely understood, the abuse of the Sex. But by the precedent Annotation (which is the Exposition of *Turnebus*, *Advers. lib. 28. cap. 24.*) it is manifest, that in this place is taxed the humor of Women. Here therefore he speaks of a Woman; so that *amica* expresses the Sex, and *lacerna* an abuse or impropriety, it being properly the Souldiers Garment; and therefore, as *Isidore* tells us, *Lacernatus* was used absolutely for *Miles*, as *Togatus* for *Urbanus*: which the Scholiast well understood; and therefore on this place sets this note, *Satyrice, habitu virili ſæminam describit*. So that according to the natural meaning of this place, he calls a Woman thus stoutly affected with the hurrying of Chariots, a Warlike Mistress. To have follow'd the letter, I should have rendred it, *His Cloak'd Mistress*, or his Mistress using the Souldiers Cloak: but because it is spoken by a metonymie of the Adjunct, which more agrees with the sense, I chose rather to render it by the aptness, then the severe propriety of the word.

28. Large Table-books. Tables of wood covered with wax, on which they writ with an Instrument of Iron or Brass; and therefore they were called *Pugillares*, à *pungendo*, as *Aldus Mannius* observes, *De quaſitiis per Epist. lib. 2. Epist. 1.* Of these Tables, see *Lud. Carrio. Emendations, lib. 2. cap. 6.* *Meurſius* upon *Lycophron*: p. 340. *Viſtorius* his *Varior. Leſſion. lib. 16. cap. 5.* and *Laurentius Pignorius de Servis*, pag. 116. & 117. In the first of which he says, *Pugillarium forma fuit oblonga & quadrata, eminenti quadam margine circumſcripta conſuſa, ut vidimus Roma in veteri arca ſepulchrali in hortis Cyriaci Mathei.* Which I note, because *Georgius Longus, de Annulis Signatorii*, cap. 8. describes them to have been of a triangular form. In the last cited page of *Pignorius*, is expressed the form of the Roman Graphium, or Stylus, which was sharp at the one end to write with, and flat at the other to smooth out what they had written. It was commonly carried in a little case, called *Graphiarius*, as *Philip Beroald* notes in his Commentary upon *Sueton*, lib. 1. cap. 82. and *Pignori*, pag. 119. And because it was too apt and dangerous to stab with, and too frequently abused in that practise, it was sometime at Rome publickly prohibited to be worn, if made of Iron; such only being permitted as were made of bone, as *Cassaubon* notes on the forced place of *Sueton*. Before the invention of paper, they did use to write on *Palme leaves*, (as some tell us; yet see *Sat. 8. Illustrat. 9.*) on the barks also of trees, (strictly, the inward rind of them) as also on lead, on linnen, and on waxen tables: which last remain'd in use after the invention of Paper and Ink, being portable and convenient. See *Aldus Mannius, de Quaſitiis per Epistol. lib. 2.*

Epist. 1. and Cornelius Wuellius in his Annot. in Georg. Merulam, cap. 3.

29. *Locusta*. A notorious wretch of this name there was in the time of *Nero*; whom she help'd by her execrable experience in poisons, to dispatch *Britannicus*. See *Sueton's Nero, cap. 33.*

30. The narrow *Gyarus*. A place in the *Ægean Sea*, of most uncomfortable banishment.

31. The Goat too. The Images on the sides or foot of their stately boulds. One Manuscript (not to omit the mirth) would teach us, that *Caper* here mentioned was a Philosopher; and so tell us, that by *stantem extra pœala*, we must understand, that he was a Sober one!

32. Adulterous Boyes. An elegant contradiction, *prætextatus adulter*; for as *Pompeius* tells us in his *Fragments*, some used *prætextatum* for *judicium*. And yet it was sometime used in a contrary sense, for *obscœnum*, as in that place of *Agellius, lib. 9. c. 10.* *Non prætextatus sed puris honestisque verbis*; and in that of *Juvenal Sat. 2.* verse the last, —*Prætextatus referunt Artaxata mores*. See *Meurſius in his Exercit. Critic. Part. 1. ad Planti Capteivos cap. 1.*

33. A hundred Sesterces. The Romans amongst their Coins had two, which almost agreed in Name, but in valew greatly differ'd; *Sestertium* and *Sestertius*, the first containing a thousand of the latter. In this place the first is meant, as it is manifest by the words *Sestertia centum*. The valew of them is to be reduced to our coins by this account; The *Denarius* or Roman penny is by the most judicious, and particularly by the last and accurate Translators of our English Bible in the Marginal notes upon *Matthew 18. 28.* and the *20. 2.* and *22. 19.* valew'd at 7d. ob. which *Denarius* according to the Roman writers, contained 4 *Sestertii*; so that *Sestertius* is 1d. ob. 9a. q. which being multiplied by a thousand, arises to 7l. 16s. 3. which was the value of a *Sestertium*; which being again multiplied by a hundred, arises to 781l. 5s. which is the summe, which our gamester here looses. And whiles we are now reducing this coine, let us again multiply these hundred *Sestertia*, that is these 781l. 5s. by 4. and they will amount to 3124l. or *quadringenta sestertia*, which was the value of a Roman Knights yearly Revenue. Our English yields not diversitie of termination to expresse the difference between *Sestertium* and *Sestertius*; therefore rendering it *Sestercer*, it was necessary to point out, and clear the ambiguity. Concerning the *Denarius* I may farther note, that *Gabriel Simeoni* (an Italian Antiquary, in his *Illustratione de al' Epitaffi Anrichi*) tells us, that the Head (expressed in it) arm'd signifies *Rome*; the Wings its Diligence; the Vessel (us'd in Sacrifice) their reverence in Religion; X. the Value *Denarius*, implying thus, that by *Armes*, Diligence, and Religion, *Rome* got the Empire of the World.

34. So many brave Piles. Summer-houses in the Country for pleasure.

35. Who alone. Three things are here reprehended, as being against the Roman custome. The first, that now they supped Alone; which, if we weigh the etymologie of the word *cœna*, implies a Satyrical contradiction; it being so called, because it was common. For it was the manner of the Romans (though they might lightly Dine alone) to Sup with their Friends. The second thing was, that now they supped privately, whereas before they used to Sup in the Porches of their houses; which Porches (or Halls, for so *atria* are sometimes rendred) were covered over head, and built fair and large, wherein they did keep the Statues of their Ancesters



Ancesters, and used to make fire; for which cause *Servius* derives *atrium*, *ab atore*. See *Claud. Minor*, on *Pliny*, lib. 2. *Epist.* 17. and this expounds that in the 8th Satyre, vers. 8. *Fumosa equitum cum distatore magistros*, in which he calls the Statues smoaky, because they stood in their Porches, where they made fire. Of the Romans supping with their doors open, that the peoples eye might be a witness of their temperate diet, see *Marcellus Donatus* on *Sueton's Augustus*, cap. 35. A third thing here reprehended, was the number of their dishes; for so with *Britannicus* by *fercula* we understand *patinas*, according to that of *Horace*, lib. 2. *Satyr.* 6. *Multaq; de magna superessent ferula cœna*. The temperance of former times was far from the riot here mentioned by our Poet; see *Cusanon* and *Torrentius* on *Sueton's Augustus*, cap. 74. where it is noted of that Emperour, that he had but commonly three dishes, and when more plentifully, not above six. Our Poet in his 11th Satyre, where he invites *Perseus* to Supper, and names to him what he should expect, reckons up but two dishes of meat, Kidde and Hen, and some Fruit. The Romans indeed when they feasted, had sometimes strange varietie; and with more state and solemnitie divided the Feast into three parts or courses; of which see *Sat.* 5. *Illustrat.* 3.

36. A Basket-dool. It was at first the custome of the Romans, after their Clients had graced them with their attendance, to have them home with them, and give them a good Supper, which was called *cœna testis*, that is *legitimum convivium*, or a just and full meal. But afterward they changed their bounty into a lighter and cheaper doal, which one distributed to them at the outward threshold, and commonly they received it in a little Basket; and therefore the Grecians called it *δάρσις ἀσπιδίου*, the Latines *Sportula* from *Spartum* (as some think) which signifies a kind of Broom, of which the Basket was made; and so by a Metonymie from the matter, it was called by that name; see *Sat.* 3. *Illustrat.* 30. They gave also sometimes, instead of *cœna testis*, *centum quadrantes*, vvhich in a round account vve call a hundred farthings; though in an exacter reckoning they were much lesse, then a hundred of our farthings, vvhich make two shillings and a penny. To reduce then these *centum quadrantes* to our coine; vve may take notice, that the *Denarius* or penny valewing 7d.ob. contained ten Roman Asses, each of these by consequence valewing ob. 4a. As likewise contained three *trientes*, each being a farthing; but 4 *quadrantes*: so that *quadrans* is as much with us as q. c. vvhich *quadrans* or q. c. being multiplied by a hundred arises to eighteen pence half-penny farthing, vvhich is the summe that vvas given them instead of their *cœna testis*. The vvorde *Sportula* in after times came to have other significacions; for in the civil Law there vvere *Sportulae Judiciales*, vvhich vvere the Fees for Counsellors at the Law; and by the Grecians called *τὸ δίκαιον*. There vvere also *Sportula sponsoria*, called by the Grecians *τὰ ἀγορεύματα*, vvhich vvere payns for assurance. For when two vvere about to go to Law, before the Plaintiff put in his Declaration, or the Defendant his Answer, they laid down a summe of money by vway of Caution or Surety, vvhich he that was cast in the Suit vvas to loose. It did also in the Primitive Church signifie the Ministers maintenance.

37. A Libertine. A Libertine is one that is manumitted from servitude. Of the exact acceptions of *Libertinus* and *Libertus*; see *Aldus Manutius de Quæstis per Epist.* lib. 1. *epist.* 7. and *Josephus Castalis*, in his *Var. Lect.* cap. 13.

38. The dainty Windows. The Eastern People were commonly of servile condition; yet by the common vanity of their country they much delighted to were pendants in their ears, and for that purpose did use to make holes in them.

39. Four hundred Sesterces. A Roman Knights just wealth, or yearly revenue according to the Law. Yet note by the way that a Roman Knights estate was once raised to 500. *Sestertia*, as it may be collected from *Sueton's Julius*, cap. 39. by those words, *Lucius Decius Laberius eques Romanus minimum suum egi, quingentis sestertius et annulo*, &c. though afterwards it was reduced by *Tiberius* to the former custome. See *Stadius*, in his *Nov. Antiq. Lætion. epist.* 33. p. 154. Yet we may observe the fault of the copie which *Muller* used, the name of *Laberius* being not *Decius* but *Decimus*, as it is corrected in the best editions published by the latest Critics.

40. *Pallas* and the *Licini*. Fellows that were raised from servile estate to exceeding great wealth; *Pallas* being accounted richer then *Craesus*, as *Capellus* in his *Miscellanies*, cap. 11. proves out of *Tacitus*.

41. With his chalked feet. Slaves that were brought from other countries, when they were exposed to sale, were wont to be marked on their feet with chalk; as *Brissinus* (to omit others) observes, lib. 6. *de Formulâ*.

42. Temple none thou hast. Money was adored as a Deity, though it had not a temple, as the other Gods and Goddesses had; yet some (as *Fulbeck* in his learned *Pandectis* of the Law of Nations and before him *Cælius secundus Curius*) think our Poet deceived when he writ this; and urge for the contrary, *St. August.* lib. 4. *De Civitat.* cap. 21. *Arnobius* indeed seems likewise to imply as much, lib. 3. saying, *Quis ad extremum Deum pecuniam esse credat, quam velis maximum nomen vestra indicant Littera?* vvhich implies, I grant; that money had a Temple; yet it being under the name of the God *Æs*, or *Æsculapius*, it shewes not the structure to have been of stone or continuance enough to convince *Juvenal* here, of much mistake, or of any, for his own Times.

43. Whose old Temple. On the top of the Temple of *Concord* were many storks nests; into vvhich when the storks flew-up they made a noise vvhith their beaks, vvhich noise of the stork is noted also by *Ovid* in his *Metamorph.* saying, *Isa sibi plaudas crepitante ciconia rostro*. Some more intimately tell us that the Goddess *Concord* was vvorshipped sub imagine *Ciconie*; but the *Scholiast* understands it more plainly of the stork and her nest, saying, *Satyrice, salutato nido, non templo. Templum Concordia vetus, in quo ciconia multa est.*

44. A litter closed. The reason, vvhich caused the servant to take a careful view of those that came to receive the *Sportula*, was because it was given only to such as in the nature of clients (as they called them) honoured their Lord vvhith their attendance. In vvhich passage though I render according to *Britannicus*, *Sella* (as if like the *Leviticæ*) a Litter (our language not so exactly expressing the difference) yet they differ in this, that *Sella* was properly to sit in, and *Leviticæ*, to ly in; partly such difference vve may see betwix our *Litters* and *Couches*, or our late *Sedans*.

45. Gains from the Arabian custome. Some read here *Ἀραβίαι*; some *Ἀραβίαι*; others *Arabachæ*; their interpretations and proofs are these. *Turnebus* in his *Advers.* lib. 27. cap. 25. inclining to the first Reading, *Ἀραβίαι*, confirms it from a Greek Epigramme

Epigramme and the Authority of *Josephus*, yet thinks it to be the same with *Arabarches*; and that the softening of the R into an L might peradventure arise from the nature of the *Alexandrian* Idiom; and that, because the *Jews* were near the *Arabians*, the *Egyptians* called them *Alabians*. So he would have it signify the magistrate of *Alexandria*, who was prefect over the *Jewes*, which dwelt there; and almost half the Inhabitants were *Jews*, as *Philo* witnesses. Others read after the same manner, *Alabarches*, but in a different sense: for they would have it come from *αλαβη*, ink; and that thus here is meant *magister Scripturae*, a Customer, which kept a Reckoning book of revenues which he farmed. And this opinion, though not in Reading, yet in sense, will prove good. Others supposing the Copie false, propose another sense, reading *αλαβις*, and so make it to signify the Prefect of the salt. Indeed *Laxius* in his *Commentaries*, de *Repub. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 13.* shews the Offices of *Halasarches* and *Alabarches* to have been distinct employments: but being here impertinent, the Manuscripts having generally *Arabarches*, this I retain; there being also as just a libertie for the composition of this word, as for *Lyciarches*, or *Syriarches*, or *Erbarches*, which are usual. Some would have it to signify one extremely effeminate; as *Bapista Fins*, in his *Annot. Poster. cap. 93.* labours to prove, blushing *Tully* in an epistle to *Atticus*, where he calls *Antonie* by way of disgrace, *Arabarches*; to express, says *Pius*, his extream luxury; the *Arabians* being exceeding luxurious, and *Arabarches*, according to the force of the word, being the chief amongst them, and so one most notorious amongst others very notorious. But this is but opinion and an imagin'd signification of the word. *Tully* indeed does by that word disgrace *Antonie*, yet not by that express his riot, but his base oppression, to which his riot, while he was in those parts, did drive him. For he being a Noble Roman, did notwithstanding to maintain his luxury, as it were perform the office of the *Arabarches*, or *Egyptian* Publican, which was too vile a practice for his Nobilitie. To express then the nature of the office and the reason of the name, it may be observed, that in the Provinces subject to the Romans there were Officers, which received the custome and paid it to the Roman treasury; and that particularly in *Egypt* there was a great custome paid for the cattle, which were yearly brought into that country from *Arabia*; and that this Customer for this respect was properly called *Arabarches*; as may be collected from *Rhodigin. Lexion. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 35.* Consent of Copies having it thus, it is not lighty to be rejected. The Office then of a Publican and Customer, though at the first it was of good credit, yet as at the first it had the Occasion, so at the last the Opinion of Baseness. See *Waserus de antiquis numis Hebraeorum, lib. 1. cap. 18.* But now it is to be enquired, who is to be understood by this *Arabarches*. The common opinion hitherto has been, that *Crispinus* was the man; but *Ptolemæus Flavius* (in his *conjectan. cap. 49.*) seems to have observed, (for he positively affirms) that He had not a statue: and he being cut-out, he says, that the man here understood is *Josephus* the Jew, who for his worth, says he, had a statue erected to him, which, as he adds, our Poet took in great indignation, and therefore satyrically describes him saying, that he knew not whether he were a base *Egyptian*, or an effeminate *Arabian*, meaning by an exclusive scorn, a third thing as vile, a Jew. But against this witty

opinion we may suppose these reasons; First, the ingenuity of our Poet: for although *Josephus* was a Jew and so by country odious, yet being eminent for learning and wisdom, our Author probably would be far from jeering at such worth. Secondly, *Josephus* never had the office of the *Arabarches*. Thirdly, this interpretation cannot stand without a manifest corruption of the text: for then it should be read with the particle of division, *Egyptius aut Arabarches*; which is false, as, in the reason following, it appears. Fourthly the Poet does not say, he knows not whether he were an *Egyptian* or an *Arabian*; but not what *Egyptian*, or an uncertain one, the text being not *An Egyptius*, but *Quis*. The person then here understood was one *Tiberius Alexander* by birth an *Egyptian*, who for embracing at that time the religion of the Romans, was highly honour'd and made Prefect of *Egypt*, as *Tacitus* affirms in his *Hist. lib. 1.* and was afterwards a prime agent to help *Vespasian* to the Empire, as *Tacitus* shews, *Hist. lib. 2.* and he had a statue, as *Bisciola* observes in his *Hor. subseciv. lib. 14. cap. 22.* So that by this double mark *Egyptius atque Arabarches* (for that is true reading, *atque* not *aut*, according to the Manuscripts which I use) our Poet satyrically points him out. Where this caution may be taken by the way; that seeing that *Tiberius Alexander* was the *Arabarches*, it is not without a slip expounded by some by *Arabia Prefectum*: for at what time *Tiberius Alexander* had this prefecture of *Egypt*, there was no Prefect of *Arabia*: *Arabia* being not conquer'd to the quiet obedience of the Roman Empire till *Trajan's* time (as it is manifest by *Laxius de Rep. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 4.* and by *Lipsius de Magnitudine Romanâ, lib. 1. cap. 3.*) when as *Tiberius Alexander* had this prefecture of *Egypt* long before under the Empire of *Galba*. Wherefore he was called *Arabarches* not from any residence in *Arabia*, or a dominion over it; but only from Collecting the custome, which was yearly paid for the cattle, which were brought from *Arabia* into *Egypt*.

46. Who car'd for *Mutius's* Pardon? some give as a reason of *Lucilius* his boldness the Poverty of *Mutius*; but this is probably an untruth, *Mutius* being a Noble Roman, as may clearly appear from *Lubin, on Persius, Sat. 1.* and this sense being beside the intent of the Poet, who raises the cause not from the difference of Persons, but of Times; Satyrists in former times usurping a tyrannical licence over any man's fame, were he never so great, liable to reprehension. Besides the Poet here signifies, that it is ever secure enough to write against such when they be dead, but not whiles they yet live.

47. In that dire taper shine. The story to which this place alludes is this. It was an usual cruelty practised by the Romans against the *Christians*, to put upon them a shirt anointed on the inside with matter apt to take fire (called by our Poet, *Sat. 8. Tunica molesta*) and then tying them to a stake, to make them serve for Lights by night. See *Mensius* his *Exerc. Critic. part. 2. lib. 3. cap. 4.* *Schol. Observat. lib. 5. cap. 4.* *Turnebus*, in his *Advers. lib. 13. cap. 9.* and *Lipsius* on *Tacitus, Annal. 15.* Thus the story of this place seems easy enough: but the construction is very perverse and almost incorrigible; *Pithæus* professing, that there is no place in all *Juvenal*, which he less Grammatically understands, and, as the text hath been hitherto, we may think so too. The common Reading is — *ada lucebis in illa, Qua stantes ardent qui fixo guttere fumant. Et lapum mediâ sulcum deducit arenâ, in which* there

there is an inconvenient perturbation of Numbers, in the words *fumans* and *deducit*. Wherefore *Lipsius* in his *Commentar*. on *Seneca de Ira*, lib. 3. cap. 3. ventures upon a conjectural emendation (for he mentions no *Manuscript* for the proof of it) and reads it thus, *Et latus mediam sulcus diducit arenam*; by which, I grant, he makes it Grammatical, and according to that Exposition I may render it thus, And where an ample furrow parts the sand.

Making a pit, wherein their feet may stand; so that *sulcus* shall be the furrow, pit or hollow place, which as *Lipsius* thinks, they made for the feet of the condemn'd person, that so the fire might be kept in the closter to him. For this pit being made somewhat large and descending towards the middle, (as we see in the form of a bison) when the fire sunk, it fell towards him and increased the flame. The *Scholiast* also implies this conceit, attributing it to the thrift of the executioner, who thus would burn the body with less fuel. *Scaliger* also *Le Emendat*, lib. 5. p. 471. corrects this verse as *Lipsius* does, but expounds it somewhat differently concerning *latus sulcus*; saying, *stantibus ad palum destinatis unco* (ne notatione capitis picem cadentem declinarent) *guttur suffixo è lamina ardente* (*νεκρῶντα vocat Imper. M. Aurelius*) *pix aut unguen in caput liquifibat, ita ut rivi pinguedinis humana per arenam Amphitheatrū sulcum facerent*. According to which exposition it may be thus rendred, And where an ample furrow, as they stand, Made with their melting fat, divides the Sand. Yet this being without the warrant of copie, and so but conjecture here, though otherwise probably truth, I rather approve of the apt conceit of *Prolemaus Flavius* in his *Conjess*. cap. 48. who retaining the ancient Reading, thinks here is only a dislocation or transposition of this troublesome verse; and that it should be plac'd two verses lower, reading the place thus, *Qui dedit ergo tribus patris aconita, vebatur Penfili-bus plumis, atque illinc despicias nos, Et latus media sulcum deducit arenā*? And this order of these verses I keep in my translation. The sense is as this verse is here plac'd, that *Tigellinus* his train of followers made a large lane through the people. The like is spoken of *Marius* in the first part of this *Satyre*.

48. Make a large furrow. *Et latus media sulcum deducit arena*; *Pithæus* out of one manuscript reads *diducit arena*, and so some placing this verse two verses higher, expound the whole place thus; I speak against *Tigellinus* and thou shalt be burnt alive, and thus thou dost but speak in vain, thou dost but plow the shoar. But none of the manuscripts, which I use, having this Reading, I rather like *Flavius* his conjecture as ascending neerer to the advanc'd passion of a *Satyr*ist; it seeming also somewhat a ridiculous fall, after he has said, *Thou shalt be burnt alive*, to add, and shalt loose thy labour.

49. 'Tis slander, if but the words, *That's he*, slip. *Jubin* reads this place thus, *Accusator erit qui verbum dixerit, Hic est*; but I know not what copie he follows; those which I use, have *Accusator erit qui verbum dixerit, Hic est*, which some expound thus, He shall not want an accuser, whosoever he be, that points with the finger and says, This is that vile *Tigelline*. But this is harsh; for it being clear that *accusator* and *qui* express the same person, the exposition in the margins of the manuscripts, which I here use, is to be prefer'd; which is, that *accusator* is here to be taken in the worst sense, as opposite to *veridicus*. According to which the sense

here is, that he which shall speak against *Tigelline*, though most truly, shall yet be esteemed but as a false accuser or slanderer.

50. Weigh all then right. The common copies have this place thus, — *tecum prius ergo voluta Hac animo, ante tubas, galeatum ferro duelli Paniter*. — and some read — *voluta hac, anime, ante tubas*; but some manuscripts (though without any material diversity of the sense) have this elegant variety of reading, — *tecum prius ergo voluta Has; animante tuba galeatum ferro duelli Paniter*. —

51. Whose ashes lie. Concerning the original of this custome of the Romans to burn the bodies of the dead, see *Hieronymus Magnus* in his *Discellans*. lib. 3. cap. 10. disputing against *Pliny*. *Quintilian* (*Declam*. 10.) gives the reason of this custome; which was from an opinion of the Romans, that the soul was first to be purged in fire, before it could ascend unto the stars. Yet this use was not general among the Ancients; for the Persians did not burn their bodies, as *Herodotus* testifies, lib. 2. giving the reason for it, *Πιστοι γὰρ θεῶν νομίζοντες ἀνὰ τὸ πῦρ, &c.* because they held the fire to be a God, and so thought it abominable for a God to feed upon the carcass of a man. Our poet also seems to attribute somewhat to the fire, in his 19. *Satyre*; where telling the tale of the fellow, that was torn in pieces and eaten raw at the feast and quarrel in Egypt, he does vvitilly rejoice that the Fire was not prophan'd in boiling or roasting any of him — *Hinc gaudere libet quod non violaverit ignem, Quam summa coli raptum de parte Prometheus Donavit terris. Elemento gratulor*. Yet that they esteem'd it not as a God, it is plain enough by that in the third *Satyre*, verse 224. *Tum geminus casus urbis, tunc Odimus ignem*; so apply vvhich *vorā* (*Odimus*) to a Deity had been a boldness more than *Satyr*icall. The Egyptians likewise did not burn their bodies, as *Herodotus* witnesses in the same place; and he gives the reason, because they thought fire a devouring beast, and it was not their custome to cast the bodies of men to beasts. So *Cyrus* in *Xenophon* from the custome of the Persians, giving order at his death, that they should not put his body in gold or silver or the like, concludes, *ἀλλὰ τῷ γῆς οὐρανῷ ἐκδίδω*, but that they should vwith all speed commit it to the earth. Besides, the Romans themselves did not burn the bodies of Traytors, or of Tyrants, or of such as killed their masters or themselves, holding it profane. See *Jacobus Durantius Casellius* in his *Variarum* lib. 2. cap. 3. Neither did they burn the bodies of infants, which died before they were 40. days old, or, as some say, before the seventh. See *Satyre* 15. *Allyfrat*. 12. And therefore the sepulchers in which infants were buried, were not called *Busta*, their bodies being not burnt; but *suggrundaria*, from *suggero*, as some derive it, an infant, as they say, being carried into a subterraneous place, or, as others, from *suggeritor*, which is as much as *labenter gradior*, the place where infants were buried not rising to any apparent height; for which respect they were not called *tumuli*. *Plutarch* in his consolatory epistle to his wife gives the reason of this custome, which was because that infants dying so young were thought to need no purging, as having never been infected with the world. Our Poet expresses this custome in his 15. *Satyre*, in those words, — *vel terra clauditur infans, Et minor igne rogi*. — See *Maur*sius upon *Lycoph*. p. 114. *Philip Beroalds* *Annotati*ons upon *Martial*, and *Heraldus* his *Animadv*ers. on *Jamblicus*, cap. 8.

32. *Flaminian* and *Latine* ways. The ancient Fathers in the first times did use to bury in Caves; so Abraham buried Sarah in a cave, *Gen.* 23. and this we may see also in the latter times of the Jews, as from that place of *St. John*, *cap.* 11. *vers.* 38. where speaking of our Saviour coming to *Lazarus* his grave, he says, *in d. arimarus*, &c. It was a cave and a stone lay upon it. Their use of burying without the City may be aptly collected from *St. Math.* *cap.* 27. *vers.* 53. where speaking of those that rose after the resurrection of our Saviour, it is said, *ἐν τῷ ὀρει*, *ἐν τῷ ὀρει*, they went into the holy City. *Saul* was buried under an Oak in *Job.* 1 *Chron.* 10. 12. which in the first of *Samuel*, *cap.* 31. 13. is only in general called a Tree; as our English Translators have it: but *St. Hierome* and *Tremellius* render it by *Nemus*, a Grove; which may very well stand both with the word and sense, the word in the Original being *ἕρως*, which according to the Masters in the language (*Page*, *Maynas*, and *Schindler*) signifies *nemus*, the word as some derive it, coming from *ἥρως* which signifies to be *quiet*, and so may aptly agree to a grove, a place of retirement: and so our latest Translators render the word, in *Gen.* 21. *vers.* 33. shewing only in the margin, that it signifies a tree. The varieties are easily reconciled, if we suppose it to have been under an Oak at the grove of *Jabesh*; and so some conveniently render it an Oak-grove. The Septuagint less accurately say, *ἐν τῷ ὀρει*. Our Saviour was buried in a Garden, which was in the place where he suffer'd, *John*, 19. 41. which place was mount *Calvary*, called by the Jews in the Syrian Tongue (which at that time they used) *Gethsemani*, as *Tremellius* notes; in the Greek it is *γέθηση*, *vers.* 17. which was the common place of execution for the City of *Jerusalem*, and without the City, at the North-west part thereof. See *Adrichomius* his description of *Jerusalem*, *Numb.* 235. and also *Numb.* 204. in the explication of *Vallis Josaphat*, *Memius* (upon *Lycophon*, p. 289. and in his *Spitilog.* p. 60.) observes an Order of the Ancients to bury their Famous men at the foot of a Hill: The superstitious *Dares Phrygius* (*de Excidio Troje*) writes, that *Priamus* buried *Hector*, according to the custom, before the Gates of *Troy*. The Romans at the first did use to bury in their private houses; as *Heraldus* notes in his *Adversus*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. and *Memius* in his *Exerc. Crit.* *part.* 2. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 20. and hence came the worshipping of their domestick Lovers, as *Servius* notes on the 6. of the *Æneid*. A Sepulcher in is diverse Authors called by diverse names, as *Requitorium*, *Locus*, *Ossuarium*, *Cinerarium*, *Locus communis* (as *Memius* notes in his last-cited place) and *Sedes* (as *Petrus Burgius* observes, in *Eleph.* *lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.) likewise *Domus aterna* (as *Mr. Cambden* notes, in *Glamorgan*

shire) or *domus aterna* (as in two Inscriptions in *Quarav. Rossi* his *Memorie Eresiane*, pag. 277. and 297.) To bury among the Romans in the City, was forbidden by a Law. *HOMINEM. MORTUUM. EN. DO. URBE. NEI. SEPELITO. NEI. VE. URITO.* For they held the burial prophane, in not distinguishing the place of the Living and the Dead; besides, they held the burning dangerous to the City. See *Antonius Augustinus de Leg.* 12. *Tab.* *cap.* 44. and *Fulvius Ursinus* his Notes on that Law. See also *Marcellus Donatus* upon *Sueton's Tiberius*, *cap.* 1. who cites out of *Dion a Roman Edict*, whereby it was prohibited to burn the bodies of the Dead within two miles of the City. Thus then the Roman custom was to bury without the City; yet were there distinct places for the Nobles and the People. The common sort were buried at *Piscula*, a place so called from the little Pits or Graves, in which their bones were buried. But the Rich had stately Monuments on the sides of the publick ways in their own suburban fields; and therefore, as *Burgius* (in the fore-cited place) well observes, our Satyrists by these intimated in this verse, *Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina*, understands the Great Ones. There are even yet to be seen in the *Flaminian* way the vast ruins of Sepulchers, as *Marlianus* reports in his *Topographie of Rome*, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 13. and such monuments were erected by the sides of the fields, unless the places were barren and stony; for then they were raised in the midst of the field; as *Memius* shews in his last-cited place. Upon such monuments was inscribed, how many feet of ground about them was consecrated; as is commonly still to be seen throughout *Italy*; as *Vilhorius* relates, *lib.* 14. *Var. Lib.* *cap.* 21. Among the *Lacedæmonians* it was lawful to bury in the City, that so they might continually remember the famous deeds of Worthy men; and to bury near their Temples (much like our custom now in these times) that so the Sepulchers might be the more secure from violation, as *Cragius de Repub. Lacedæm.* *lib.* 3. p. 110. and 111. delivers the observation and the reason. *Heraldus* also in the fore-cited place observes, that in some Cities of *Greece* they did for honour bury some in the midst of the City, near their Forum. And in latter times the use of burying in the City was admitted among the Romans; see *Burgius* in the fore-cited place, and *Plutarch*, *problem.* 79. who says, that it was permitted to such as had Triumph'd. *Eutropius de Gest. Roman.* tells us, that it was granted unto *Trajan*; and *Rhodigine*, *lib.* 17. *cap.* 20. observes, that it was also permitted to the *Vestal* virgins. Lastly, Burial was admitted in the Temples themselves, as *Heraldus*, in the place before-alleadged, shews out of *Arnobius*, *lib.* 7. *Adversus Gentes*,

SATYRE

SATYRE. II.

ARGUMENT.

Our Poet with a peircing sight
Looks through the Rev'rend Hypocrite:
Whom here he venter to unmaske;
(He venter on a mighty taske!)
The Stoick, Judge and Priest are first,
The Stoick, Judge and Priest are worst.
The Emp'rour then scapes not his quill;
Not any Greatness that dares ill,
Nor thinks he it enough to show
Their Crimes, but whence their Crimes do flow,
Atheisme therefore he does touch,
And vile Commerce: These make them such,

Beyond the Tartars [1] and the frozen Ocean
I could flie hence, when such pretend devotion;
Who seem to be the *Cursi* (a) of the Times,
Yet as the foulest *Bacchanalian Crimes*.
Chiefly th' Unlearned: [2] though their studies be
Fill'd with *Chrysippus's* (b) Images. For, He
Is of all these the most profound, that buyes
The best carv'd *Aristotle*, or the wise
Pittacus, and (whiles He on leaf ne're looks)
Bids a first-form'd *Cleanthes* [3] keep his Books,
Ne're trust a Face. What street bears not the stain
Of Grave Obscenity? Thou wouldst restrain
Another's Lust, when Thou the noted sink
Among Socratick Pathicks (c) dost most stink.
Indeed thy rugged Limbs, (d) and Arms as much
Harnes'd with stubborn bristles, promise such
A vertue, and stern Soul: but thy back-part
Needs thy deriding Surgeon's Lancing art.
These men affect Mute Gravity, and pre-
Their locks [4] far shorter than the haire
Upon the Eye-brow. Wherefore unto Me
Plain *Peribomus's* ingenuitie
Is better pleasing. Him unto his Fate
I do impute, who in his Face and Gate
Shows his disease. Simplicity does win
For such a Mercy; and thine Fury of sin,

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

Which makes them Guilty, Pardons them: More vile
 Are they, who dare with a *Herculean* style [5]
 Invade such Crimes, and say *Virtue's* most dear;
 Yet shake the taile. Why *Sextus* should I fear
 Thy Passive Lust? I pray thee, show thou me,
 Sayes vile *Varillus*, how I'me worse than thee?
 Let Him deride the Lame, that goes Upright,
 And Him an *Ethiopian*, that is white,
 Who could endure to hear the *Gracchi* blame
 Sedition? Who could not justly exclaim
 In one mixt Out-cry, O ye Heav'ns, Earth, Seas,
 If an oppressing Robber do displease
Verres? If *Milo* once hate Murderers,
 If *Clodius* accuse Adulterers,
 If *Catiline* *Cethegus*? If the three
 Scholars of *Sylla* [6] blame the crueltie
 Of his Proscription? (e) Yet in this our Age
 How wild a Lust worthy a Tragick Stage
 Stain'd a severe Adulterer, [7] at what time
 He had restor'd sharp Laws against that Crime;
 Laws so extreemly dreadful, as would make
 Stout *Mars* himself, and conquering *Venus* quake;
 Ev'n at that time, when *Julia's* womb enlarg'd
 Of so many Abortives was discharg'd,
 Such Lumps like her rude Uncle? May not then
 The last of Vices, (f) and the Lost of Men
 Scorn these False *Scauri*, and if struck disdain
 Their unfit Punisher, and strike again?
Lavinia fear'd not one of these rough-brow'd
 Dissemblers th' other day that cry'd aloud,
 Where does the *Julian* Law now sleeping lie?
 To whom she smilingly did thus replic.
 The blessings of the Heav'ns! O happy times,
 That have oppos'd Thee thus against the Crimes
 Of this our Age! Let *Rome* turn Modest Now!
 A Third *Cato* (g) is drop'd from Heav'n! But how,
 I pray you, was it your good luck to meet
 With the Balme-gumme so delicately sweet,
 That sents about your rugged neck? Pray, where
 Bought you it? Nay, be not asham'd, or fear
 To name the Master of the Shop? If then
 Laws must be Vext from rest, First against Men
 Cite the *Scantinian* Law: [8] for they act more
 And viler Crimes: Yet They remain secure
 By their thick Squadrons, [9] which do so combine,
 As if their boss'd sheilds o're their heads did joine.
 O, there's a Monstrous League between these soft
 And slack-ham'd Pathicks. But I'de know how oft
 Nay, whether any yet, could ever find
 So horrid an Example in our kind?

With

With *Cluvia Tedia's* Chast: *Flora's* ne're vile
 With a *Catulla*; *Hippo* youths defile!
 He's pale with both Discaſes! Is a Cauſe
 Pleaded by Us? know We your Civil Laws?
 Do we diſturb your Courts? Some few are ſed,
 To make ſtrong wraſtlers with the wraſtlers bread. [10]
 You can card wool; you can your wages aſk,
 VVhen in your Baskets you return your taſk.
 The ſtrutting-belly'd ſpindle, that does ſwell
 VVith ſlender yarn, you whirle-about, as well,
 Nay better then *Penelope* could, and
 Then fine *Arachne* with her nimble hand;
 Or then a trembling Harlot [11] whoſe wrong'd dame
 Makes her ſit ſpinning on a clogge with ſhame.
 'Tis now well known, why *Hifter* left his fair
 Freed-man, in his laſt VVill, for his Sole Heir; [12]
 Heir of his wealth and Crimes: yet in his life
 Paid Tribute-bribes to his own Conſcious wiſe!
 She ſhall be rich, that ſeemingly can ſleep
 A third in a large bed, and Counſel keep.
 VVed and be Mute, Thy Silence and his Fear
 VVith rich *Cylinders* [13] then ſhall grace thine ear.
 Yet falls the heavy Cenſure on our necks,
 And, pard'ning Crows, [14] the harmleſs Doves does vex:
 The feigned Stoicks fled. They durſt not hear
 Their true and known Crimes with a guilty ear.
 For did *Laronia* ſlander them? But now
 VVhat ſhall not others venter-on, when Thou
Cretian Metellus, [15] goeſt in cloaths ſo thin,
 VVe ſee, through thy transparent gown, thy ſin, (b)
 The People at the ſight are ſtruck with ſhame,
 Inſteed of Rev'rence: yet doſt Thou declame
 Againſt a *Procula* or *Polinea*!
Fabula's an Adult'reſs and *Carſmia*;
 Condemn her, if thou wilt: yet loſt to Fame
 Shee'l ne're wear ſuch a gown, [16] for very ſhame
 Of Nature. But *Iuly* is Fire! I Boil! [17]
 Go Naked then; the Madneſs were leſs vile;
 VVhen our good Mountain-people left the Plow
 In ancient times, to make our Enemies bow;
 And after from the field victorious came
 Adorn'd with happy wounds freſh as their fame;
 O this had been a brave attire for thee
 To have ſate in Then, their Judge! what may not we
 Proclame then, when ſuch Dreſs the Judge does wear?
 I aſke, were't fit a wiſeſſe ſhould Thus ſwear;
 Yet Thou fierce *Cretian*, the ſtout Patron too
 Of Freedom, art Transparent! Thee this new
 Contagion has thus touch'd: and this Thy ſtain
 Shall, as Example, be diſus'd again!

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

Thus one foul Hogg infects a Heard of Swine:
 And one stain'd Grape does farther stain the Vine.
 Hereafter thou wilt dare some fouler Crime.
 No man at First is Monstrous. They, with Time,
 Will win thee; who at Home, like the Shee-Sex, (i)
 With tires (a) their brows, with Jewels (b) dress their Necks.
 A Sows soft belly peice (c) and large boul of VVine (d)
 They bring to the Good Goddess's (e) Chast shrine: [18]
 But their thwart Custome lets no Female (f) venter
 To' approach their Altar; only Males must enter.
 Prophane VVomen begon; with a loud scorn
 'Tis Cry'd. No She-Priest here lows in a horn. (g)
 Such Orgia by night the Bapta kept
 VVhiles tir'd Cecropian Cotyto slept.
 One, with his crisping pinne, (h) his eye-brows dies (i)
 VVith black: Paint too prides-up his Lustful eyes (j)
 This in a Glasse Priapus drinks: His Call (k)
 Of gold his huge locks fill: his gown is all
 Shield-work on Azure, (l) or white Silk (m) he wears
 Most sleek: His Servant too by Juno (n) swears. [19]
 The Pathick Otho's shield (a Looking-glass) [20]
 A third does hold; A Spoil that does surpals
 Aſtor Aruncus's Spear. Before the Fight,
 In this he view'd, if he were Harness'd Right.
 New Annalls and fresh Story this Glasſ claims;
 This Baggage quite All Civil VVar out-shames.
 O, to kill Galba was a Generall's Art;
 To smooth his Skin too, a Great Citizens part:
 In Bebraick field to aim at Royal Spoil;
 And with sop'd Bread (k) his Face to Trimme, and Soil.
 Quiver'd Semiramis th' Assyrian ne're
 Did Thus; nor Cleopatra's Aſſian Fear,
 At Sea. Their Talk and Table's Foul: they (l) speak
 VVith Cybel's License; with loud voice they scream.
 Their Hoary inspir'd Priests of throat so ample
 They well may hire him for their grand Example. (m)
 But what's the stay? They should with Phrygian art
 E're this, have cut-off their superfluous part.
 Four hundred, as his Portion, Gracchus gave
 To a dear Cornet-winder, or a brave
 Trumpeter! Deeds they Seal. Heaven bleſs the Paire;
 All Crie! VVastly they Feast. Nay, this so Rare
 A Bride [21] enjoys his Husband! Need our Times
 A Cenſor, or th' Aruſpex [22] for Theſe Crimes?
 Could Fear or VVonder more exceed a Mean,
 To ſee a VVoman calve, or a Cow yeane?
 The fring, (n) long gown, [23] and flamy vail He wears,
 VVho Mars his Shields (ſtaid with cloſe thong oft bears
 VVith jolts and ſweat! Father of Rome, what clime
 Brought to thy Latian Shepheards this wild crime?

VVhat

VVhat nettle thus, Great *Marcher*, [24] does inflame
 Thy Nephews? Lo, a very Male, of Fame
 And wealth, does wed a Male! yet dost not shake
 Thy crest? Nor with Spear poince the Earth! Nor make
 Complaint to *Jove*? Go then; leave thy severe
 Acres, thy Fields, which thou neglectest. Ere
 The Sun's scarce up to morrow, I must tend
 In our *Quirinus's* valley on a friend.
 The Business? Asks the other. Oh, He's Married
 To a Male; says This, And't must be closely carry'd.
 Let these men Live, hereafter men will do
 The like in Publick; they'd record it too! (o)
 Yet this sore grief does to these Brides adhere;
 Children, the Husbands Bonds, they can nor bear.
 'Tis well, that o're the Body, yet the Mind
 This pow'r has Not; No Babes they leave behind
 Big *Lyde's* Physick-Box can This ne're gain: [25]
Pan's running Priest their palmes does touch in vain.
 The coated *Gracchus's* Trident this surpass'd! [26]
 About the Sand this Fencer ran agast,
 Though Nobler than the *Manlii*, *Catuli*,
Marcelli, *Fabii*, *Emilii*;
 Then the First Rank at Shews; [27] or He that set
 Them forth, when this Great *Gracchus* cast the Net!
 That there are Ghosts and Subterraneous caves,
 A ferry-pool, and Frogs in *Stygian* waves,
 That one boat waits-o're thousands, is now made
 Fable by Boys; if they've the Bath-fee paid. [28]
 But believe Thou they're True. Could we disclose
 The thoughts of *Curius* now, the *Scipio's*,
Fabius and *Camillus*, or the bold
 Legion of *Cremera*; [29] or the Youth behold,
 That fell at *Canna*; Spirits of VVar! when we
 Send a Foul Ghost to Them, They fain would be
 New-purg'd, if Sulphur and the Pine-tree were
 VVith Them, [30] and if they had wet Laurel there.
 Thither, alas, we all are waisted! tho'
 Our Armes we stretch beyond the Irish foe, [31]
 The late tam'd *Orcades*, the *Britans* too,
 Content with their short night. But what we do
 In our Victorious *Rome*, ev'n They do hate,
 VVhom we have conquer'd! Fame does yet relate
 That one *Armenian*, *Zalates*, worse kind
 Then all our Smooth-ones, foully was inclin'd
 To a fir'd Tribune! See what commerce can!
 He came an Hostage: Here he's made a Man! [32]
 For if these Guests long in the City dwell,
 They cannot want a Tempter then farewell
 Slops, knives, whips, bridles. Thus they trade-away
 Rome's Noble Crimes to Rude *Artaxata*.

NOTES on JUVENAL, Sat. II.

(a) **H**E was a most acute *Stick*, and so good at *Logick*, that he could sooner find proofs, then other men Opinions for him to prove. This was a Quality the grave sinners of these times thought worth pretending to; as they did *Aristotle's* Learning, *Pittacus's* Wisdom, and *Cleantes's* Industry. Yet could justify their Pretensions only by keeping these Worthies *Pictures*. Though perhaps they expected even from these Pictures some Infusion of Learning; as, he that in *Lucians* days bought *Epictetus's* Lamp, *tribus drachmarum millibus*, hoped it would in a Dream inspire him with *Epictetus's* Wisdom. * Thus the *Turks* look'd for Valour in *Scanderbeg's* his Dialogue *επεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος* bones; and the Papists do still for Miracles in the Relicks of their Saints. There's a Parity of Reason for these Unorthodox Philosophers.

(b) *M. Curius Dentatus*, for his wooden dish, and his Rapes; and his refusal of a Present, made him by his vanquished Samnites; became, *Exatissima Norma Romana frugalitatis*. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3. And his Name is here an Expression of Temperance. V. Sat. II. v. 78.

(c) Such, as like *Socrates* disputed severely, of Vertue & Honesty, *Cinadi interim erant & Paibici*. The Practice of *Socrates's* abusing himself with Boyes, being as infamous as his Precepts of Vertue are renowned. This allusion of the Poet is justify'd by the *fossa notissima*, illa sc. *Corporis posterior & non nominanda*, which regards *Socraticos Cinados*.

(d) This some men among the *Athenians* industriously affected, especially rough Armholes, and would in their voting at Elections, which they call'd *χειροτονία*, endeavour to discover as they stretched out their Hands. For as *Cassanbon* observes, *Laudī ducebant habere illam partem fructicante pilo neglectā, & totum Latus horridum*: which is but the Latin of *Theophrastus* in his *Char.* *οὗτοι δὲ οὐκ οὐκ τὰς μεγάλας διακρίσεις ἢ διακρίσεις ἔχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὀλίγους*. And the *Schol.* on *Aristoph.* *Concion.* confirms it saying, *ἔδρασαν τὰς χεῖρας ἵνα ἴδωσι χειροτονίαν διακρίσειν ἀνδρες ἀνδρῶν*. They nourished hair on purpose to seem the more men. And I nothing doubt but these *Hispida membra*, *Dura setae*, and *Hirsutum Collum* v. 41. were Imitations of the others Gravity, I may add slovinglyness.

(e) Two Tables or Rolls of Proscription *Sylla* proposed in the Forum at Rome, presently on his victory at the Colline Gate, of which and his other Cruelties see *Florum*. L. 3. c. 21. *Plut.* in *Syll.* c. 21. The first of these was a list of 80000, the 2d of 5000, all whose lives any one that met them might take from them, and their Goods were at *Sylla's* disposal; which was generally the Condition a Proscription left men in.

(f) Here by the abstract we must understand the Concrete, and Render *Vitia ultima* the debauchest persons. Which in Nouns of the Neuter Gender especially, is an elegant use of the Rom. Authors. So *Adulteria* in *Suet.* is *Adulteri*, and *Servitia* and *Exagala* in *Florum*, signify Slaves and Gaol-Birds. Even these might justly return a reproach upon the *fili Scauri*; Men who in shew were Vertuous, but abounded with secret vices, which is the Character of *Æmilius Scaurus*, in *Salust.* *Bell. Jug.* 1.

(g) *Cato Major* or *Censorinus*, and *Cato Uticensis* his Nephew, with the Grave reprehender of Vice in our Author are the three. This last is Ironically supposed sent down from Heaven to War against the Sins of the times, which in seriousness they affirm'd of the two first; who by their Gravity and severity, gave Occasion to a Proverbial calling, any rigid Censurer of another mans Life, *Tertius Cato*. *Erasm.* *Cbil.*

Add to *Ilust.* 8. after but from *Scantiniu*] who being accused by *C. Marcellus* for offering to force his Son, a Law passed in Senate that set a Fine of 10000 H.S. upon the like attempt. And the foul Offender was either to pay the whole sum, of our Money 78 l. 2 s. 6 d. or his Life. This manner of giving Laws, &c. as in the *Illustrat.*

(h) *Multicia*; quasi *Multilicia*. For the thred of the Woof or *Licium* being fine in thin silks, must necessarily be the oftener doubled to fill the peice. Upon this depends another Reason of the word from *Multum icere*, because the Pestle or stay of the weavers Loom (having teeth like a comb) must the oftener strike and drive this Woof, the oftner 'tis doubled. Whence *Multicia* is called by *Franc.* *Jur.* on *Tertull.* *Vestis arectus vgaris*. And an old unprinted *Scolia* with *Vossius* says *is multa & inenarrabili textura expressa*. But this is not all that grounds the Reprehension of our Poet (though even this delicacy of Apparel might justly be noted in a Crave Judge, or the Noble Metellus)

Metellus) for the same Unprinted Schol. tells us that the *Multicia* was only used, *innuptis puellis, aut viduis Matronis*: which as to the first part is confirm'd by the printed Old Schol. who say's *Multicia, est vestis Molli intexta Subtamine, qua uti solent puellae*. This Womans Garment on *Metellus's* back mightily warms our Poet. In his times perhaps this garment began to be, but not without a reproof, what usually 'twas in latter, the common wear of both sexes. Whence in *Vopiscus's Aurel.* we read *Tunicas Multicias viriles decem cap. 12.* Whence *Salmas.* Notes that *Multicia* is in the neuter Gender put substantively. For otherwise there is *Multicia Vestis*, and *Multicium Vestimentum*.

(i) Here begins a description of men, though one would scarce think it by their Garb, or their Religion. For first their Habits were the same that Women wore, viz. (*) their *Redimicula*, Fillets, that is, on their foreheads. (♯) *Monilia*, Necklaces. (γ) *Supercilium fuligine tatum*, black'd Eyebrows; and crisped too (♯) *obliqua Acu*. (†) Nay the balls of their very Eyes were coloured, *Pingitque trementes Oculos*; which *St. Hierome* call's *Orbes Stibio fuliginatos*, and *Pliny* makes it a Beauty, calling it *Decoris affectatio*. L. 11. c. 37. *Arnobius* notes the Custome L. 2. *Adv. Gent. Ut imminerent frontes Lumbis* (the same as *Redimicula* here) *fuligine Oculos obumbrarent*. (‡) Next they wore the Womans *Reticulum Auratum* or Caul. (•) Their *Cerulea Scutulata*, Net work Garments, so thin that the meshes of them represented distinctly the form of the Roman *Scutum* or *οὐρεός*, something very like is seen in the spiders Web; the Invention may be parallel'd in our Ladies new net hoods, which one might well call *Scutulata*. Of the same nature, though the name expresses the roundness of the Meshes, I take the *Tenuis Cyclas* to be, *Sat. 6. v. 26.* Then (•) their *Galbana rafa*, white smooth farcenet without hair or shag, *sine pilis aut villis extantibus*, of this our Women now wear hoods. *Galbanum*, as *Isidor.* L. 19. c. 9. was a kind of white paint *crefens in monte Amano Syria: alias succus est ferule*. But *Salmas.* Thinks *Galbanum* derived from *Galba*, and thence by the Analogy of the Latin its *Penultima* should be long, and so unfit for this verse. Wherefore on *Vopisc. Aurel.* he reads it *Galbina rafa*, and derives it from *Galbus*, which *Philoxenus* renders by *χλωστή*, a grass-green, such as *Mart.* Calls *Herbarum colores* Ep. 24. L. 5. And that this was a Womanish wear may be seen by the same Authors 97. Ep. of his 1. L.

————— *Habeat & licet semper*

Fuscos colores, Galbinos habet mores.

Secondly, their Religion was the same with Womens; For their Servants (•) as if they were Women as well as their Masters, swore by the *Juno* of their Masters, which was a Womanish Oath. (*) Their Mrs. also sacrificed to the *Bona Dea* as Women did; (x) with the paunches of fat sows *Abdomine Porca*, and (μ) *Magno Cratere*, large vessels of Wine, which they call'd *Amphora's* of honey *Alex. Gen. Pier. L. 6. c. 8.* or as *Plutarch. Qu. Rom. 20.* of Milk. Other Ceremonies were more *sinistro* perverted, as (•) the excluding of Women, and admitting only Males, when not so much as a Picture of them should by right be there. And the (•) usual signification of these Solemnities by a Womans winding a horn was not observed. *Nulla gemit Tibicina, &c. v. 90.* This effeminacy, and Religion of Ranters, the Athenian *Cotyto* was as much troubled with as the Roman *Bona Dea*. Who she was see in *Alex. ut sup.*

(k) This bread according to *Pliny* was made of Rice and bean flower, tempered (perhaps) with Affes milk. Which *Poppæa Sabina* was so fond of, that she carried with her in her travels 50. Affes for this only purpose.

————— *Atque illo lacte fovetur*

Propter quod Comites secum deduxit Asellus. Sat. 6. v. 470.

This milk, and the distilled water of Bean-flowers, still keep the Reputation of Excellent Cosmetics. *Extendere*, in our Author, is *dilatare*, for spreading this Bread on the face, *Rugas in facie eximit, ipsamque teneram reddit.* *Pliny.*

(l) The Reverence that sober Romans gave their Tables, was much; because they thought them holy, so *Synesius* Ep. 57. *τρεῖς αὖ μὲν ἐστὶ τὴν χεῖμα, δι' ἧς ὁ θεὸς τιμᾶται οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ θύρα; Sacras facitis Mensas Salinorum appositu, & Simulachris Deorum.* *Arnob. 2. Adv. Gent. p. 87.* Whether or no they thought salt because Preventive of Putrefaction, near of kin to the Incorruptible Gods, I will not determine; though I am certain they gave a degree of Purity to it, as *Salillo purior* in *Catullus*, is so pure as nothing more. The use of salt in Sacrifices is shewed amongst the *Jews. Lev. 2. 13. Mar. 9. 49.* which might perhaps heighten the Esteem of it among the Romans: For much superstition these Heathens borrowed thence.

Other Religious Table-Actions, as the *μυστήρια* they cut to their Gods from the first dish, and the Attendance feasts commonly had on Sacrifices, may be seen in *Casaub.* on *Theoph. Char.* p. 259.

(m) — *Conducendusque Magister*] such a Proficient, that is, in Vice, that he might have been to *Tiberius à Voluptatibus*, an office of his own Institution. *Suet. Tib. c. 43.* Nero's *Elegantie Arbiter*, or *Magister*, though of a finer Name, was of the same Nature. For *Petronius* that bore it as a Qualification for the Place, is said to be *Revolutus ad vitia, seu vitiorum Imitationem*; and *Tigellinus* (a Gentleman for his Debaucheries thought worth a Note of our Author, *Sat. I. v. 155.*) envies him *ut Æmulum, & Scientia Voluptatis Potiorem.* *Tac. An. 16.*

(n) This Verse contains several Ornaments of Women these Voluptuaries had usurped, as the Veil, and Stole or Gown; the *Segmenta*, or Laces, as according to our wear we may conveniently render the word. It comes from *Seco*, and they were small strips cut out of some rich stuffs, or cloth of Gold (for there were *Segmenta Aurea*) and sow'd as Ornaments to their Womens Garments.

— *Purpureus late qui splendeat Unns & alter*
Adiuitur Pannus. — Hor.

Where *Pannus* is the same with *Segmentum*, *Fascia*, *Zona*, or *Lorium*; For all these Names it had. And from the Number of these *Lora*, the Garments were *Monolores*, *Dilores*, & *usque ad Pentelores*. Two of these Laces were usual, as by that of *Horace*, but five were the height of Vanity. Now because none of these antiently were used but by Women, our Author inveighs against it in one of these Voluptuous *Salii.* *Salmas ad Hist. Aug.*

(o) — *Cupient & in Alia referri.* These *Alia* were Registers that contained *Res*, *Rationesque populi*, *Judicia publica*, *Comitia*, *Ædificia*, *Nativitates*, *Illustres Mortes*, *Matrimonio*, *Divortia*. A place therefore in these Registers was undoubtedly due to the present Marriage, as well as to the Nativity of a Child, *Sat. 9. v. 84.*

— *In libris Aliorum spargere gaudes*
Argumenta Viri. *Vid. Lips. in An. Tac. p. 233.*

Such Registers as these every Parish now keeps though not with exactness enough.

ILLU-

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Second Satyre.

Sauromatæ. Pluteus. The diverse sorts, Matter and places of statues among the Ancients. Lararium. Pinacotheca and Bibliotheca distinguish'd. The custome of the Stoicks in the wearing of their Hair. Verba Herculis. The Military Testudo: Coliphia. Codex. Ima Cera. The ancient form of Subscribing to Wills. The Colours of Apparel. Toga and Stola. Bona Dea. Oaths proper to Men, others to Women. Ancilia, their form. Gradivus. The Retiarius, his furniture described; likewise Myrmillo, with the reason of the name. Sequutor. Podium. Children's Bathing. Legio. The manner of purging persons polluted.

Beyond the Tartars. Ultra Sauromatas. Sauromata were those, which did inhabit Sarmatia, which was two-fold, Europea containing Polonia with Russia, and Asiatica called Cumania: which in Mercator's, and likewise in Hondius his Edition of Ptolemie's Geographie, lib. 5.

cap. 9. is by Petrus Montanus (on that place) in his marginal exposition of old names by less ancient, called Tartaria. But we may observe, that Petrus Bertius (in his latter and more exact Edition of the same Work published, 1618) retains Montanus his annotation, yet leaves out the word Tartaria. Whose reason, as I conceive, is because in a strict acception, Tartaria is a word too general. For, Sarmatia Asiatica was but a part of Tartaria, which contained in it That and Both the Scythia's (as Ortelius shews in his description of Tartaria) and likewise Cathay, as Maginus hath it: so that the Sauromata inhabited all that, which is now called Polonia, Russia and Moscovia. Yet seeing that a part of Tartaria also was inhabited by the Sauromata (according to Ortelius) and was the Farthest part of their habitation, by One I express Synecdochically the Rest, and rather by This, then by the rest; this part being farthest from Rome, and so nearest to the sense of the Poet.

2. Chiefly the Unlearned. *Indocti primum*. This place is diversly expounded, because the word *primum* may be taken several ways; First, as implying Order, and so might be render'd, First the unlearned; but that the Poet in the rest of the Satyre passing to the descriptions of other hypocrites, does not use particles answerable to this: Secondly by way of Aggravation, as if those he reprehended were exceedingly ignorant; but this were untrue in respect of the Judges, and as Improper in respect of the Nobles, here reprehended: lastly by way of Comparison, according to which sense I render it, the Poet saying, that he had rather lie to the frozen North and live there with Vertue, than at Rome with Hypocrites; of all sorts of which they are chiefly to be detested, which pretend the Love and knowledge of Vertue, but are destitute of both.

3. Bids a first-form'd Cleanthes. *Et jubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthes*, the antique images of Cleanthes: such pictures and statues being called *archetypæ*, as are first form'd, and those *effigies*, which are made by the first. The first as most ancient

and true were held in great estimation, and therefore with the more curiositie sought after by these hypocrites. But this passage is not without some difficulties arising from the diverse significations of *pluteus*, and the ambiguous order of the construction. *Pluteus* is properly taken for a Desk, figuratively for a studie or the books in it. The Manuscript Commentary takes it in the first sense, telling us, that they us'd anciently to draw the pictures of learned men upon their desks, whereon they writ. The Scholiast takes it according to the second, for a study; so likewise *Britannicus*: who, though the opinion be in a sort true, illustrates it ill from that of *Persius*, *Nec pluteum cadit*; as if the Poet had there implied, that Poets, when their compositions were not easy but with violence, us'd to knock their knuckles against their studie-walls. But the whole difficulty may be best removed, by taking notice of the custome of the Romans, who orderd several sorts of Images into several places. The first of which was before their Gates; where they plac'd the Images of their Ancestours express'd in brass, or such solid matter. The second was in their Halls, as in a conspicuous part of their house: and here they set the like statues but curiously wrought in waxe. The third was in their Chamber, where they plac'd their *Lares* (for the careful keeping of which a servant was appointed) then the Images of those friends, whom they lov'd most dearly; as also the Deities, which had the care of the Marriage bed. The Roman Emperors in latter times kept here also a golden Image of Fortune: yet *Domitian* had not an Image of Fortune, but of *Minerva*; as, before him, *Tully* also had. The fourth place was their *pinacotheca*; by comparison of the use we may call it a *gallerie of pictures*: and in this they plac'd the representations of their Gods and their *Heroes*, and likewise painted fables and histories. The fifth and last was their *study*, wherein they kept the Images of Learned men. Of which two last that place of *Lampridius* may seem properly to be understood in his *Alexand.* where he speaks of the Emperor's two-fold *Latarium*: in the one of which, he says, he had the Images of *Apollonius*, *Abraham* and *Orpheus*; and this agrees with the use of their *pinacotheca*: in the other he says, he had the Images of *Virgil* and *Tully*; and this agrees with the proprietie of their *bibliotheca*, or study. By this then we may avoid the error of *Calderine*, who says, that *pluteus* here signifies *pinacotheca*; for proof alleging that of *Pliny*, *Pinacothecæ veteribus tabulis consumunt*, as he reads it,

or *consunt*, as the common copies have it as ill; or rather, as Dionysius Pitraeus (in his Notes upon *Symon. Calvit. Encom. p. 27.*) better conjectures, *construnt*. *Lubin* likewise, though he delivers and chooses the true opinion, says this also may stand which cannot be. For since the Images of learned men were kept only in their studies, not in their galleries; and that *pluteum*, according to themselves, signifies the place, where such Images were kept; it follows, that *pluteum* here cannot signify *pinacotheca*, but *bibliotheca*. That place of Pliny shews only, that in their *pinacotheca* they kept Images: but that they were not of learned men, appears from the distinction of places. See also *Be-roald* upon *Sueton's Augustus*, cap. 7. and *Casaubon* on the same place. To apply this; *Pluteum* may be taken conveniently in the second or third sense, for a studie or the books in it; the figure and sense bearing both. As for the Order of the construction some would have it, that the study should keep the Images: but this is cold and without life; the contrary order more happily expressing the vigour of *Leonicæ*. According to which way of interpretation our Poet then says, That this ignorant hypocrite never applying himself to his book, bids his Images take care that his studie and Books run not away.

4. Their locks. *Supercilio brevior coma*. By this passage it is commonly conceived, that the Severe Philosophers cut the hair of their head, as short as that upon their eye-brow. But with what truth then could *Seneca* have said, *Epist. 5.* describing the form of the severe Philosopher, *Asperum et incultum, et intonsum caput, et negligentem barbam devita*. For the removing therefore of this scruple, we may take notice of the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* his *Nubes*, lib. 1. sc. 1. writing thus, *ὅτι οὐκ ὀνόμαζον xaxo xelestia*. Which last words imply, as *Heraclitus* observes in his *Adversus*, lib. 2. cap. 16. that the *Sticks* were close-cut only in the lower part of the head, where locks were by others nourished: but that upon the upper part of their head their hair was negligently rough. The sense then of this place lies in the special acception of *Coma*, which is now here in a general acception the same with *capillus* (the hair of the head) but rather as much as *compta casaria*, the ornament of locks; which the negligent Roughness of these *Sticks* avoided.

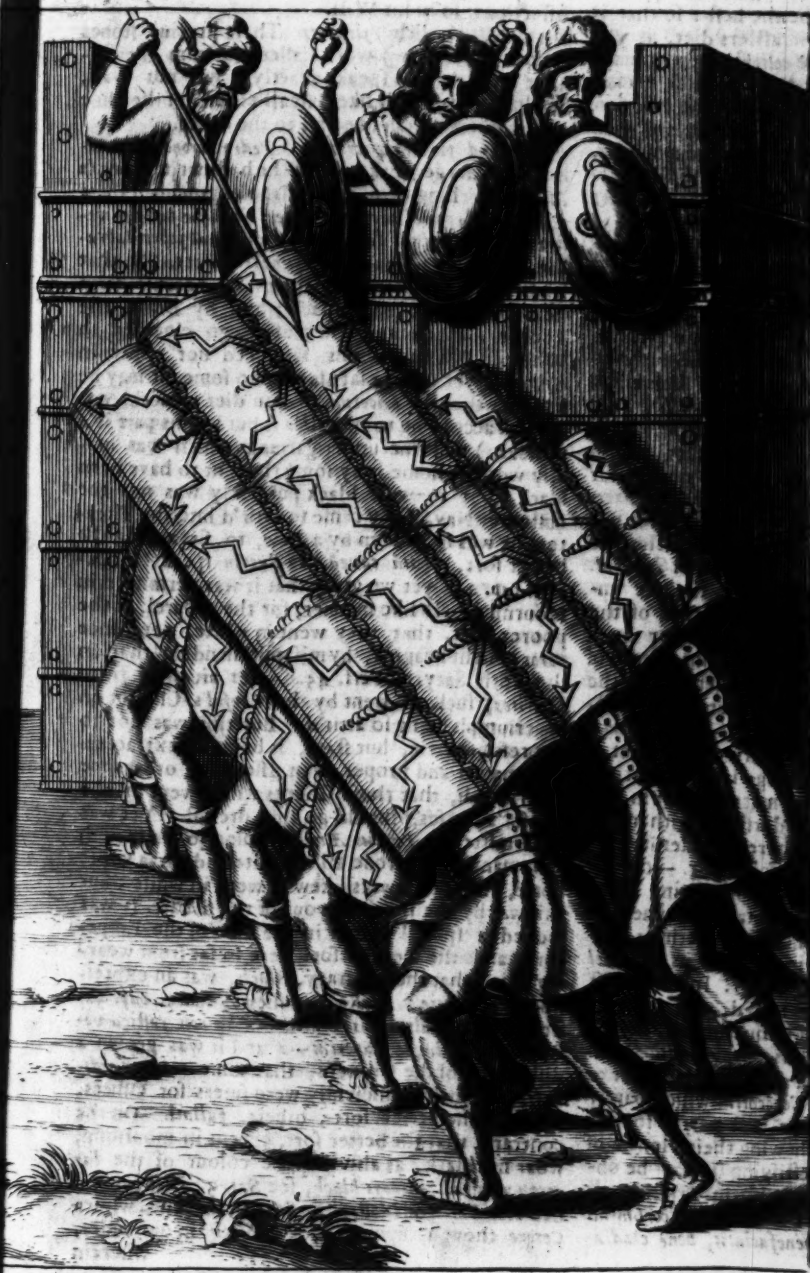
5. With a Herculean Style. *Verbis Herculis*. Some make this an allusion to a passage in *Xenophon*, in which *Hercules* is described severely checking the Woman, that offered him Pleasure, and following her, that represented Virtue: according to which this may be expounded; and the rather because it follows — *Et de virtute loquuti*; which seems aptly to express that story of *Hercules*. Yet, to speak with liberality, I think this not to be the Poet's intent, and that this verse does only casually agree with that description. For we must suppose that the Poet's meaning was in his own time commonly understood, and that therefore probably it had not a special reference to a private story with which few were acquainted. More likely therefore it is, that he alludes to the famous labours of *Hercules*: whose hand, known to be dreadful in the taming of Monsters, these false *Sticks* (whom *Juvenal* detested) would seem to emulate, using as terrible language against the monsters of Vice; and so striving, in a diverse kind, to be as fierce as *Hercules* himself; and thus *Hercules* his words, (or style) are such as might seem suitable to *Hercules* his Courage.

6. The three Scholars of *Sylla*. These by the Scholiast are said to be *Casus*, *Pompey* and *Crassus*: yet by way of probability he changes them into *Augustus*, *Leptidus* and *Antonic*. Indeed though the instance in the three first be a truth, yet we may say, that the three last, not so near to *Sylla* in Time, were nearer to him in Imitation.

7. A severe Adulterer. *Nuper pollutus adulter*. Interpreters differ much in defining the person here intended. Diverse think it to be *Caligula*, whose shameful incests and adulteries are largely related by *Sueton*, in his Life, cap. 24, 25, and 36. His horrible countenance also is noted by the same Author, cap. 50. in these words, *Vultum vero naturâ horridum ac tetrum etiam ex industria efferebat, componens ad speculum in omnem terrorem ac formidinem*. Which I may grant to be marks of the adulterer here described; yet they are but some of them: and to pronounce a judgment on the whole person for some few signs, were but to imitate an unskillful Physiognomer. There are then three more delivered in this place; The first, that he did at the same time put in execution Laws against Adultery, when he himself committed the same; The Second, that a Chief Adulterer with whom he offended, was called *Julia*; The Third, that she had Abortives, or untimely Births: none of which are by these Interpreters proved to be recorded of Him. There is indeed, cap. 24. mention made of one, whom he adulterously abused and quickly dismissing, commanded her to abstain from the bed of any man for ever after: but there is no mention of putting in execution Laws against Adultery. Besides the word *nuper*, which notes the season of this fact, must be drawn back very much, from *Juvenal's* time (who writ partly in the reign of *Domitian*) to *Caligula's*; and so be understood of crimes committed about 40. years before, which will but inconveniently be carried by the property of the word *nuper*: and therefore we may not yield to this first opinion. A second is of them, that apply this to *Claudius* the Emperor: who after the execution of his lewd wife *Messalina*; married the daughter of his brother *Germanicus*, *Julia Agrippina* the mother of *Nero*, and by a decree of the Senate made such incestuous marriages lawful for any man; as *Tacitus* notes in his *Annals*, lib. 12. near the beginning. By which we find him guilty of incest, but not of adultery; *Agrippina* being a widow when he married her, as *Tacitus* there testifies. Besides, that he reviv'd Laws against adultery, the Interpreters take not the pains to prove. Moreover, whereas some Expositors make *Claudius* very ill-favour'd, *Sueton* (accurate in the description of his Emperors) bestows a better visage on him, cap. 30. saying, *authoritas dignitasque forme non defuit stanti, vel sedenti, ac præcipue quiescenti*, and adding, that he was *specie canitque pulchra*. Indeed he describes his Laughter and his Anger to have been very unseemly: but Now we speak of his Own face, not of the face of his Passions. But the word *nuper* will not so readily admit likewise this opinion, there being 27. years between *Claudius* his End and *Domitian's* Beginning. Wherefore, (in a third Opinion) we may rather look upon *Domitian*, to whom the Time agrees and the Fact: he having not only corrupted many mens wives, but also more particularly taken away *Domitia Longina* from her husband *Ælius Lamia*, and made her his own wife; as *Sueton* relates in his *Domitian*, cap. 1. Yet he made Laws against dishonest women; reviv'd the *Scantinian* Law against unnatural lust, and another against

against the prophane pollution of the *Vestal* Virgins; and put a Roman Knight out of the number of the Judges, because, after that he had accused and dismissed his wife for adultery, he took her again; as *Sueton* relates, *cap. 8*. He defil'd also his brother *Thus* his daughter, *Julia*, who was at that time another man's wife: and when her father and husband were both dead, he sham'd not to love her openly; yet was he the cause of her death, by forcing her to abortion; as *Sueton cap. 22*. testifies saying, *Ut etiam causa mortis extiterit, coacta conceptum a se abigere*. This therefore we must conclude to be the person here intended. Only there is yet one doubt to be remov'd; *Juvenal* seeming here to imple his ill visage, in those words *abortivus patris similes offus*, whereas *Sueton*, *cap. 18*. says that

he was *vultu modesto*, and afterwards — *graterea pulcher ac decens*. Indeed after the first words, *vultu modesto*, he adds *ruborisque plenus*; which, if they be taken only as an interpretation of the former, then most they signifie only, that he was much subject to blushing, which is also implied in that chapter: but if they be expounded of his constant colour, as the words do aptly bear it, then they will most literally and exactly expound these words of our Poet and *Domitian's* complexion, *patris similes offus*. But *Juvenal's* sense may be made more easy and applicable, if we understand this, not of *Domitian's* complexion, but of his conditions, in respect of which he might figuratively be call'd an Abortive, and so like the fruit which he got and destroy'd.



8. The *Scantinian* Law. When a *Siolek* objected to *Lavinia* a bold harlot the *Julian* Law against Adultery, she requir'd him by objecting the *Scantinian* Law against Unnatural Lust; a Law so nam'd not from him that made it, but from *Scantinius*, who was the occasion of it by his crime. Which manner of giving names to Laws (it being less usual) some have denied: but you may see it justified by *Janus Parrhasius*. *Epist. 23*. by the like among the *Gracians*: who made the *Lain* Law (mentioned by *Plato*) of the same nature with the *Scantinian*, upon occasion of the like crime committed by *Lain*.

9. By their thick *Squadrons*. *Jundique ambone phalanges*. An expression of companions in Vice, defending themselves like souldiers, when for safety they joine their targets so, that one touches anothers both, as when according to some, they cast themselves as, as the assaulting of a fort, into the military figure of the *testudo*, or the tortoise-shell: which in *Guillaume du Choul*, in his *Discours sur la Corruption des Romains*, fol. 41. b. is thus represented.

10. The

10. The wrafflers bread. *Coliphia*. Some take *Colophia* to be a strong kind of meat made of cheese and flower: but *Rigaltius* on this place takes it to be the same with the *Athenian* *καλῆς*, which were *perna*, gammons of bacon; which we may grant to be a strong meat, yet there is no proof for such derivation of the word. *Junius* would have it in an unclean sense to signify the form of the loaf (not unlike the glasse-*priapus*, *Sat.* 2.) from *καλός*, *membrum*; though there is no necessity of such unseemly signification from the word it self. Wherefore the usual derivation from *καλὰ ἰσία*, seems best: as if, only transposing the words, the food had been called *strong-limbs*, metonymically from the effect of it. Which varietie of expositions may be drawn from the note, which the *Scholiast* gives on this place; *Pulmentum sive membrum* — *aut potius athletarum cibum dicit*. The last part of which annotation I think to be the best: so that it shall in general signify the wrafflers diet, as *Budeus* thinks. Yet because the *coliphia* seem to have been some special part of that diet and most probably *loaves*, as we may conjecture from the *Numbering* of them by that in *Martial*, *lib.* 7. *Epi.* 67. *Cum coliphias sexdecim comedit*; as also from their *Making*, according to that of *Plautus* in *Perfa*, *Coliphia mibi ne incola detis*: we may with the most interpreters render them, the *Wrafflers bread*. Which also in probability was some special Diet bread, to advantage them at once in *breath* and *strength*.

11. A trembling harlot, &c. In *codice pellex*. *Mistresses* that perceiv'd any suspicious familiarity of their husbands with their maids, did in the absence, or after the death of their husbands use such servants according to their deserts, with shame and labour. So the *Scholiast* and after him *Joseph Scaliger* and *Turnebus*; as also *Janus Parrhasius*, *Epi.* 22. But *Autumnus* on this place says, that such a servant was made to sit thus before the door (for so he adds) *horrida & inculta, ne habeatur uxor*, that she might not be mistaken for the wife, or mistress of the house; and this interpretation he thinks to be most agreeable to the mind of *Juvenal*. Both which reasons may be admitted, the one implying the *Revenge*, the other the *pride* of the Mistress. *Codex* may be interpreted either by a *Clog* or a *Cage*, or a like place of restraint made of timbers; both acceptations being frequent, and the latter also us'd by *Propertius* in this particular business, *lib.* 4. *Eleg.* 7. *Codicis immundi vincula sentis annus*; she endures the narrow limits or restraint of an unclean cage. In which passage it is figuratively used by a metonymy of the matter; but in this of *Juvenal* it is commonly understood with more plainness, only for a clog, as here I render it.

12. In his last Will for his sole heir. — *Cur solo tabulari impleveris Hister Liberto*. Wills being written in waxen tables, *prima cera* is taken for the first table, as *ima* for the last; which is sometimes called also *extrema cera*; and *ultima tabula*, as *Tiraquel* notes on *Alex. Neapol.* *lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. In which last table the second heirs were nam'd, and legacies with other burdens imposed upon the first heirs; as among others *Allegus* shews, de *Annulis Signatoris*, *cap.* 16. p. 95. Alleging also the last part of a Will made by one *Grannius Corocotta*: which partly for the humor of the testator and partly for the track of Antiquitie in it, (shewing their Plentie of Witnesses and Manner of testifying) may be observed. It is thus in him, as also in *Brissonus de Formulis*, *lib.* 7. *Optim. amatores mei, vel consimiles vira, rogō vos ut corpori meo benefaciatis, bene condia-*

ris bonis condimentis, nucleis, piperis & mellis, ut nomen meum in sempiternum nominetur. Mei Domini, & consobrini mei, qui huic meo testamento interfueritis, jubere signari. Septem testes. Lucanici signavit. Ter-gillus signavit. Nuptiaticus signavit. Cellanus signavit. Lardio signavit. Cymatus signavit. Offellius signavit. It may be farther observed, that *imā cerā scribere*, does sometimes signify (as in *Sueton*, in *vita Casaris*) to write so deep in the waxen tables, that it can hardly be blotted out. So *St. Jerome* takes it in *epist.* ad *Chrysog.* saying, *Ita nostra es necessitudinis penitus oblitus, ut illam epistolam, quam in corde Christianorum apostolus scriptam refert, non parvū litterā, sed imū, ut aiunt, ceris eraseris.* After which explication of Antiquity and Phrase, we may more easily understand the rare bounty of *Hister's* Lust, that troubled his Freed-man with no co-heirs; but made him alone take-up all the room, as in his Affections, so in his Will.

13. With rich cylinders. These precious stones (worn as jewels) were called so from their figure: which (to speak exactly) was not ovall, but long and round, like a small pillar, of the same circumference from one end to the other.

14. And pard'ning crows. *Pedro Cerone* a *Spaniard* in a large work, which he hath written de la *Musica*, touching upon this passage expounds it thus; *Entendiendo por el cuervo al noble y rico que suele yr vestido de negro: y por la columba o paloma al pobre labrador, por quanto suele vestir de panno blanco.* So that by Crows he understands Great men, because, saith he, they usually go in black; and by Doves the Poorer sort, because they use to go cloathed in White. Which reasons we need not refute in earnest; yet to give satisfaction to some, it may be known, that the *Lacerna*, or *Souldier's* Cloak, was Black, according to *Manutius* (but in this part is a mistake) and the upper garment which was usually worn at home is by some thought to have been black: but to wear black publicly was not the custome. Nay, if any came to attir'd into the Theater, he was forbidden by a Law, to sit among the better sort, *mediā caveā*, as *Sueton* speaks in *August.* *cap.* 44. yet we grant that it was permitted in Mourning. In like manner, for the apparel, of the poorer sort, that they went in white, perchance *Cerone* might imagine, by misapprehending that in the 10th Satyre, *vers.* 45. — *Et niveos ad frons Quirites*, such as went by the Consul's Chariot in his triumph being so attir'd. But this was not to express poverty, but state, it being an extraordinary matter and proper to an Assembly, or a time of Triumph, that those Clients which went by the Consul's horses, should go thus drest. Yet was it permitted to *Paulus Aemilius* going to *Iberia* with Command: who rode all in white and on a white horse, all his followers likewise were in white; but this was by the special favour of the Senate. It was indeed a special colour in the time of the Emperors, and the meaner sort were so far from wearing of it, that the contrary, Black, was an expression of Poverty; as *Rosinus* shews, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 32. from that of *Calpurnius*, *O utinam nobis non rustica vestis inest Pullaque paupertas* —: and it was grown a distinction of the Citizens, that some were *candidati*, not such as anciently were suitors for Offices, but only the better sort; others, *pullati*. On the contrary, that the better sort, except in mourning, wear not black, as also that the colour of the *lacerna* was not always black, see *Sat.* 3. *Illustrat.* 25. See also *Sat.* 10. *Illustrat.* 9. So that it seems, whiles *Cerone* thought upon the use of black in our times, wherein

wherein it is often a Wear of Gravitie, he mistook the proprietie of the Times Here intended.

15. *Cretian Metellus. Creice.* One Manuscript has here *Critice*, as if the sense were, Critick or Judge of manners: which for the purpose might be very agreeable, but that the word seems a noveltie in *Juvenal*, as being against all the other copies. Besides, there is no end of alteration; and therefore we retain the common Reading, *Creice*: which some would have to allude to those severe Judges of *Creet*, *Mimos* and *Rhadamanthus*. But we need not search so low for an interpretation: *Juvenal's* conversation was with Men, though their crimes were hellish; and in the language of *Rome* he speaks unto them. *Creticus* therefore in this place most probably signifies, as it does in another place of *Juvenal*: who in *Sat. 8. vers. 90.* says to a Noble Roman, by way of advise, and under this name, -- *ne sit tu Creticus aut Camerinus*; deserve not thou to be ironically call'd *Creticus* or *Camerinus*; and thus he uses these two words in a like kind, that is, as the names of Noble persons. By some here is understood *Julius Creticus*, a great Lawier in the time of the *Cæsars*: but we may more safely and generally take it for any, that were descended of this familie, the familie of *Metellus*, noble as much by Vertue, as by blood: who for his conquest of *Creet* had the honour in his name, and was call'd *Creticus*, as *Scipio* was call'd *Africanus*. Thus a few verses before in the same 8th Saryre, *Juvenal* calls another Nobleman, for a like reason, *Getulicus* (in those words, -- *salve Getulice*) he being of the famous familie of Him, that had gotten that name from his conquest of the *Getulians*. So here he speaks of *Creticus*, as of *Metellus*; aggravating the levitie and filthiness of wearing transparent, and so immodest, apparel, from the Nobleness of his Person; as if he should say, Wilt Thou do this, that should'st remember, that thy Ancestor was a noble warrior severely detesting such effeminacy? This seems the least constrain'd exposition, and for advantage I add the Name (*Metellus*) to enlighten the epithet and the sense.

16. Shee'll ne're wear such a gown. — *Talem Non sumet damnata togam*. — *Toga* (the Gown) was properly the Man's garment, as *stola* was the Woman's, especially in the latter time of the Roman Commonwealth. Yet the obscurer sort of Women also, and maid-servants, and dishonest Women, chiefly those that were convicted of adultery, were enjoined publicly to wear the gown; as *Manutius de Quasitū per Epist. lib. 3. Epist. 1.* shews out of *Porphyrto* upon that of *Morace, Sat. 2. lib. 1.* — *quid inter Est in matronā, ancillā peccesue togā?* opposing *Matrona* and *Togata*. He brings this also of *Juvenal*, as an allusion to that; marvailing at *Servius* and *Nonius Marcellus* for delivering the contrary, and thinking that they speak only of the most ancient times of the Roman Commonwealth. Indeed *Tully* implies as much for His times (as *Manutius* notes) *Philip. 2. Sumptuisti virilem togam, quam statim muliebrem reddidisti, primo vulgare scortum: certa flagitii merces; nec ea parva.*

17. But July's Fire! I Boil. *Sed Julius ardet, æstu.* These words are an objection supposed and presently answer'd by the Poet.

18. The Good Goddesse's chaste Shrine. *Argue bonam tenerā placant, &c.* As the Goddesse *Coryto* was worshipp'd at *Athens* (the first King whereof was *Cærops*) by her Priestess the *Bapta*, so called because they were washed in (hor) water, before they were admitted to her filthy Sacrifices call'd *Or-*

gia, from the furious raptures wherewith her priests were thought to be inspir'd; and as, to add opportunitie to lewdness, these Rites were celebrated by night, a time fitter for sleep, then for service: so at *Rome* the Goddesse *Bona*, or the Good Goddesse, was worshipp'd by Women, who were usually summon'd to such service by the noise of a horn or the like instrument, men being excluded. In imitation whereof, some filthy Men perform'd by night and stealth such sacrifices to the same Goddesse, excluding Women, but not pleasure. To these *Juvenal* here alludes, saying that they which first would not blush to wear wanton Apparel, would at the next degree be partakers of those odious Rites, and wear Women's apparel; and not only be thus unmanly in their Attire, but worse in their Behaviour.

19. By *Juno* swears. The Poet here, saith *Politian* in his *Observations*, reprehends Men for Swearing after the manner of Women, by *Juno*; whereas they should more properly have sworn *per Genium*. *Seneca* implies the reason of this, *Epist. 110.* speaking of former times, *Singulis enim & Genium & Junonem dederunt*. Which words *Dempster de Juramento, lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 145.* mends thus, *lege aut Genium, scilicet virum, aut Junonem, feminam*: but before Him, *Lipsius* on that *Epistle* mended them so. Where we may farther note, that some Oaths were observ'd to have been peculiar to Men, as to swear by *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, *Fides*, *Genius*; Others to Women, as *Ædepol*, *Mcassar*, and by *Juno*; for so *Lubin* delivers out of *Politian*. Yet I find *Valentinus Acidalius*, an accurate Critick, in his *Annotations on Plautus his Asinaria, cap. 10.* making *Ædepol* a common Oath to Men and Women.

20. *Orbo's shield* (a Looking-glass). Some have seem'd to doubt of the truth of this Disgrace, which *Juvenal* here lays upon *Orbo*; being mov'd by the eulogies, which *Historians* bestow upon his death. Yet that is not enough to clear his Life; if but according to History we remember his vile commerce with *Nero*, his effeminate periwig to hide his baldness, and especially his impudent coin circumscrib'd with His Name and Title; wherein he is express'd with such a curious method of wreaths, that it will suppose *Orbo's* hand, or his mistress's, rather then the engravers, to have dress'd it. It is thus preserv'd and publish'd by *Antoine le Poix* a learned French Antiquary, at the end of his *Discours sur les Medailles Antiques, p. 1. figur. 8.* The Poet then saith



that these base sinners as much esteem'd of *Orbo's* looking-glass, as *Turnus* did of the mighty spear, which he bravely wonn from *Astor Aruncus*; as it is in *Virgil. Æneid. 12.*

21. Vastly they feast. Nay, This so Rare a Bride, &c. The Poet having express'd the portion which this execrable *Gracchus* brought to his dear Corner-winder, namely 400. *sestertia* (3125 l.) proceeds

ceeds saying, as the common copies here have it, *Ingens cœna sedet; gremio jacuit, &c.* In which passage *Lubin* takes *cœna sedet* for *convivia sedent*; which is but a hard acception: and whereas he once thought with *Lipsius* (as he says) in his *Epist. Quæst.* p. 133. that it should be read, *Sed ex gremio*, in English as much as, *Nay even to bed went this bride*, and so to be an aggravation: yet he tells us that now he likes of the other Reading, *Cœna sedet*, expounding *sedet* by *posita* and *parata est*; making this phrase or manner of speech peculiar to *Juvenal*: who, as he alleges, speaks on this fashion also in that of the first Satyre, — *nunc sportula primo Limine parva sedet.* He might have taken that other instance also from our Author, *Sat. 8. vers. 63.* — *Rara iugo victoria sedet.* But I approve not of his change of opinion for these reasons; first, it is a new expression to say *cœna sedet* for *cœnantes*; and *Lubin* is fain to say, that it is peculiar to *Juvenal*. Secondly, his proof out of *Juvenal*, and the other of the like form, which I allege, do not advantage his exposition of *cœna* by *cœnantes*; nay, they rather make it the more harsh; because then it should be, *cœnantes sedent mensæ*: which, if expounded like the other (*juga victoria sedet*) the guests would be placed as well upon the table, as at it. Thirdly, though the learned *Pithæus* in the text of *Juvenal* reads *cœna sedet*; yet in his *Var. Lætion.* on this place, he gives this note, *An potius distinguendum fuit—ingens cœna, sedet: gremio jacuit, &c.* and then adds out of *Apuleius*, *Accumbit ad summum thorum maritus, Psyche gremio suo complexus*, intending it as a like sense. Whereby it appears, that he disliked the insolency of the phrase *cœna sedet*, and sought to avoid it by the variety of Reading: according to which, *cœna* cannot be the word that must agree with *sedet*; but either the Bride-groom, or *Græchus* the new Bride, or both of them; that so it may answer to *accumbit maritus, &c.* But then *gremio jacuit* should only signify that she lay in his bosom, after the Roman fashion, at Supper; which were to take away the greatest aggravation of the crime, and according to this sense, *sedet* might have been spared in this concise expression, being implied, if it did signify *accumbit*, in the next words *jacuit*; wherefore I cannot here approve his conceit. Besides the Poet in this place uses most judicious and accurate brevity in the distinctions and parts of his speech, as *Signata tabula; dictum feliciter; ingens cœna*: after all which, to come dropping in with no news, but to say, that the meat was set on the table, and then that they sat down, were but a filling speech, being that which every man must suppose, especially at a wedding, though *Juvenal* had held his tongue. But let us take *Lipsius* his Reading, *Sed ex gremio* (which I here use) and it is an elegant advancement of expression, an admiration suitable to the crime.

22. A *Censor* or the *Aræfex*. The One purged the City from Offences by Punishment, the other by Sacrifice; or upon occasion when Monsters were produced.

23. The fringed, long gown, &c. The Poet here describes the singular practice of *Græchus*, who had been even a Priest of *Mars*, and therefore should

have been far from filthy effeminacy: yet so far did degenerate from Nobility and Manhood, that as a bride he was married and attired. But in the Poet's description of the *Salii* or Priests of *Mars*, there seems to be some ambiguity, whiles he says of *Græchus*, as of one of them, *Arcano qui sacra ferens nutantia loro, Sudavit clypeis ancilibus*. The Dress of the *Salii* in number twelve (though afterwards twice so many) and all of the Nobility, was chiefly this; A cap like a helmet, for the head; for the body the *tunica pilla* or a coat embroider'd; on this a brazen breast-plate with a little shield fastened with a thong on the inside (as some describe it) & small daggers in their hands, wherewith they struck upon their shields; and in this Dress yearly in *March* they solemnly danced about the *Forum* and the *Capitol*. In which passage it may seem doubtful, though the doubt be not proposed by the Interpreters, what is meant by *Sacra*. In brief, they take it generally, I grant, for the same with *clypeis ancilibus*, and, as I think, rightly; making the sense to be, as I have render'd it, that they carried the shields and danced with them so long, that they sweat. But this I thought necessary to be mention'd for two reasons; the one whereof is, because *Lubin* says here, upon *arcano loro—lori d'opio intrinsecus statuis appositum erat*: which to what purpose he adds here I know not, unless he would have us suppose, that every one of the *Salii* carried some statue of *Mars* fastened to him; but, that any such thing was here used, it appears not. The other reason is, because the poet varying the appellation of the same thing in the very next verse, it might justly seem obscure, as I think it is, and therefore fit to be observ'd: though I think it also justly warrantable; the first (*sacra*) being but a general expression, the latter (*ancilia*) more especial. And here we may observe, that though *ancile* be according to some rendered by *Scutum*, it is more accurately here by the Poet called *clypeus*: the difference being, that the *Scutum* was a larger defence, being somewhat like a door, more long than broad, and therefore by the *Greeks* called *Σcutum*; whereas the *clypeus* was less and round, and therefore the eye of the *Cyclops* is compared unto it by *Virgil* (yet to a large one, an *Argolic* shield) saying, *Argolici clypei ex Phœbea lampadis instar*; as *Godelevanus* observes out of *Livy*, lib. 8. where the Historian says, that to some souldiers was appointed the *clypeus*, but to others *pro clypeo Scutum*. Yet the form of the *Ancile* (or the shield, as the fable has it, that fell from Heaven with a voice foretelling, that, That City should bear rule, in which that should be kept) is described not without variety; some saying that it was cut on each side like a half Moon, as *Manutius de Quæstis per Epist. lib. 3. Epist. 6.* others, that it was rounder, according to that of *Ovid*, *Atque ancile vocant, quod ab omni parte recisum est: Quaque oculus spectes, angulus omnis adest*. Both expressions are presented by *De Choul de la Religion des Anciens Romains*. p. 239: the one from a silver-coin, in *Augustus* his time, which by some is taken for the form of the *Ancile*; the other from a brazen coin, in the time of *Antonius Pius*, which last has this name expressed upon it.

24. Great



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a. Juv. Sat. II. Illust. 23.

24. Great Marcher. Thus I choose to render, *Gradive*. *Gradivus* here signifies *Mars*; but *Autumnus* against the common exposition takes it here for *Romulus*, the Son of *Mars*; but gives no reason of his dissent. Yet I suppose it to be from the former words of *Juvenal* saying, *O pater Urbis*; which likewise *Autumnus* expounds by *Romulus*. But I think that *Gradivus* ought here to be taken for *Mars*; it being the safest way to expound any Author by himself, and so *Juvenal* by *Juvenal*: who *Satyr*, 13. vers. 113. calls *Mars* by this name, *Gradivus Homericus*, *Mars* mentioned in *Homer*, as it is there justly and necessarily expounded. We may add that of *Livy*, *Decad.* 1. lib. 2. *Jovem patrem Gradivumque Martem aliosque iratos deos invoco*; and thus it was usually taken by others. For so when *Juvenal* says, *Sat.* 13. *Et Martis frameam*—, it is borrow'd and altered by *Martianus Capella* into *Gradivi frameam*. And whereas *Autumnus* takes *pater Urbis* to be *Romulus*, there also it more fitly signifies *Mars*: who, being the father of *Romulus*, may with more honour to *Rome*, as being accounted in their fond religion the greater deity, be called the father of it. But to shew beyond just reprieve, that *Gradivus* must here signify not *Romulus*, but *Mars*, it is apparent from the continuation of this *Apostrophe*, in which, a little after, the Poet says unto him—Go then, no more respect Thy warlike field:— by which, *Autumnus* (as the rest of the Interpreters) understands *Campus Martius*, an ample place, where military exercises were used. Which manner of speech, thy field, makes it clear, that he speaks to *Mars*, whose field it was. Thus even according to *Autumnus* himself it must be expounded, though he observed not the inconvenient truth of his own exposition, against himself. Now, for the word *Gradivus*, some (as particularly *Servius*) would bring it from *gradus*, and so it might with small addition be rendered, *Shake-spear*; which in effect is the sense also of the name *Pallas*, from *πάλλω*, *vibro*; but that this is a near and easy derivation, the other somewhat remote; as also is theirs, who would dravv it from *græmen*, because a Grass-coronet was in Honour amongst Martial men, being the reward of those, that raised the enemy's Siege. Others make it *quasi Grandis divus*: but this were no name of distinction from some other gods; nay, even in this sense it might seem fit to be given to *Jupiter* himself by way of excellency. Festus the Grammarian derives it from *gradior*, *a gradiendo in bello ultro citroque*, from bestirring himself in Battels: but *Britannicus* though he sets this derivation in the first place,

yet expounds it in a different sense, saying, *quia gradatim, & per ordines eatur in bellum*; implying that the word does seem to express the stately and leisurely March of the God of War; according to which apt sense I choose to render it.

25. Bigg Lyde's Physick-box can This ne're gain. There are two Readings of this passage; the one, *Turgida non prodest in pixide condita Lyde*; and this is renewed and approved by *Fortunatus Scacchus* in his *Myrothecium*, lib. 1. cap. 44. vvhich he says, that *Lyde* signifies a spider, so called from *Arachne* a *Lydian* turned into a spider; and that *condita in pixide turgida*, implies that it was closed in a swelling box, so called either because it was full of Ointments, or else somevvhat round sided, of this form, as *Schacchus* presents in *Myrothecium*, p. 431. and lastly that this was thought to be of



special vertue to make Women fruitful. Upon this persuasion, says he, they carried a spider about with them in a box; which that it might not corrupt and so by the smell offend, they added ointments to it. Which beleife was occasion'd by a kind of spider called *Phalangium*, which as *Pliny* relates, lib. 11. cap. 24. brings forth 300. young ones at one time. Thus we must first suppose that Women generally took notice of this obscure fable of the spider *Phalangium*; and secondly we must make *turgida*, which is here a dactyle, to be of the ablative case and agree with *pixide*. Indeed the interpretation is as excusable as the poetry; yet I mention it, because he does more fully then others, set down this Opinion, or rather phanfic. *Juvenal* also did deliver this conceit about a spider, out of an old Manuscript, and so it came into the more estimation, and seems to please *Autumnus*, as the best: but let him beleive the trifle, whiles we beleive it to be but a trifle; this Reading and Interpretation being in effect long since rejected by *Philip Beroald* in his Annotations as an exposition too remote and an affectation grounded upon no sufficient

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eat

ent authority. The other Reading is *Turgida non prodest conditâ pizide Lyde*; and this most Manuscripts agree upon: according to which, *Beroald* and *Politian* make *Lyde turgida* (that is, *ventricosa*) to signify a corpulent Woman called *Lyde* from her country (the *Lydian* Women commonly of such a size, as *Statius* seems to emplie in those words, *Hoc plaudunt grege Lydia tumentes*); adding, that such went with boxes of Ointments to sell, pretending them to be effectual for Womens fruitfulness, and that they were intertain'd with a common and foolish belief; which exposition as the most probable I receive. To the like effect indeed the *Luperci* the priests of *Pan* did use in *February* to run naked about the City (yet *Plutarch* mentions a little covering) the Women that desired to be fruitful holding out their hands unto them not without impudent folly, and the priests striking them with a goat skin, or, as the *Scholiast* has it, with a *serula*.

26. The Coated *Gracchus*'s trident This surpass'd. *Tunicati fuscina Gracchi*. Under the name of *Gracchus*, the Poet here and before declaims against some of the chief Nobility; before for their execrable marriages, and here for hiring their lives to the *Prator* (who set forth shews to the people) and, as infamous persons, for fighting publicly in the *Amphitheater* strew'd with sand, to drink up the blood that was shed. For they that were put to the worst were according to the custome usually killed: yet to this base madness did some of the vicious and bankrupt Nobilitie descend. Where it is worth the noting, that the Poet, in passing to the description of this other *Gracchus*, says *Vicir & hoc monstrum tunicati fuscina Gracchi*, as if this fault had been more monstrous than the other crime. Which sense may seem unworthy of *Juvenal*'s judgement, namely that he should make a fault against Honour to be greater then a sin against Nature; and I marvel that this inconvenience has almost escap'd all Interpreters. Indeed *Lubin* seems to take notice of it, saying that the Poet calls this the worse fault, because unto the former, some of the Nobilitie had been forced by *Nero*, but unto This baseness they did voluntarily descend. This were somewhat, if it were all true; but he proves none of it. I remember that *Sulpitius Severus* in his *Eccles. Histor. lib. 2.* relates that the monster *Nero* was, as a Woman, married to one *Pythagoras*, and that *Xiphiline* says the same and also, that as a Male he was as monstrously married to one *Sporus*! *Orosius* says the same; only whereas some call the former infamous person, *Pythagoras*, *Sueton* calls him *Doryphorus*, *Nero*'s freed-man; yet in this as there is no mention of Nobility, so neither of compulsion. Wherefore unless we saw better ground for this assertion, we may rather seek some other reason; and I propose this. The Poet does not here compare the two faults for the Hainousness, but for the impudence in the committing of them: in which respect, this through the less sin in it self, did exceed the former. For in the committing of that, they had some shame, as the Poet implied saying, — *Nubis amicus, Nec multos adhibet* —, it must be closely carried; and *Fiert ista palam* —, hereafter they will commit this openly, so that as yet it was a secret villanie: but as for This Baseness, though extream, they run into it open faced; as may appear from the nature of the fault now to be set forth. Of the two that are here described for the combat, the one was called *Retiarius*, as this *Gracchus* here was; the other *Myrmillo* and *Sequitur*. The first is (in effect) used a little after this passage, when the Poet says, — *retia missi*: the two latter are used in *Sat. 8.* where

the Poet falls again more largely and vehemently upon this argument. Yet because the Antiquity and Form of these exercises is very necessary to be here declar'd, the exposition of that in the eighth *Sat.* may be here deliver'd. The *Retiarius* then was so call'd from the principal part of his furniture, which was diverse. For first he was dressed in a short Coat, which becom'd not the state of a Noble Person. Secondly he had a three-pointed Mace or iron in his left hand; and thirdly a Net in his right; with which, if he could by his skill (which was commonly practiced) he did enwrap his adversary by sodainly casting of it over his head and as sodainly drawing it together, and then with his trident usually slew him. In which mad exercises, the net was counted such an advantage, that they allowed the *Retiarius* no other fence. For on his head he wear only a hat or long cap tied under his chin with a broad string or ribband, as this *Gracchus* is described, *Sat. 8.* And thus he fought in part bare-faced, which farther argued the unworthiness of such a person, thus to engage his life and honour with a hireling. The other combatant was called *Myrmillo*, who, besides a hooked sword (*falsâ supina*) and a buckler, was allowed also a helmet, whereon was the picture of a fish: which gave occasion to the *Retiarius* to say usually to the *Myrmillo* that strived to avoid the casting of the net, *Non te peto, pisces peto, quid me fugis Galle?* not that the *Myrmillo* was always a *Gaul* or *Frenchmen*, but because his Armour or furniture was after the *Gallique* fashion. The reason of the name *Myrmillo* is by some mentioned, as by *Marcellus Donatus* on *Sueton's Caligula*, cap. 32 where *Myrmillones* are said to be so called, quasi *Myrmidones*, as if it were from their singular valour, the *Myrmidons* having in their time been the flower of the *Greek* soldiery. But not to abuse our selves with such derivations, the learned *Johannes Isaac Pontanus* in his *Glossarium Præfæ Gallicum*, in the word *Myrmillo*, p. 254. tells us, that the *Myrmillo* is a fish by the *Frenchmen* anciently called *Mormyton*, or *Mormilon*, which will so subtilly shoot himself into the mud, that the Fishermen are scarce able to take him with a drag. And because he that fought with the *Retiarius* did sometimes use great bendings or windings of his body to avoid the net, and as it were to hide himself from the art of the *Retiarius*; therefore by similitude he was called *Myrmillo*, and wore the picture of the fish upon his helmet. Thus *Pontanus*, chiefly out of *Gillius*, partly out of *Gesner*; though the *Scholiast* indeed gave the light to them all: who on this word, *Sat. 8. v. 199.* gives this note, *Myrmillo armatura Gallica nomen, ex pisce inditum, cuius imago in galeâ fingitur*. The *Myrmillo* is also upon occasion, *Sat. 8. v. 210.* called *Sequitur*, as much as the *Pursuer*; because if the *Retiarius* did not cunningly poise his arm in the casting of his net, but cast either too short or too far, so that he missed his purpose, instantly he betook himself to his heels, running about the *Amphitheater* for his life, with all possible agilitie, that he might happily recollect his net for a second cast; the *myrmillo* in the meantime as swiftly pursuing him (whence he was called *Sequitur*) to deprive him, if he could, of his purpose and life. This kind of fighting (with the Net) came from *Pittacus* the wife *Grecian*, who (as *Diogenes Laertius* relates) fighting a single combat with *Phrymon*, did with a net which he hid under his buckler sodainly entangle him and then slew him.

27. Then the first Rank at Shews. *Ad Podium spectantibus*. *Podium* was the chief place at Shews, and called so because, as some think, it did jut out like a foot, or as others, because it was at the foot or low-

er part of the building, and so being the formost and nearest place of Seats for the advantage of sight and hearing, was appointed for the Nobilitie. *Servius* alleges this to expound that of *Virgil*, *Æneid*, 4. *Max totum cauea concessum ingentis, & ora Prima portum*. So that our Poet says that *Gracchus*, who thus disgrac'd himself, was by birth more noble, then the best of his Spectators, or the *Prator* himself, who set forth these Shews.

28. If they 've the Bath-fee paid. The *Scholiast* tells us that the children did not pay the *Balneaticum*, or fee for being Bath'd; seeming to impute that they were bathed. The Author of the Manuscript Commentarie would be too impurely subtle, saying that the Poet here speaks against little children, who that they might be bathed without paying the fee, permitted themselves to the Bath-keepers worst desire. *Labin* first says that children were not bath'd at all: but afterwards he prefers another opinion before this, saying that though they were bathed, yet they paid not the farthing, or fee. But he might have better kept himself to his first opinion; children being not bathed at all in the publique baths, as *Caldesine* shews out of *Tully de Oratore*; and the time that they thus abstained being till they were four years old. One Manuscript well expresses the sense of this passage, the Author of it saying that none but infants believe a hell, that is, such as not coming yet to the publique Baths, are by this means as yet not corrupted in their lives. Thus does he impute the epidemical impietie of those times, wherein hell was counted rather a fable, then a place of justice, and only such satyrically supposed to believe it, as could not understand it.

29. Or the bold Legion of *Cremera*. It may peradventure give occasion of doubt to some, that *Juvenal* here calls those, that were slain at the river *Cremera* in *Tuscanie*, a Legion; it being expounded of the *Fabii*, who were in all but 306. whereas a Legion, according to *Vegetius*, and *Modestus*, contained 6000. foot and 700. horse; nor to examine farther the exact overplus of these numbers. And though the number of a Legion did sometimes vary, yet this number of the *Fabii* may not presume to swell to that extent. *Britannicus* indeed says that they were aided by their Servants and Clients, yet *Florus*, calls them *Patricius exercitus*; and *Livy*, lib. 2. cap. 49. says of them, *Nunquam exercitus, neque minor numero, neque clarior fama ex admiratione hominum per urbem incessit*. Wherefore the word *Legio* seems here not to be used in an exact sense, but rather by way of wit: such brave Romans, though but few, being termed a Legion for their equivalent worth.

30. If Sulphure and the pine tree were With them. The Ancient manner of purging those that were polluted was with Sulphure and fire made with the wood of the unctuous pine tree, and such like; they used also to wet a lawrel branch and sprinkled them with it. See *Turnebus*, lib. 23. cap. 21. *Mensur* in his *Spicileg.* p. 144. and *Marcellus Donatus* on *Sueton's Nero*. cap. 6.

31. Beyond the Irish foe. *Juvena* here used is by the *Scholiast* taken for *Britany*; and *Ortelius* shews out of *Strabo* upon *Lycophron*, that *Juvena* was called *West-Britany*. Yet both by *Ortelius* and Mr. *Cambden* it is taken for *Ireland*; and otherwise, methinks the Poets expression would seem disjointed, first mentioning *Britany*, then the *Orcaides*, and then the *Britans* (for so the Poet orders them, saying *ultra Littora Juvena—& Orcaides—ac—Britannos*): besides to name both *Britanie* and the *Britans* were superfluous. But the chief doubt here is, whether, as *Juvenal* here says, the Romans had extended their

victories beyond *Ireland*; seeing that it is thought by our accurate *Cambden*, that the Romans did not conquer *Ireland*. Wherefore, this passage of *Juvenal* seeming to imply the contrary, we may conclude that the Poet speaks here at large, as a stranger to these parts, and but according to the report of the triumphing Romans, who sometimes took discoveries for conquests, and thought those overcome, who were but neighbours to those, whom they overcame. And here we may observe, that the Poet notes the *Britans* for their short nights; which is to be understood of the Summer-solstice, when the night, in the extreamest part of the Isle is scarce six hours long; as *Lipsius* notes on *Tacitus* his *Agricola*, on those words, *Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram*.

32. He came a hostage; here he's made a Man! *Venerat obfes*; *hic sunt homines*; That is, He came innocent, from his own country, and rather into a sorrowful state, to be but a pawn for the loyalty of his country-men, and therefore indeed but as an honourable prisoner: but here by commerce, he is made a Man no doubt! which last words are usually understood as an *Ironie*; the meaning being, that he was rather turn'd a Woman. Indeed the word *Homo* will bear either sense; and peradventure, though against some interpreters, the later will prove the truer, if we take notice of the significations of the word, which sometimes by way of excellency signifie the First of men, as (according to the Latin copie) in that of *Gen. 2. 25. Homo & uxor ejus*; where not only the word *Homo* is used by way of distinction for the Man, but also necessarily *Homo* and not *Vir*, & that according to the strictness of the Original; wherein the word is not *אדם* but *אדם*. *Johannes Drusius* in his Notes upon *Sulpitius Severus* his *Ecclesiasticall History*, lib. 1. p. 8. shews also that sometimes *homo* is taken only for the Woman; see there also his Epistle to *Baudartius* of the acceptions of *Homo*. But for the sense of the word in this place, I think it ought to be render'd here, as it is on a like occasion used again in *Juvenal* himself, who, in the sixth Satyre bringing in an impudent Woman not able to deny her dishonesty, makes her confess her shame, in a kind of excuse, by crying out *Homo sum*; which I there render, *I'me Woman*. And I think it might as truly be render'd here in that feminine sense; Hither he came a hostage, an innocent Male, as Pledges (to prevent dishonourable inconveniences) use commonly to be (though not always, as *Lipsius* observes on *Tacitus* his *Germania*) but now we may say, he is of one sex more; though not meer Woman, yet of the Common gender. And this the Poet implies by his effeminacy, saying that the change and corruption of his manners appears in the change of his attire: for now *mittentur braccia*, &c. not (as some would have it) He shall have such things sent as guifts to corrupt him; but, as the *Scholiast* well expounds it by shewing an *equipollent*, *Mittentur*, that is, *Dimittentur*; the sense being this, Now he will bid farewell to his former simplicity, he will lay aside his own Country Ornaments, such as were the (*braccia*) Slops, and the ruder knives of His country fashion; likewise the whips and bridles used by him in his home-bred, honest, manly & hunting exercises; And will carry home to his *Armenian City Artaxata*, the brave fins of *Rome*. Whence we may farther see, that *Mittentur* cannot signify, that such things should be sent as guifts unto him, this being to preserve him in his innocent attire & exercises; but it must signify a change of his *Armenian* manners into *Roman*. It were a truth, though but a sport, to remember that in one Manuscript the word *Artaxata* is expounded by a kind of strange garment; but we must add that such exposition is more strange.

SATYRE. III.

ARGUMENT.

*To Witty Rome the Greeks such Wit
Did Adde, they could each humor fit.
They could a Great Mans Crimes Explore;
And those Crimes Publish, or Adore
And Act too, if Need Bid them! Rare
Merchants, that made mens Sins their Ware!
Nay, in meer Rome, besides these drifts,
Through Pois'ning, Treachery and Guifts,
Fires, Ruins, Throngs; Noise, Scorn and Theft,
No place for Honest men is left.
Umbricius then from Rome departs,
Because he wants the Roman Arts.*

THough my old Friends departure makes me sad,
Yet I commend him, that he means to add
To good *Sibylla* one inhabitant more
At private *Cuma*. [1] 'Tis the *Romans* doot
Into fair *Baia*, and does yield the sight
Of a most grateful shoar's retir'd delight.
I *Prochyta* prefer, though counted bale,
Before our brave *Suburra* (a). For what place
Is so forsaken, that thou should'st forsake,
Ev'n There, sweet Peace? and madly choose to quake
At daily Fires, and falling houses, and
A thousand such disasters still at hand
In dreadful *Rome*? Nay, and in *August's* hear,
When Poets read, [2] to throng into a sweat?
But whiles his goods were in one Waggon laid,
By the *Capenian* Conduit-gate he staid,
At the *Old Arches*. Here did *Numa* use
To meet his night-Nymph: but here now some *Jews*,
Whose Hay and Basket is their wealth, [3] do dwell
Hiring the *Muses* Chappel, Grove and Well. (b)
For ev'ry Tree must pay the People rent:
Our Groves now Begg: Our are the *Muses* sent
To seek a Roof! Hence to *Egeria's* Vale
We did descend; whose sacred Caves now faile

To

To yield the eye the first delight. For sure
The water's Deity were far more pure,
If a Grass-margin grac'd the Spring, and none
Of our vain Marbles grac'd the native stone.

Here then says my *Vmëritius*, since no gains
Or place *Rome* yields to Honest Arts and Pains;
Since my stock daily wasts, and less will grow
To-morrow; I resolve thither to go,
Where *Dadalus* put-off his weary wings:
Whiles Hoariness in straight Old-age (a) first springs,
Whiles *Lachesis* has yet not Finish'd, and
Whiles my Feet bears Me, not a staff my Hand.
Let Us leave *Rome*; 'tis for *Arturius* Here,
Or cunning *Catulus* to domineere:
Such can turn black to white, hire Temples, Ports,
Rivers, Sink-cleansing, Business of all sorts,
And Gain by't; bear to their last fire the Dead,
And sell under the Spear a Servile head.
These were but Cornet-winders, whose base Crime
And Cheeks (d) each Country Theater well knew.
Now these set forth the Shews, and with ease can,
The Peoples Thumb being turn'd, [5] kill any man;
And thence return'd [6] they hire for gain (ne're grutch)
Jakes-farming. Why not all things? Since they're such,
As from a low Estate are strangely Blest
By *Fortune*, when she is dispos'd to jest.

VVhat should I do at *Rome*? I cannot fain,
Not praise a Dull Book, or crave to obtain
A Copy: The Stars Motions pass my skill:
To promise a Rich Father's Death, my Will
And Art detest: Toads entrails (e) I ne're view'd:
VVhat with one's Bride a flie Knave does conclude,
VVhat Guifts, what Letters pass, let others know:
I'll be no Theife's Receiver. Thus I go
From *Rome* as fit for no man, like one main'd.
VVhose right hand, Life already has disclaim'd.
For who's now lov'd but he, whose burning breast
Great Mens great Crimes does Hide, though not detest?
He neither Gives, nor Owes thee any fee,
That tells thee but some Honest Secrecy.
Dear shall he be to *Verres*, that knows How
And when, to Accuse *Verres*. But slight Thou
The shadow'd *Tagus*'s sands, though sands of gold,
VVhich with his waves into the Sea: are rowl'd,
Rather then wake through Guilt and Bribes, and tend
VVith a sad Heart on a Great jealous friend.

VVhom now our Rich ones Love, and I most Hate,
Since They blush not, I'll blush not, to relate
I loath, *Quiritians*, *Rome* turn'd Greek; [7] although
Not much *Achaian* dreggs we have. But loe,

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Syrian Orontes into *Tyber* flow'd
 Long since, and brought with it more than it ow'd;
 Tongue, Manners, strings as straight, the Minstrel too,
 The *Syrian* Drum, and the soft Girles that woe
 For Gain, at the known *Circus* (f). Thither go
 You, that their painted Miters [8] love to know.
 The haunt-doal gown, [9] *Quirinus*, Thy Clown wears,
 And his oil'd neck rewards of Mastery bears.
 But one from *Amydon*, high *Sicyon*, and
Samos, from *Andros*, *Tralles*, *Alaband*,
 On th' *Esquiline* or *Viminal* Hill's Ador'd,
 First th' Entrals of some Great House, Then the Lord!
 Such are of swift wir, of Brow strangely bold,
 And Tongue most quick: *Isaus* is less rowl'd.
 Riddle me this, what's He, that to *Rome* came,
 And with him brought what Man or Trade you'l name,
 Grammarian, Oratour, Geometrician,
 Painter, Anointer, Quacksalver, Magician,
 Diviner, Rope-dancer! All things he knows,
 A hungry *Greek*, if bid, to Heav'n straight goes.
 In brief, no *Moor* he was, *Tartar* or *Thracian*,
 That Flew once; but in *Athens* born. Bold nation!
 Shall I not shun their Purple (g)? Or must I
 Let Him Seal first, and on the chief Couch lie [10]
 At Feasts? VVhom to our *Rome* the same wind brought,
 That brought us Prunes and Figgs? Goes it for nought,
 That we *Aventine* aire first breath'd, and bred
 In *Rome*, were with the *Sabine* olive fed?
 But, O, these *Greeks* cunning, to fawn, can grace
 A Sott's discourse, and a Friends ugly face:
 His slender neck to *Hercules* they dare
 Equal, that held *Antaus* in the Aire:
 They praise his small voice, though no better then
 The noise, the Husband-Cock makes with his Hen.
 VVe could praise these things too, thus lie; but They,
 (There's the luck!) are beleiv'd too! who does play
 A *Thais*, better? or, a VVife? or, fair
Doris? You'd think it were the Nymph, no Player.
 Though no short Cloak does hide her, yet ones eye
 (Through their ev'n skill) no difference can descry:
Antiochus, *Demetrius*, *Stratocles*,
 Soft *Hemus* too, where these come, cannot please.
 The Nation's Born to Comedy. Smile you?
 He shakes with laughter: weeps, give but the cue,
 And Grieves Not. Call for fire 'gainst winters threats;
 On goes His Rugg (h): say but, I'm hot, He Sweats.
 VVe are not Ev'n then: he 'tis has the start,
 That still can wear anothers Face and Art;
 Cast up the hands before the brow [11]; commend
 His Lord, if he belch well; if his bigg Friend

Leak on his Couch [12]; if, when the wine's quaff'd up,
 His lips but smack against the golden cup [13].
 Besides, what's holy? from their Lust what's free?
 Marrone and Daughter in a Familie,
 Nay Bride-groom too, yet smooth, and the dear Son,
 Modest till now, are now by these undone!
 If this pray fail, till ev'n the Bottome's clear'd,
 They'l ransack House and Heart, [14] and thence be fear'd!
 And now we talk of *Greeks*, their Schools go view. [15]
 And the Grave habit. (i) 'Twas a *Stoick* slew
Bareus, a whisperer his Friend, an old
 Master his Scholer; born where the too bold
Gorgonean Horse a feather lost. [16] No place
 Is for a *Roman* left at *Rome*; where base
Protophages, where *Diphilus*, or where
 An *Erimanthus* once gets head, who ne're
 (That's the Greek trick) Divides a friend; but will
 Engross him. For, can he but once instil,
 Into an easy ear, his subtle hate,
 A drop of his Greek venom, I am straight
 Thrust out. Thus my long service is rewarded!
 A Client's loss is no where less regarded!
 Indeed, what's Here a Poor man's Toile or Pay!
 Though his gowns on, to Visir, before Day! (k)
 VVhen as the *Prator* to his *Litlor* sends
 Headlong, least that ev'n Then his Childless friends
 Be up, and some Collegue in the pursuit,
 Should *Modia* or *Albink* first salute.
 Here thou may'st sometimes see a Free-born Son,
 Upon a Rich man's Servant's Left-hand run: [17]
 For ev'n this Servant gives from his strange store
 To *Catena* or *Calvina* more
 For a faint night or two, then the whole pay
 Our *Tribunes* have; that in a *Legion* sway.
 But Thou, glad of a Vail'd face, dost not dare
 To hand down *Chione* from her high Chair [18]
 Bring here a VVitness too, though just, as he
 That lodg'd th' *Idean* *Cybel*, or as free
 As *Numa*, or our Priests, that to his fame
 Sav'd trembling *Pallas* from the Temple's flame:
 Straight ask they, *Is he rich?* But, *Is he just?*
 Is the Last question, and least cause of trust!
 How many Servants feeds he? What's his Land?
 How furnish'd is his Table? VVhen all's scann'd,
 Thy Chest's thy Rule; for, How much Treasure's there,
 Just so much credit hast thou. Should'st thou sweat
 By the great *Samothracian* Gods and ours [19]
 They think, the Poor sleight thunder and the pow'r
 Divine, and are forgiv'n. VVhat jests are spent
 On a poor man, if his cloak's foul or rent!

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If his Gown's soil'd, his Shooe ript, or ill sow'd,
 That the brown thread, like scars in wounds, is show'd.
 Unhappy Povertie's worst Plague is, that
 It makes a man, alas, be flouted at!
 Away cries one, and let him not here claim
 A seat on the Knight's cushion'd bench [20] for shame,
 VVhose state's below the Law; sit you here, which
 (Though Pandars sons born in some Stews) are rich.
 Let some neat Crier's son clap here, among
 Trim yonkers from some goodly Fathers sprung,
 Sons of some Catch-Fish, or chief Fencer [21]. Thus
 It pleas'd vain *Otho*, who distinguish'd us!
 VVho gets a Rich wench Here, if his Means are
 Less than Her bags? VVhat Poor man's made an Heir?
 VVhen asks an *Edile* his advise [22]? The Poor
 Should have left *Rome* e're this, by troops, once more.
 They scarce e're get their heads above the flood,
 VVhose vertue's, by short means at home, withstood!
 Chiefly at *Rome*; where ev'ry thing is dear,
 Poor Lodging, Servants Bellies, and short cheer,
 And yet an Earthen dish These scorn, though He
 VVell lik'd it, that by sodain change did see
 The *Marfians* and *Sabellians* thrifty food, [23].
 And that wore There the course *Venetian* hood [24].
 Indeed, not in a few *Italian* Towns
 There are not any, till they're dead, wear Gowns [25].
 Ev'n when to their grass-Theaters they throng
 At their great Feasts, when the known Parting-song
 Returnes unto their Stages, [26] and the sight
 Of a pale gaping Actor [27] does half-fright
 The country Babe in's Mother's lap; you may
 See there one Dress, nor the first seats more gay, [28].
 Then are the People's: where the Roab of Note
 In their chief *Ediles* is but a white Coat [29].
 Here without Means too bravely we go dress'd,
 And sometimes borrow from another's Chest.
 This is our fault! VVe all, in Pride controul'd
 By want, live Here. In brief, at *Rome* All's Sold!
 VVhat will ye give, Great *Cossus* to Salute?
 Or for *Veiento's* glance, though He'l be Mute?
 One barbes his Man, another trims his Page,
 Inrich'd with their fine cakes [30]. But add just rage,
 As leaven; Swell at This; poor Client's pay
 Meer Tribute to proud Slaves, which thus bear sway!
 At cold *Præneste* or *Volsinium* plac'd
 Mongst shady Hills, at *Gabii* truly grac'd
 VVith innocence, or at steep *Tibur's* Tow'r,
 VVho fears a Ruine? VVhen as, much of our
 Proud *Rome* does trust to a weak prop. For so
 The Country workman stays it; and, although

He

He hides but some old chinks, when we're half sure
Of instant death, he says, *Now sleep secure.*
I'll live where are no fires, no fears by night:
Vcalegon my neighbour does half-fright
The street; now cries-out, water; bears-out now
His small goods; now thy third floor smoaks whil'st thou
Know'st nothing. Soon comes the til'd cock-lofts [31] turn,
(Where soft Doves breed) let once the bottom burn.
Codrus's Wife Procula was short; his bed
Shorter: six Pitchers grac'd his Cupbord's head.
His little Can in lower place did stay,
And under the same marble *Cheiron* lay:
A Chest, though old, did his *Greek Poets* shrine,
And barb'rous mice gnaw'd Poems though Divine! [32]
Codrus had nothing; Who denies't? Yet what
So e're that Nothing was, he lost All That;
Nay, to heap greif, when naked he begg'd bread,
No man vouchsafed him food, or house, or bed!
But if *Arturius* his house fall, *Rome* quakes;
The Nobles put on black, the *Prator* makes
The Law-days wait; then we accuse the dire
Mischances of the City, then hate fire.
Whiles yet it burns, some run, and marble give,
Th' expence too; Some send statues that ev'n live,
So naked they're, so pure: Some send a neat
Peace, by *Euphranor* wrought, or *Polyclete*,
Which once grac'd the *Phacasian* Gods. [32] One brings him
Books, Desks, a half *Pallas* (n): Another, flings him
Silver, almost a peck. [33] A richer store
Tis childless *Persian* gets, [34] then e're before;
And now men fear, 'twas but an acted part,
And that his house was fir'd by his own art.

Could'st thou but leave the *Circus*, [35] and wouldst go
To *Fabrateria*, *Sora*, *Frusino*;
Thou might'st a good house Buy, for that which here
Thou giv'st for a dark hole hir'd for one year.
Some Gardens There; A shallow well; that needs
No rope, but the young Plants willingly feeds,
There love thy fork, be there thy Garden dress'd;
Then ten times ten *Pythagoreans* Feast. (q)
'Tis somewhat to be Lord of some small ground,
Though but a Lizard can therein turn round.

Here want of sleep the sick does often kill:
But undigested meat begot this ill,
Clogging the burning stomach. For, who can
Sleep, for the noise of shops, but the Rich man,
That bribes for't? Thus they sicken; when Carts (p) meet
Or stand, in narrow turnings of a street,
The railing Carriers sore perplex'd do make
Ev'n *Drusus*, (q) and our heavy Sea-calves wake.

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

If business calls a rich one, the rout thuns
 His train, above their heads his large couch runs,
 VWhile he within reads, writes, or sleeps: for keep
 His litter-window shut, [36] and he can sleep;
 Yet makes more speed than we. Run we? Before,
 A wave resists: Behind, a Troop does goar
 Our loins: an Elbow here, or poal does rub
 My side; my head feels There a beam or tub.
 Durt fats my thighs: a clown reads on me, and
 A Souldier leaves his Boot-hail in my hand [37].

Seest not with what a Smoak we celebrate
 Our Doal? [38] A Hundred ghuefts! On each does wait
 His Kitchen! *Corbulo* would be half dead,
 Should he so many huge pans bear on's head,
 As a small wretch sustains, nor yet must tire,
 But upright go, nay run, to fan the fire;
 His patch'd coat's torn for half. A long Firre quakes
 Sometimes, as the Cart joggles; or a Pine shakes
 Aloft, whose nodding threatens the whole street fears,
 For if an axle cracks, that hither bears
Ligurian stones, and casts upon the rout
 His mountain-load, what then can be found out
 Of their crush'd bodies? where a Limb? a Bone?
 Their Corps Invisible, as their soul, is gone?
 Mean while the house, which none of this does know,
 The dishes wash, and with a fill'd cheek blow
 The small fire, the oil'd Cleansers sound, [39] with skill
 They fold the Bath-cloaths, and the oil-horn [40] fill.
 Thus do the Servants order ev'ry thing
 At home; when he that should the Supper bring,
 Poor Novice, on the *Stygian* bank does quake
 At ugly *Charon*, nor account does make
 To pass the foul gulf, since in's mouth he can
 Not find the farthing for the ferriman! [41]

Now view Night-dangers, and the dreadful height
 Of our house-tops, whence on one's brain does light
 Some earthen ware that leaks, some pot-sheard thrown
 Out at a window. It's weight marks the stone;
 It breaks the flinty pavement. Twere the worst
 Neglect of Chance, to sup abroad, and first
 Not make thy Will. So many Deaths thee meet,
 As there are watchful windows in each street.
 VWith this Bafe prayer then, this only, go;
 That on thy Pate they only urine throw.
 Besides, your drunken gallant, if he fight
 VWith no body, [42] with torment wakes all night;
 Nay, like *Achilles* for *Patroclus*, cries,
 And now upon his face, now upwards lies.
 Some only in this method sleep; a fray
 Makes them rest well; or else they watch till day.

Yet such a Knave, though hot with Youth and Wine,
Has so much drunken wit, as to decline
The Purple Roab, which a long train defends,
And with broad lights and brazen Lamps attends.
Me, whom the Moon leads, or a Candle's end,
Whose wick I temper, least too fast it spend,
He flights. The Proems of a fight I'll show;
If that's Fight, where Thou Giv'st, I Bear the blow.
One meets thee, bids thee stand: thou must obey;
What help? His rage and strength will make thee stay.
Whence come ye? Cries he. With whose Vinegar
And unshal'd bean d' ye swell? What Coblers were
At the bold Sheep's lips, and cut Leeks? [43] unfold
Your mind, or with your guts my heel grows bold.
Where is your station? At what Temple-door
May a man find you begging? [44] Now if more
Or less thou would'st Replie, or if Depart
Silent, all's one. They'll beat thee; then with Art
Complain, and bind thee o're to answer it. [45] Ah
A poor man's Libertie is but to fall
Prostrate, though buffeted; and to entreat
They'll leave him a few teeth to eat his meat.
Nor mayst thou fear This danger only; but
A Theif may spoil thee too, when doors are shut;
When shops are bar'd and chain'd, and all's grown still.
Sometimes a Villane's sodain blade does Kill,
To make Dispatch; when once the Pontine Moor [46]
And Gallinarian Pines take, to secure
Those parts strong guard; for then those parts they shun;
And all like Deer to a Park, do hither run.
What Forge, what Anvil makes not heavy Chains?
VWhat Ir'n we spend in shackles! The whole veins,
You'd fear, would fail, and none be left to make
A needful Plow-share, Martock, or a Rake.
Happy were our great Grandfires, Grandfires Times,
VWhen under Kings and Tribunes, for all Crimes,
One Jail serv'd Rome.

More Reasons could I show,
But my Teem waits me, and the Sun grows low; [47]
I must begon: the Carter calls away,
And jerk'd his whip to signifie my stay,
VWherefore farewell, and not forgetful be,
VWhen Rome to thy sweet Aquine hastens thee;
From Cuma to draw me to your Divine
Helvinian Ceres, [48] and Diana's Shrine;
And if thy Satyres blush not to give room,
To your cold fields a Booted Aid [49] I'll come.

NOTES on JUVENAL, Sat. III.

(a) **T**hat *Suburra* was the Cheapside of *Rome*, the Comparison makes out. For *Umbritius* now choosing a retirement, prefers the most private one such as was *Prochyta*, a little Island, before the most populous *Suburra*. Though perhaps not the Number only, but the Quality of its Inhabitants, offended the good man: For a Multitude of Whores lived there. *Fama non nimium bone puella, Quales in media sedent Suburra. Mart.* with whom and *Horace*, *Suburrana* signifies a whore. The Learned, out of *Festus* derive it à *Succurrendo*, because the Court of Guards was there kept, which relieved the watch, when the *Gabines* besieged that part of the Town, whose Inhabitants unto *Festus's* time were call'd *Tribus Succurrana*, and not *Suburrana*, and this justifies the Etymologie against *Varro*. L. 4. L. L.

(b) *Lucus*, & *Fons Aricinus*, which *Numa* consecrated to the Muses, without the *Porta Capena* the Triumphal or South-Gate of the City; through which from this Fountain water was conveyed to *Rome*, and therefore 'tis well call'd *Madida Capena*, and fitly render'd *Conduit-Gate*. 'Tis of it *Ovid* speaks in his *Fasti*;

*Egeria est quæ præbet Aquas, Dea grata Camæna,
Ille Numa Coniux, Consiliumque fuit.*

Where *Camœna* is the same with *Capena*. *Scribis, enim Asconius extra hanc Portam, Lucum & Eadem Camænarum esse: Propterea Camæna à nonnullis est appellata, nunc vero Porta Sti Sebastiani. Marl. Ant. Rom. Topogr. L. 1. c. 8.* And *Egeria* is said to be *grata Camœne*, because it requited it's kindness, in letting out her *Votaries*, by sending in at it the supply's of fresh water. Or else *Grata*, by Reason of the Pleasures it afforded the *Capena* by it's Springs.

(c) *Philosopher's* divide the time of *Man's* Life, according to the several changes, which at certain stages happen to it. And first *PUERITIA* they stretched to 25. years of Age, and made it include. 1. *Infantia*, from ones birth to three or four years of Age, within which time all children speak. 2. *Pueritia*, strictly so call'd, thence to 10. All this space of Time they were *puri*, i. e. *impubes*. *Cens. de Die Nat. Isid. L. 11. c. 2.* 3. From 10. to 18. was the time *Pubem Emitterendi*, thence call'd *Pubertas*. 4. And thence to 25. is *Adolescentia*, for then they are full grown. Secondly *IUVENTUS*, which was properly from 25 to 35 or 40. *Quod tunc ætatis Beneficio ad juvandum Rempub. apti erant:* Or else *Virilis Ætas*, thence to 50. so call'd *Quod Viri tunc sunt. b. e. viribus pollentes.* Thirdly *SENECTUS*, which was either *Prima & Relia* as our Poet calls it from 50 to 65. or *Ultima* and *Decrepita* till death. Hence the meaning of the Poet is clear. Only note that *Servius Tullius* in *A. Gell. L. 10. c. 28.* upon another Consideration made another Division of the Ages of Men.

(d) These *Cornicines* (as if they were nothing else) are prettily here described by their Cheeks; which in such kind of People are often much swollen and protuberant. Or *Buccæ*, may signify as *Buccones*, when 'tis put for Parasites and Buffoons. *Sat. 11. Curtius, & Matho Buccæ.* And even these here *Nigra in Candida vertunt*, v. 30. *Et, Librum si malus est Laudant;* v. 42. which were agreeable employments to *Arturius*, and *Catulus*; Persons that in ancient times (with the rest of their Gang) had not the Honour of Attendants on that Theater, which now at their costs they fill'd; But were per *Oppida*, in the Country Towns, content to act on an *Herbosum Theatrum*, v. 163.

(e) *Ranarum viscera*, i. e. *Rubetorum*, which were a strong Poison; and *Locusta* could well use it. — *Viro miscet sitiente Rubetam.* Nay she was Communicative too, and did not bury the secret, *Instituitque Rudes melior Locusta Propinquas.* This Honest *Aruspex* never view'd such entrails.

(f) Under the seats of the *Circus Max.* There were Cells or Vaults, wherein women did make the most gainful use of what they had: Particularly near the *Ædificium Menianum*, whence Spectators beheld the sports of the *Circus*, there were plenty of immodest women, thence call'd *Meniane*, and *Summenique*. *Mart. L. 3. Epig. 61.* And here observe that this vile Custome was begun by strangers, who are seldom of good report. This forces a *Thracian* in *Theoph. Char. et. nasc.* to speak thus of his mother. *Ἡ πόλις πόρνη ὑπε-
ρίσκει τῆς πατρίδος*, obscurely intimating says *Casaubon*; That at *Athens*, *Thracian* Women were thought, ignoble or whores. *Et certum est peregrinarum mulierum ubique fere Locorum, olim suspectam fuisse Pudicitiam: Quamobrem in S. Scriptura, mulier peregrina idem sonat*

sonat ac Scortum. The women we speak of were strangers, as well as whores.

(g) *Conchylia* is translated Purple, Because the *Purpura* & *Murex*, ex quibus piscibus elicibatur liquor ille pretiosus ad tingendas vestes, was Conchyle, or a shell-fish. Now this, the wear of the chief Romans only, *Umbritius* cannot endure these *Græculi* should wear. For the Promiscuous use of it was forbidden by *Aug. Suet. c. 43.* The reason of it *Tac. An. 2.* shew's and commands, *Præclare vero prudenterque Cæsar Ordines Civium veste discriminavit, ut sc. qui locis, Ordinibus, dignationibus antestant, Cultu quoque discernentur.* Yet at length Liberty prevailing at Rome they lived (if the money of the poorer sort could reach it) as in a Spartan Common wealth. where *ex Instituto Lycurgi Nemo alio cultior incesse.*

(h) *Endromis*, quod illâ in seque, i. e. cursu utebatur. For after running at juffs and Turnaments, and other Exercises of the Roman *Gymnasia*, they put on these shaggy and thick Garments (in this like Rugs) to prevent takeing cold. By this the fawning Greek signifies his concurrence in that persons Opinion of the weather, who to warn him desired a little fire to be made 'Twas a French Manufacture as *Mart.* assures us *Ep. 19. L. 4.* where at large he shews the use of it.

(i) That *Abolla*, was a grave habit, I nothing doubt from *Pegasus's* takeing it with him to the great Council of *Sat. 4. v. 75.* *Erat species majoris Vestis, aut Pallis Philosophici,* says *Parrhas.* who allows the Minor *Abolla* to be a military Garment. Yet *Voss.* in his *Ety. mel. L. Lat.* because by *Varro* and *Mart. Ep. 48. l. 8.* 'tis oppos'd to *Toga* will have it be nothing but a Military Gown, and says our Poet here gives it the Stoick *χαρακτηριστὴς, & cum irisione quadam*, that is, satyrically. So that the sense is: Hear what he hath done who is no souldier, but of far greater Dignity, and therefore ought to be of much greater sanctity. Yet he falsely accuses *Bæcum Soranus*, his friend and Scholar. *P. Egnatius* is the man *Tacitus* lays this fault to. *An. 16. Heliadorus* the Stoick is suspected for the same fault, by some Interpreters of, *Magni Delator amici.* *Sat. 1. v. 31.*

(k) The same *Mart.* Promises, and more too; *L. 10. ad Gall. Mane, vel à media nocte togatus ero.* And all this, first to bid his Patron Good Morrow, and the better deserve his Favour, and the *Sportula.* Great men we find at the Foolery, the *Pretor* himself running upon this pitiful Errand to the childless and rich Matrons *Albina* and *Modia.* When notwithstanding this first salute was granted to the Client as a great favour. *Est proprium superbie magno estimare Introitum, ac tatum sui liminis; pro honore dare ut Ostio suo proprius assideat, ut gradum prior intra domum ponas Sen. de Ben. L. 6. c. 33.* This quickn'd their pace, but never so much, as to make them forget their Gown. For such an Omission would have quite spoiled their Complement.

(l) The Romans used great vanity (for certainly 'twas unnecessary) in their great numbers of Servants, *Pedacius Costa* kept 400. Another had 2000. *Cecilius Isidorus* had 5000. some 10 Others had 20 thousand, as *Athenæus* affirms. *L. 6. p. 272.* And that, *ex vi opusculis*, not to make Advantage of them; but that they might have *συμποσίτας τὸς οἰκίους*, very many Attendants, as Ushers, and footboys. Now such as they, though not for their honesty, yet for their riches should be believed. The Custom *Pliny* blames, and disapproves these *Mancipiorum Legiones*, & in domo turbam externam, & servorum quoque causa Nomenclatorem addibendum. *Sen. ubi supra*, speaks of the same assistance they needed, for the number, and the orderly digesting of their friends in *primas & secundas Admissiones.* But this I suppose may include their Clients too, and such as serv'd them as intelligencers or spies. Which every Cardinal now at Rome keeps in such plenty, that a Notary can hardly remember for him, their Names and Employments. This trouble *Augustus* once saved the Antient Romans, and forbade any of them to have *Servos aut Libertos supra viginti, aut Plus quingentis millibus nummum.* But Luxury, which knows no Laws, even in this broke them.

(m) The poor man that liv'd in them though last, yet should infallibly burn; so that the slats his only cover (for being in the Garrats of the house, he had no floor above him) would not in this dyfaster be his defence. This *Tegula sola* here, is the same with *Canaculum* elsewhere. Which was inhabited by none but poor Poets, as *Mart. Scalas habito tribus sed alii, poor Philosophers, poor Labourers*, and in the begining of the Gospel poor Christians or their inmates, as well as *Emblum*, the poor Doves. Whose laying their eggs in these rooms, perhaps gave Occasion to the Greeks, to call *Cornaculum*, *ῥαβδον*: *St. Mark* in his last Chap. calls it *Antipon.*

(n) A *Minerva* drawn to the waft, according to the mode of those times. Hence the jest *Cicero* past on his Brother *Q.* who, being but a little man, yet his *Effigies ingentibus lineamentis*

lineamentis usque ad Pelius ducta, made the Orator pleasantly say, *Frater meus distidius major est quam Totus*. Macrobius. L. 2. c. 3. Satur.

(o) Who never did eat any thing but herbs.

(p) *Mandra* according to the *Old Scholiast* signifies a hog-sty, according to *Mart. Ep. lib. 5.* 'tis the Stalls of Mules, and Generally any stable. So that as we Metonymically say a person lost his stable, for the horses in it; here also *Mandra* is put for the Mules it entertained; who standing in the Cart, and being cursed by their driver make up what is meant by *Stantis Convitia Mandra*. St. Basil calls the stable in which Christ was born *quidam*. *Ut item Ovis dicitur pro Ecclesia Christi, sic & Mandra ponitur pro Coenobio, tanquam in quo sint Oves Christi*. And thence *agrippa* gives an Abbot, and *Arbimandritis* an Abbess.

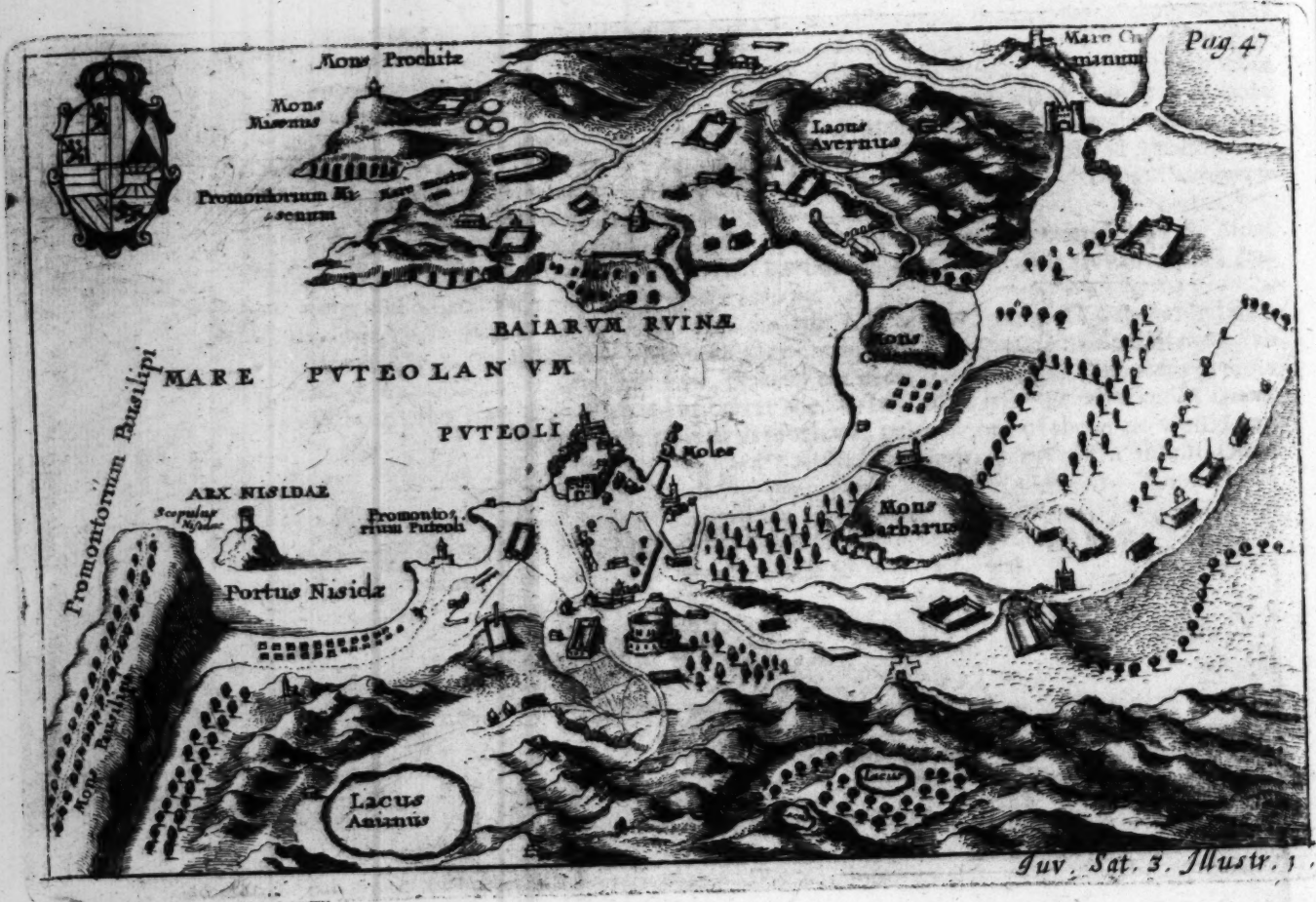
(q) *Claudius Drusus Cesar*, and the Seal or Sea-Calf were equally drowsie. *Sternunt se somno diverso in litore Phocæ*. Virg. Georg. lib. 4. Pliny.

(r) A Tall-Chair-man; for this at Rome (with some other as servile) was the usual employment of the People of *Liburnia*, a part of *Illyria* between *Iliria* and *Dalmatia*; 'tis now call'd Croatia. — *Tarde venisse Liburnos*.

(s) He means *Authepsa*; a vessel of the same use with a Kitchen. 'Twas divided into two Cells, in the uppermost of which they could put their *Sportula* or deal of meat, in the lower one, fire to dress the Raw, or keep the dress'd flesh warm. This was portable and the faster they went with it, the better the fire burned in it. — *Et circum ventilat ignem*, v. 259. Cicero pro *Roscio Amer.* tells us as much was paid for one of these, as would pay for a farm. The name is deduced *ab authepsa* & *ψα*, quod sua sponte coquit. Vid. Cic. sub fin. Orat.

(t) This Town of the Latines was *Juvenal's* Birth place. and that great Schoolman's *Thomas Aquinas*, call'd by our Countrymen *St. Thom. of Watering*. A moist place the Temple of the *Elvin Ceres* proves it to be; which is as much as *Ceres of the Washes*, or *Marshes*. Hence the spring and River of *Elvis* took their Names.

ILLU-



Third Satyre.

3. Some *Jews*, whose hay and basket is their wealth. *Judæi, quorum cophinus sœnumque supellex.* The Poet in this difficult passage inveighing against the base covetousness of his times, says that for Gain they did rent-out sacred places, as Groves, and that to the poor *Jews*: whose poverty he describes by their Basket and Hay, which, as he says, was all their household stuff. And if we ask, why by such marks their necessity should be expressed, *Lubin* makes answer, — *Spellex erat cophinus, in*

quo utitur & cibum gerant, & sanum adjumenti
alimētum. But why should we suppose a poor Jew
to be able to keep a beast, when as he was fain to
beg to keep himself? as *Labin* acknowledges, whiles
he expounds mendicā filia by the poor Jews, who
hiring obscure habitations in Groves, went begging
about from door to door. Besides, if their ha-
was for their beasts, why did they carry it about
with them? Or how will this agree with that in
Sat. 6. *Cophino fanoque relicto Arcanum Judea trem-
menda mendicā in aurem* ? implying rather that they
left them at their poor home, when they went
forth to beg. Some think that the Hay was for the
their Bed; so *Britannicus* on *Sat. 6. v. 540.* saying,
sanum ubi cubitant ; but this seems but vain, if we
consider either how they could carry enough, or
rather why they should carry any at all. *Lycranus*
on that in *Psalm.* 81. v. 6. —His hands were deli-
vered from the Pors, or Baskets, *תריס* (*ab abeno*,
according to the *Latin*) thinks that these were the
marks, not of their Poverty, but (by an ancient
custome) of their servitude in *Aegypt*, where in
baskets they carried straw, hay, mortar and such
things for the making of brick, and in such like
labours.) which opinion I think to be the best
exposition of this passage, and for these reasons.
First, it is as probable, that the Jews might by way
of thankfulness glory in the marks of their Servi-
tude, but in effect of their deliverance and deli-
verer, as the *Christians* once in the use of the *Cross*,
making that the badge of their glory, which the
Enemie accounted their Shame. Secondly, because
it is said, that the Jewish Women also carried the
basket and the wip. Thirdly, because it is said,
that the Jewess, when she went forth to beg, left
these things behind her. *Cophino fanoque relicto*,
says the Poet; but not as *Arminius* expounds it,
Neguitis omisit & supellestiles reliquit: it being a
chief part of her Business to Leave them at home,
that by concealing her religion from publick notice,
she might not endanger such *Roman* dames, as she
endeavour'd to draw to her devotion; and so the

Poet adds, *mendicat in aurem*. By which also it farther appears, that they could carry their provision without a basket. Fourthly, though the Poet might with some sharpness describe their poverty by their basket and wisp; yet it follows not, but that these things might have a farther signification. So may we collect from *Sidonius Apollinarius*, lib. 7. epist. 8. where writing to one *Basilus* a Bishop, concerning the pressures of the Christians under the Gothic King *Evarix* an *Arrian*, he says, *Ordinis res est, ut (dum in hac allegorica versamur Egypto) Pharo incedat cum diademate, Israelita cum cophino*. 1. It is sutable to the divine order or appointment of human affairs (whiles we are in this figurative Egypt of the world) that *Pharo* (or the wicked) should have the mark of Dominion, and the *Israelite* (or, *Jew*) his Basket, or bag of servitude. Where also the word *incedat* may be observ'd, implying these things as properties, or marks of distinction. According to which sense the learned *Savaro* expounds the place, saying *Allegorice Catholicus servituti addicitur, Evarix dominatur & imperat*. And here we may farther observe for the understanding of the next verse, *Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est Arbor*; that although it be commonly understood, by the Rent exacted from the poor *Jews* for every tree, that could yield them but a shelter; some more particularly expound *mercedem* by *didrachma*, a tribute which was exacted of the *Jews* (*capitatum*) by the pole, after the destruction of the Temple, as the Provincial *Census* was Before the destruction of it; and that thus what was formerly paid to the Sanctuary was afterwards brought to the *Capitol*; as *Iosephus* and *Xiphilin* testify. Lastly I think, that we may farther and probably guess, that the occasion, for which the *Jews* left-off to carry the basket and hay, was the greevous disadvantage in discovering by Them their Religion. For as *Sutton* notes in his *Domitian*, cap. 12. *Judaicus fiscus acerbissime altus est*; telling us, that They were made to pay, who lived after the Jewish manner, vel *disimulata origine*, as he adds, *imposita genti tributa non pendissent*. Where he makes mention also of filthy rigour; saying that he remembers, that when he himself was a youth, he saw a man of 90. years of age publicly search'd in a great assembly by the command of the Overseer of the Jewish tribute, to know if he were not circumcised. Concerning some other passages about this argument (the *Jews*) see farther in the explication of this Satyre, *Illustrat.* 44. and also *Sat.* 6. *Illustrat.* 65.

4. The Water's Deity. *Numen aqua*. This estimation of Fountains among the Heathen may appear as well by their ancient inscriptions (one of which extant in *Ottavio Rossi* his *Memorie Bresciane*, p. 279. begins thus, *Fontibus Divinis Sacra*.) as also by their *Fontinalia*, Festivals so called a *fonte*, says *Varro*, de *Lingua Lat.* lib. 5. at which feasts they used by way of Reverence to cast garlands into Fountains. But that Fountain from which this honour was derived to others was, as *Ioseph Scaliger* thinks, by *Porta Capena*. Yet *Dempster*, de *Juramentis*, lib. 1. cap. 5. citing him dislikes his Opinion, saying that such honour was done unto Fountains in honour of *Fontus* sometime a King in *Hetruria* (he cites *Thucydus*, lib. 16. *Advers.* cap. 11.) and in honour of whom were the *Fontinalia sacra* mentioned by *Varro* and *Festus*. There was also *Fontus* the Goddess of Fountains, as he shews out of *Saxo Grammaticus*, lib. 1. *Histor. Danica*.

5. The People's thumb being turn'd. *Verso pollice vulgi*. The Poet here sets forth the vile con-

ditions of such, as thriv'd most in *Rome*, namely flatterers and impudent undertakers, as in Repairing of decay'd Temples, or in Farming the revenues of them or of Customs in Port-Towns, or of the carriage of goods by Rivers, of Cleaning of Sinks, of performing the Office of the *Libitinarii* (who sold all things fit for Funerals) or of the *Polliniores* (who were employ'd in the Burial of the dead) or of Selling Servants under the Spear stuck-up to signify such sale according to the Roman Custom. Which employments though tolerable, if perform'd severally and by sutable persons, were an argument of base greediness, if performed all by the same person. Yet such there were and they grew rich, though formerly they had been but cornet-winders, and that but in petty Towns. Nor were they only grown rich, but also impudent; for, having in former time basely hazarded their lives in Shews set forth by the Wealthy Romans to please the People; and so might have lost their lives, if overcome, had but the People but pleas'd to turn their thumb; now they themselves, though once such vile persons, set forth such costly Shews, wherein others at their wanton charge were familiarly kill'd. But here the manner of the Custom of Turning the thumb seems to be a point rather controverted, then expounded. *Premere pollicem* was a sign of Applause; *Vertere pollicem*, of Dislike: but the doubt is, what these Gestures were. *Horace* implies the first, lib. 1. *Epist.* 18. in that verse, *Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum*: in which words, says *Porphyrio* the Commentator, there is a *Synecdoche*, *pollex* being taken for *manus*; so that both thumbs, according to him, signify both hands. For which interpretation he is reprehended by *Politian*, in his *Miscell.* cap. 42. who by this seems to impie, that it was an expression not of the hand, but only of the thumb; proving it from that of *Pliny*, *Nat. Histor.* lib. 82. *Pollices, cum faveras, premere, etiam proverbio jubemur*: but I see not how this authority refutes *Porphyrio*; who proceeding in his exposition says, though with some obscurity, that *qui laudat vehementius manus jungens jungit pollicem cum proximo*. *Acron* would have *premere pollicem* to be the lifting up of the hands and the moving of them often. *Crugnum* speaking of this phrase mentions only *pollicem* in the singular number, with no small alteration of the matter; and adds, that this is done, when the thumb pressing upon the top of the middle finger falls back towards the the forefinger making a noise; and that, if it were done on both hands, it was the greatest approbation. So *convertere pollicem*, according to him, was to open the hand, and so consequently not to make such noise, or give such notice. But *Ferrarius*, de *Veter. Acclamation.* lib. 2. cap. 13. justly objects against this, that this were not *pollicis pressus*, but *crepitus digitorum*, not a gesture of the thumb, but a noise of the fingers. He therefore rejecting all this exposition as uncertain, if not false, thus decides the point. First, at the Sword-plays or publically Fencing it was usual for him that overcame, to kill the other; yet the matter was altered according to the sign, which the people were pleas'd to make, so great was their power at these shews: and accordingly, sometimes they made a sign, to have the person, that was overcome, slain; and sometimes they made a sign to have him saved. Secondly, these signs were very easie to be discerned, being of such sodain importance, and were instantly understood; the sign of favour being made with both hands, the sign of death only with

with one; the first of which was called *premere pollices*, the second *vertere pollicem*. Thirdly, he thinks the manner to have been this; *Premere pollices* was to lift-up both hands and clinch them as a fist, *pollices ipsos intra pugnum arte vehementerque comprimere*, that is, to clinch the thumbs strongly and vehemently within the fist. Which expression, in this last point seems somewhat unnecessary: for, what did it avail to the making of the sign manifest, to clinch their thumbs either vehemently or gently? *Vertere pollicem*, says he, was to lift-up one hand clinch'd like a fist, the thumb appearing above the fist, and either to point it backward toward himself that held it up, or to move it about circularly. But this might more strictly have been anciently render'd; supposing this to have been the sense, by *elevare pollicem*, or *invertere pollicem*: though this be likewise liable to his own censure, being but probable. Yet I think his expression comes near the custom: notwithstanding with a like liberie I think I may reasonably vary and enlarge the conjecture. The natural actions of all people are generally much alike, and therefore the outward expressions of approbation and dislike; and no more was intended by these signs. When therefore the people saw a brave fencer sometimes unhappily put to the worst, we may probably suppose, that they did instantly, to save his life, lift up both their fists, their thumbs being clinch'd or press'd on each fist, yet not both their hands put together, but each being at libertie, as men that are ready to strike, the left arm being stretch'd out and the right somewhat drawn back. So that the immediate or first signification of this sign seems to have been a threatening of the conqueror, if he spar'd not the life of him, whom he overcame; a second and but a consequent sense was an applause of his valour and skill: and this we guess to have been the sign, which they called *premere pollices*, to clinch the fists at one. But if they saw, that he which was overcome, had behaved himself but like a coward, without courage or art, we may suppose they did clinch one hand, the thumb standing upwards, and so cast their hand moderately over their shoulder, in a kind of contempt, as if one would have said *away with him*, meaning that he was not worth their mercy. And this they might call *vertere pollicem*, that is, *retro-jicere*, to cast back the thumb, or to turn it over the shoulder. But I leave everyman here to the libertie of his own phansie, contenting my self in these conjectural arguments to propose that, which to me seems most natural, and so most easie to be admitted.

6. *Inde reversi Conducunt foricas*. *Forica* are by some taken for common shops near the *forum*, belonging to the City; and so rented out to such as let them again to others for a greater rent. But others think that this alludes to the farmers of some homely rents in *Juvenal's* time; such as in some degree that was, which was rais'd by *Vespasian*, from *Urina* (mention'd by *Sueton* in his life, cap. 23.) for the receipt whereof there were vessels purposely set in publick, and, as some think, for the use of fullers. And this unto some seems to have been that greivous *chrysargyrum* famous in histories, and taken away by the Emperour *Anastasius*. Which pension was (as *Lipsius*, *Adm. lib. 2. cap. 6.* out of *Cedrenus*) *ut quisque mendicus aut pauper, meretricis sive jam emerita, omnis servus itemque libertus, infertrens in ararium pro Urina & stercore, jumentorum etiam & Canum; sive in agris, sive in opidis habitarent: & homines quidem utriusque sexus,*

nomisma argenteum; equus, mulus, bos, tantundem; asinus & canis follex sex (follex was a small peice of mony.) Yet even these profits the Cheif of the Roman Nobilitie basely fought to farm, and by the Lawiers were call'd *Foricarii*, *Caligula* also (as *Sueton* in his life, cap. 40.) *Ex capitiis prostitutarum vestigal instituit, quantum quaque uno concubitu mereres*, and afterwards under *Heliogabalus*, *Lenonum vestigal & meretricum, & exoletorum fuit*; as *Lansius* observes, in *Orat. contra Italiam*, p. 1005. But the most receav'd interpretation, is that disgraceful one, by which I render it; and *Foricarii* in the law signifies such vile Officers. According to which sense if we more sharply view the words, *Inde reversi*, they may be understood not of their returning home from proud shews to base offices; but a falling back through vain prodigality to base necessitie. For, the inference upon this seems to implice some such thing, whiles the Poet says that Fortune makes a Sport of them: which were not so properly by raising one from Povertrie to Wealth, which is not very rare; or, by casting one down from Wealth to Povertrie, which is very common; but by making the same person the subject of both these fortunes, which is a Rarity, and by the Poet here call'd the Sport of Fortune.

7. *Rome turn'd Greek*. *Græcam Urbem*. He shews the pestilent manners of the *Græcians*; who thought they were not many at *Rome*, had so corrupted the *Romans* both in Manners and Language, that the *Romans* in a ridiculous affectation of the Greek tongue, delighted in it more, then in their Own *Latin*. Which sense of this passage is implied by *Pignorius*, in his *Symbol. Epist. 41.* Where he says, that this affectation continued from the time of *Augustus* to *Alexander Severus*. Yet by his leave we may remember, that *Sueton* says, *Tiberius* to shew the Majestie of the Roman Empire abstain'd from *Greek*: though we may grant that this fashion was ancient, *Tully* writing a Commentary of his Consulship in *Greek*, as he himself testifies at large, *lib. 2. ad Atticum, epist. 1.* But a worse custom was brought in by the *Asiatick* People, particularly by the *Syrians*; whose manners, as the Poet notes, were as crooked, as their Musickall instruments, infecting the City with their out-landish harlots, which at the *Circus*, where Shews were presented, did set up Stews.

8. Their painted Miters. The Miter was properly a *Trojan* attire, and not only of that form which is usually with a divided top; as *Pignorius* a *Paduan* Antiquary shews in his treatise entitled, *Le Origini di Padua*: in which (cap. 12.) upon occasion of that in *Virgil. Æneid. 9.* — *habent redimicula mitra*, he presents this form of a miter, following, express'd according to an ancient head in the *Vatican*; which for difference may be observ'd, not varying much from an ordinary cap.



9. The Haunt-Doal Gown, *Quirinus*, Thy Clown weares. *Rusticus ille tuus sumis tresbedipna, Quirine*. The Poet here in an Apostrophe to *Romulus* says, that the *Roman*, who was once rustick, or simple, is now come to the familiar and artificial servillie of the *Greeks*, namely in parasitical Haunting after Patrons and, accord-

ing to some, in Gymnastick exercises; though by these last also they were rather corrupted then inabled: yet that for vain and vile abilities the Greeks did still far exceed them; witness their rowling Eloquence, (in which they surpassed *Isam* the Oratour) and their pretended Art of Flying, witness *Dadalus*. But a difficulty there is in these words, *Ruficus ille tuus sumit trechedipna*; the last of which the Scholiast expounds by Parasticall garments, which he calls *caligulas Graias*, or as some mend it, *Galliculas*, Shooes used by the Gauls, which according to some others were called also *τερεδάρις* and *τερεχιδέννα*. But this seems too narrow a sense, unless we should phansie, that they wore a special fashion of shooes only to feasts. Some copies have, *rechedipna*, some taking it for a garment us'd at feasts, and unasily drawing the name from *recinium* or *rejicinium*, it being, as they suppose, usually in the manner of wearing it, cast backward, and from *δένειον*, *cana*: others, as the Scholiast, takeing it for the Master of a feast; implying, that the Romans once plain and thrifty were now become Feasters. But this implies an unseemly superfluity of speech; for then the construction should be, *trechedipna tuus sumit & fert niceteria*, in which manner of expression, *sumit* were a vain over-plus; others (& they the greatest part) read *trechedipna*, deriving it from *τερεχον*, *curro*, and *δένειον*, *cana*; because in these garments they haunted after their patrons, for the *sportula*. Yet some understand by it, the person, in whose hosting to feasts some note a Pride to take place, others an appetite to good chear; though this stands not with the exception before alleged, nor with the certainty of the word: seeing that, as the Scholiast told us of *rechedipna*, it is sometimes taken for the feast-maker, and not in a jeering, but in an innocent sense; as, according to most reasonable conjecture, it is to be taken in that ancient inscription cited by *Rigaltius*, *FILIO. BENEMERENTI. FECIT. PATER. TRECEDIPNUS. ET MATER. ATTICE*. But the most take it for a garment, though with some difference; *Turnebus* and others thinking it to signifie expedite garments used in *gymnastis*, in which exercises they were but in part cover'd, and as the word implies rather Naked, then apparell'd. Yet the excess in those exercises seeming to be touch'd as a distinct fault in those words following, *fert niceteria*; it may seem somewhat more futable to the Poets variety of reprehensions, to expound this passage, as some do, of several corruptions, which had prevail'd upon the Romans. *Scaliger*, *de Emendat. Temp. lib. 5. De primo Agone Asiaco*, says, that they, which were conquerors in the sacred Games among the Gracians, had a Supper provided at the publick charge; unto which such as ran betime to get place, were by way of a common jeast call'd *τερεχιδέννα*, supper hunters; yet that they were not rashly admitted, but first known by their *niceteria*, or signs of mastery hang'd at their neck. But *Rutgersius*, in his *Var. Lett. lib. 6. cap. 13.* thinks that *trechedipna* were Liveries (as we now adays call them) or garments distinguish'd by the colour, that so a parasite being known might have a ready admittance to his Patron's table. To which sense he thinks our Poet alludes in that passage, *Sat. 5. — viridemque thoraca jubebis afferi, — Admersam quoties Panystius veneris infans*: which he would have to be understood of *Virro's* Livery: and thus thinks the Romans to be here taxed for descending to servile Flattery and the Gymnastick feats, to both which they had been especially cor-

rupted by the Greeks. *Lubin* more plainly and nearer to the Roman custome understands here by *trechedipna*, the Roman Gown in which they did visit and attend their Patrons, whether in hope of the *Sportula* or an Entertainment; and by *niceteria* the trifling rewards, which as encouragements, they wore at their neck in token of their mastery in Fencing; and that in both these respects the Romans had receiv'd some addition of corruption from the Gracians. This I choose as the most moderate opinion including in it in effect the Gracian customes; the Roman Gowns being for their similitude of employment jeeringly called *trechedipna*, and the use of the *niceteria* being by the Romans vainly learned of the vain Gracians. Thus the Satyrift briefly tells the Romans, that whiles other nations are exquisite in Flattery and Thriving; the dull Roman (though he imitates the Greeks and others in Trivial Vanities) is good for nothing but to trudge about for his hungry *sportula*, or to seek a perverse fame from infamous Sword-playing.

10. — *Must I Let Him seal first, and on the cheif Couch lie, &c.* The Roman custome was, says the Author of the manuscript Commentary, to have seven witnesses at the making of a Will; which was but according to the strict provision of the Civil Law, but now corrected by the Ecclesiastical; it seeming unreasonable that Two should not be accounted sufficient, when as they are allowed by the Divine Law. Our Lawiers therefore now call those ancient ones, Solemn Testaments, as the latter sort, Unsolemn. Now the manner was among the Romans, that all the witnesses should set their seals unto a Testament and in Order, as the Poet here implies, according to their dignitie; which custome and form may partly be seen, *Sat. 2. Illustrat. 12.* A Multitude of witnesses has likewise been used in ancient time here in our own country, not only to Wills, but also to other Deeds, as among others may appear from that grant of certain mannors here in England made by *William the Conqueror* unto the Abbess of *Caen* in *Normandy*, which is alleged by the accurate *Mr. Augustine Vincent* in his *Discovery of Errors* in a Catalogue of Nobility, publish'd by *R. Brook*, p. 119. The Deed is thus testified, *Signum & Willelmi Anglorum regis. Signum & Roberti Moritanii. Signum & Lanfranci Archiepiscopi. Signum & Matildis Regine. Signum & Roberti Comitis filii regis. Signum & Henrici filii regis. Signum & Willelmi Comitis filii regis.* There follow nine witnesses more; but these may serve for the illustration of this custome, not only for Number, but also for Order, which is somewhat remarkable. And, the better to know some of the witnesses, the reader may understand, that *Robert* mention'd in the second place was *Earl of Mortaigne* (in *Normandy*) and of *Cornwall*, and brother to the Conqueror by his Mother *Herlot*; as also that *Matildis* mention'd in the fourth place was the Conqueror's Wife. Farther, it may suffice in this place briefly to take notice, that the Romans did anciently use to sit on Couches at their Supper: the manner whereof, as also which was the cheif place, shall more fully and largely be declared, *Sat. 5. Illustrat. 3.* on that verse, *Tertia ne vacuo cessaret cubitra lecto.*

11. Cast up the hands before the brow. *A facie jactare manus.* *Britannicus* tells us, that flatterers did use with both hands to stroak the face of their friend, as imitating the ancient manner of the Greeks, who, as he urges out of *Pliny*, did use in their supplications to take their Gods by the chin. Which

Which interpretation seems more learned, then apposite; and to suppose such applause to be used by flatterers towards their Patrons, may sooner, I think, win the reader to a smile, than to a belief. The interpreters usually take the phrase, *facie jactare manus*, only for a sodain expression of applause and admiration: but *Ferrarius de Vet. Acclam. lib. 3. cap. 22.* peirces farther into it, and tells us that it is, *manibus oscula jactare*, to kiss the hands and then cast them up before the face; according to that of *Martial*, (as *Scrivener* reads it) *Audieris cum grande sopos, cum basia jasta* (i. *audieris*) when thou hearest the great acclamation, *sopos*; (or, as *Perfius* speaks, *Sat. 1. euge and belli*) when thou hearest the kisses cast up into the air. Thus he implies, that they used by way of Applause to kiss their hands, which in parting from their lips made a gentle noise, and so cast them up before their face, or brow. For, not only the casting up of the hands and the kiss is expressed in *basia jasta*, but also the noise in *audieris basia*. Which we do grant to be a true interpretation of *Martial*, and that it may in this place also have a like sense; yet not a like necessity of such acceptance; admitted it may be, but not hence enforced.

12. Leak on his couch. The common copies have here, *Si restum minxit amicus*, they praise him, if he performs but the offices of nature well. For so we may vail the sense of it, as also *Johannes Sarisburiensis* does in his *Polyerat. lib. 3. cap. 4.* who avoiding this plainesse of our Poet varies it thus, *Si bene ruitavit, aut si quid fecit amicus, Quod proferre palam non possis lingua modestè.* But far better is that Reading, which *Parrhasius* uses, *Si restum minxit*, agreeable to that of *Horace*, *Commixtis letum potus*: which is to be understood of the beds or couches, on which they used to lie at their tables. Thus the Poet intends, that some great ones drinking so hard, that they even leak'd on their supper couches, were yet even for this applauded by unconscionable flatterers.

13. His lips but smack against the golden cup. *Si trulla inverso crepitum dedit aurea fundo.* Some make this a flattering applause at the rich mens performance even of the homely offices of nature; but they force the words, methinks, from their proper sense, and seem as far from truth, as from cleanliness. Others take it for an applause given to one that excelled at the *Cottabus*, a kind of sport, which they used in their immoderate Drinkings, to omit some other less pertinent acceptions of the word. But the Manner of this sport is not without great uncertainty & variety deliver'd by diverse; some telling us that before them which drank or play'd thus, if we shall so speak, there were set empty vessels swimming in water, into which they used to cast the snuffs of their draughts so violently, that commonly they sunk them, and that he, which thus sunk the vessels lowest, won. Some make it to have been but the placing of a brazen ewer fill'd with wine before the company, and the pouring of it from a-loft into a basin with a loud noise. Some say that they cast their snuffs thus violently upon the pavement. Others more ridiculously describing the performance of this *Sicilian* invention (for, such they account it) yet used also by the *Athenians*, tell us, that they pitch'd a staffe into the ground laying another on the upper end of it, on which, at each end of which cross staffe hung a scale, and that under each scale was placed a *trulla* or broad vessel filled with water;

each of which vessels was set upon a brazen statue guilded, the head of which was called *Manes*. Then one of them which play'd, say they, arose taking a pot full of wine, and from a loft pour'd out the wine into the scale with a sodain and violent fall, that so he might strike the scale under water. In which sport he had the foolish victory, who so threw the Wine, as that he shed none, yet made the greatest noise; this being counted good luck in the success of their Love. At which vanity they that conquer'd were called *audientissimus*, *ex cottabo temulentis*, the snuff of the wine, which was cast forth, was called *Lotage*, and the noise or clap in the casting of it, *Lotage* and *crepitus cottabi*. See for the parcels of these antiquities, *Athenaus*, *Suidas*, *Polux*, the *Etymologicon*, *Plautus*, and of late time *Parrhasius*, *epist. 36.* where he writes of it more largely then clearly. In which variety to resolve what to depend on, we may take all these descriptions for truth, they being probably the expressions of the various forms of the same sport; seeing that in the main they agree, that is, in the noise, and so in the cause of the applause. Yet I see no necessity to make this custome to be the intent of the Poet in this place, although I grant it probable, it being a Greek vanity, and so likely enough to have crept in among the *Romans*; and therefore surable enough to the precedent passages and purposes of *Juvenal*. But with far less straining we may expound it of a Greek custome of applauding a man, when he drank off a large vessel at a draught (such as the *trulla*, used, not without excess, in drinking) which clear carousing is not seldom expressed by a smack or kissing of the bottom of the cup. After which carousing, the Greeks were wont to cry, *Zelus*, (i. *vivas*, or Long maist thou live) as *Ferrarius de Vet. Acclam. lib. 7. cap. 12.* shews out of *Dion. lib. 92.* and *Suidas* in the word *Amur*. The form of the *Trulla* (or *trullus*, *catinus*, properly too large to drink in, yet used by drunkards) is by *Scacchus* in his *Myrtacium*, *lib. 1. cap. 43. p. 418.* thus presented. *



14. They'll ransack house and heart, &c. *Aulam resupinat amici*; he will turn his friends house and all in it, as it were, upside down, so to discover his secrets and keep him in awe. But the *Scholias* here reads *aviam*, very aptly and satyrically; meaning, that if there were neither a young Son nor Daughter, nor a young master nor mistress in a house to be corrupted, the impudent and vile Greeks would complice even with their friends grandame though never so aged and deform'd, and by corrupting her, though themselves with her, to explore the secrets of a family. An acute exposition if warrant'd by copy, which therefore I rather propose, then approve.

15. Their Schools go riew. *Trans gymnasia Parrhasius*,

rhafius, *epist.* 24. (and, after him, others) does justly reprehend those, who think that here the Poet in effect says, Let us now pass from their *gymnasia* (their Schools); seeing that he speak not any thing of these before: but expounds *trans gymnasia* by *trans ad gymnasia*; *transire* signifying not only *præterire*, to pass-by, but also *demigrare*, to pass from one place to another. So *Tib. Donatus* in *vita Maronis*, *A Cremona Mediolanum, & inde paulo post Neapolim transit*; and thus the sense here will be, Let us pass now from the faults of the People to the Philosophers themselves. Yet here we observe, that when *Parthasius* says, that the Poet made no former mention of the *gymnasia*, the word must not here extend to the Places of their bodily Exercises; these being, according to some interpreters, intended before, when he speak of *necrotia*.

16. Born where the too bold Gorgonian horse a scather lost. — *Ripa nutritus in illa Ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est penna Caballi*. *Lipsius* on *Tacitus* expounds this of one *Ægnatius*: but because some doubt (as *Autumnus* notes) whether or no he was a Greek, others expound it of one *Heliodorus*. But whosoever it was, the Poet here aggravates his crime from his country, as *Parthasius* says, *Epist.* 24. and 25. First, because this person, says he, was born at the famous *Tarvis*; Secondly and rather because *Alexander, de Successionibus*, (mention'd by *Diogenes Laertius*) says that *Chrysippus* also, the most famous of the *Stoicks*, was from thence. The last of which two may seem like a reason: yet peradventure *Juvenal* intends this description of the place of his birth only as an odd scoff at a vile condition'd fellow. *Vid. Tacit. Annal.* 16.

17. Upon a rich man's servant's left hand run. It will be somewhat necessary to set down more largely this passage of our Author, whose words are these;

Divitiis hic servi claudis laus ingenuorum
Filius: alter enim, quantum in legione Tribuni
Accipimus, donat Calvina, vel Catiena;
Ut semel. — At tu
Cum tibi vestiti facies ferri placet, hares,
Et dubitas alia Chione deducere sellâ.

To prevent mistake the reader may observe, that these words contain not three equally opposite parts, as to some they might seem by occasion of the three particles, *Hic*, *Alter* and *Tu*; but that the first of them, *Hic*, signifies adverbially, Here, that is, at Rome; and that only the other two are opposite, expressing two sorts of persons, the Servant and the Freeman pointed out, though by different construction, in those words, *Divitiis hic servi claudis laus ingenuorum filius*; some making it *filius divitis servi*, others *filius ingenuorum*. *Autumnus* takes the first, expounding it thus, *Hic filius servi divitis occupat locum ingenuorum*; and adds; *claudis*, i. e. *Tegis*. Which though it be a truth, yet is not a true interpretation, being not the truth here intended. The Poet indeed complains, that servants took the place of freemen: but this reaches not to the phrase and sharpness of the Satyrists: who says not only that Freemen gave place to rich servants, but so expresses it, that the phrase, *claudis laus*, which is acknowledged to signify, to go on the worse hand of one, must by this order be spoild of its proper sense, or else the construction must be, *filius ingenuorum claudis laus divitis servi*, which is contrary to *Autumnus*. Besides in the two subsequent parts, by *Alter*, according to some, is understood *filius ingenuus*, and by *Tu*, *servus divitis*:

which likewise, methinks, is contrary to natural construction and the Poet's intent. For first, seeing that the construction (as is shew'd) ought to be *filius ingenuorum*; *alter* cannot so naturally be refer'd to the nearest in place, namely to *ingenuorum filius* immediately precedent, as to that which was more remote, namely *divitis servus*: *alter* being as it were a calling back of a thing formerly named. Secondly, seeing that by *alter*, the Poet, as the description shews, expresses one more wastful and Luxurious, and by *tu* one more thrifty and courselly wanton; it were not suitable to his indignation to make the Freeman in a better or more plentiful fortune, then the servant: and therefore he must by *alter* rather intend the Servant, and by *tu*, the Freeman. But here though *Lubin* tells us, that as far as he knows, never any man before him rightly understood this place; yet methinks he does not rightly expound it, whiles he understands both by *Alter* and *Tu*, only the Rich: when as the diversity of their condition is a chief part of the Poet's intent, and explains the reason of his speech. The Poet in effect says, that such is the baseness now in Rome, that the Son of a Freeman gives the better hand to a rich man's servant, or (as the *Scholast* says) to one now grown in wealth, who notwithstanding was but a servant, and as it were, smells still of his servitude. Yet is it not fit? seeing that the one (*alter*) the servant is grown to rich, that he can give as much to his gallant harlot, as the Tribune has for his military Pay; but that the other, the Freeman, as Poor, is afraid to deal with such a costly peice of pleasure. Thus the sway of the speech and reason seems to be, that it is but suitable that they differ in their precedency, as they differ in the curiosity and courtesies of their lust. This point then being excepted, I grant the rest of *Lubin's* interpretation to be good; as that the Poet here inveighs against the baseness both of the Freeman and the servant grown rich; that they both ran obsequiously for the doat or *Sportula*, and then as wisely spent it. Likewise, that in their running, the Poet notes the baseness of the Freeman, who not only made himself the companion of a servant, or of one lately a servant, but also went on the lower hand. For to that sense *claudere laus* is usually extended, it signifying to guard ones side, as an attendant does, that protects a man, and so consequently one that goes on the inferior side. And such attendants were anciently call'd *stipitatores* and *laterones*, or *latrones*; though now this word be degenerated. And here it may be farther observ'd, that, in Going, the Better man was said, if there were but two; *interior*, and his companion (the worse) *ire exterior*; and that, if there were three, the Best went in the middle; according to that of *Ovid* speaking of an aged man, (*Fast. lib. 3.*) *Et medius juvenum non indignanti-*
bus ipseibat, & interior, si comes unus erat.

18. But thou glad of a Gown'd Wench, dost nos care To hand-down Chione from her high Chaire. — *At tu, qui gaudes, cum tibi vestiti facies ferri placet, hares, on buel a*
Et dubitas alia Chione deducere sellâ. — *Umbrius* having set forth with indignation the wealth and wantonness of proud Servants, shews now the Beggerly and ridiculous thrife of such as were free-born. He speaks to *Junius*, and in him re-ether free-born Roman, as if he should say, But you alas, for all your freedom, being of petty fortunes if compar'd with lucky and guilty ser-

vants,

vants, must be glad of a poor harlot. For this is the sense of *Scortum vestium*, that is, *rogatum*; the gown being properly the Man's garment, and therefore when applied unto a woman it signifies the viler sort: it being enjoined as a Punishment and shame to leud women; as is shew'd, *Sat. 2. Illustrat. 16*. But as for a *Chione* (says *Umbritius*) that is, for a curious and dainty harlot, in a necessary thrift, thou (though free-born) *harlot*, dost stick through fear, and doubtest to attend such a costly one, or complementally to help her down in the street from her high Chair, in which she is wantonly carried. Such Chairs were call'd *Sella*, and from thence such women (as *Britannicus* says) were call'd *Sellaria*. But *Pignorius*, *de Servili*, p. 143. thinks that it should rather be *cella* (meaning *meretricia*) and so *alia cella* should according to him be *fornix* (the stews) so call'd from the fashion of the building, it being rais'd high and with an arch'd roof. Which conjecture he confirms from that in *Sat. 6*. — *Et cellam vacuum*, and — *ultima cellam clausit*. But methinks here is no need of mending this place, and that the truth which he delivers is not here to be applied. For does not *Juvenal*, *Sat. 6*. reckon the *Sella* among the wanton women's provisions, when he says, — *conducit Ogulinia vestem, Conducit Comies, Sellam, cervical, amica*? So also *Seneca* in his book entitled, *In Sap. non cadit injuria*, cap. 14. *Quid refert quot habet leſticarios, quam oneratas aures, quam laxum sellam*? Which testimonies *Pignorius* himself takes notice of, in another place, *de Servili*, p. 217. and might more fitly have applied them here. Besides, this interpretation seems more suitable to *Juvenal's* purpose; who intending to express the free born Roman's Poverty, Thrift and Fear in attending on a costly harlot, might fitly express it, by shewing how he withdrew himself from the greatest charge; it being probably more chargeable and vain to wait upon his mistress's humours abroad also, then only at home. And here on the contrary we may take notice of the expence of the rich man's riotous servants, who is said to bestow upon his lust, as much as the stipend of a Military Tribune, of which there were diverse in one Legion, every thousand foot-men being usually under a several Tribune: whose stipend, as *Britannicus* (on those words, *Aeneas lampas*, v. 283. of this Satyre) alleges out of *Strabo*, lib. 11. was a talent. Which, to omit *Britannicus* his reducing of it, is according to the common rule, when absolutely nam'd, to be understood of the lesser Attick talent, which was as much as 24. *Sesteria*, or 4871. 10 s. the sum of the riotous Servants' expence here inveigh'd at by *Umbritius*.

19. By the Great Samothracian Gods and Ours. — *Jures licet* &c. *Samothracum Et nostrorum aras*. The Poet sets forth the desperate estate of Rome, where neither Honesty nor Oaths were sufficient in a witness, but only wealth. For though he were as honest as *Scipio Nasica*, in whose house the mother of the Gods, *Cybele* the Phrygian Goddess, when she was brought to Rome, was entertained, till a Temple was provided for her; or as *Numa* the founder of the Roman Religion; or as *Metellus* who, when the Temple of *Mithras* was on fire, ran in though to the loss of his own sight and brought out her statue, the *Palladium*, which was kept there, yet so great honesty, whilst her honesty, would not serve. Besides, though one should swear by all the Gods either of the *Samaritians* or Romans, it were all one. For thus the

margin of the manuscript does expound the intent of *Samothracum aras*, taking them *pro quibusvisque darbath* according to which interpretation it should be a Synecdoche of one particular for the general. But the accurate *Macrobius* discussing this last point, what the *Samothracian* Gods were, makes them Proper to the Romans and the same with *Penates* and *Magni Dii*; and though some held them to be *Apollo* and *Neptune*, he after curious search affirms them to be *Jupiter*, *Juno* and *Minerva*: and makes *Vesta* also either to have been of their number, or without doubt their companion. He shews also out of *Varro*, that they were brought by *Dardanus* our of *Samothracia*, an Island in the *Aegean* Sea, into *Phrygia*, and by *Aeneas* from *Troy* into Italy, and that by *Vergil* they are called *Diis Patriis*. Which being clear from the learned *Macrobius*, we need not repeat the petty varieties and errors of some Interpreters: only we may add, that some with more convenience than others, by *Nostrorum aras* would understand *Mars* and *Romulus*; which I believe to be a part of truth, yet an imperfect one in respect of this place, the intire sense whereof I take to be briefly this. Be a man here at Rome never so honest and brought for a witness, yet if he be not rich, he shall not be believ'd, though he swears both by the Gods of our Ancestors the *Trojans*, brought from *Samothracia* into *Phrygia* and thence by *Aeneas* into Italy, as also by all those other Gods, which in the many ages since *Aeneas* his time we have added to them, and which we may therefore rightly call, not the *Samothracian* Gods or the Gods of our Ancestors, but more properly Our Own. Which sense, methinks, relieves of some sharpness against the multitude of the Roman Gods; which argument he farther and vehemently prosecutes, *Sat. 13*.

20. — *Let him not here claim A seat on the Knights custom'd bench*. — *De palatio surgat Equestr*. There were distinct seats in the Theater for the Roman Knights and the People; the first were called *Equestr*, mentioned in that of *Seneca*, *de Benef. lib. 9. cap. 12*. *Equestr* *dominium* *Equitum* *Rol* *manum* *sum*; the last were called *Popularea*. So *Sueton* in *Domitian*; *Omne genus rerum militum par sit, et quia pars major inter popularia deciderat, quinquegenas vestras in singulos centos Equestr* *at* *Senatorii ordinis pronuntiavit*; as *Marcellus* *Donatus* notes on *Sueton's Augustus*, cap. 40. p. 401. Now whereas this difference was almost worn out, *Domitian* in contempt of the people renew'd this distinction, which had been brought in by a Law made by *Lucius Roscius Orbo* Tribune of the People; and for the preserving of which difference there were in *Domitian's* time Overseers in the Theater. Such a one was *Leſſius* mentioned by *Marshall* lib. 1. in the epigram of *Chares* *Antoni*. *Quadrigena tibi non sunt Chares* *Antoni* *farge*, *Leſſius* *ecce venit*.

21. Some of some Catch his or Chest Fencer. *Pintrapi* (notwithstanding other opinions) signifies here according to *Britannicus*, *Turnebus* and the most, the *Retarius* describ'd, *Sat. 2. Illustrat. 20*. who has here this name bestowed on him from his catching with his net his adversaries helmet whereon was painted a fish. In the severity of the most literal expression the word *Pintrapi* may be rendered, *a fish catcher*. Some tell us, that the *Retarius* wore a feather in his Crest; and so it might be rendered a *Crest-bearer*; but I think the first interpretation the most accurate. *Leſſius* which is here added requires one, who trained up sword players in the art of fencing, and then

hird them out. The name, as some think, comes *à laniandis hominibus*, from his Art of killing men: which we may take rather for truth than phantse, if we consider the inhuman practice of those times. *Britannicus* illustrates it also from that of *Sueton* in his *Cæsar*, *Tyrone* neque in ludo, neque per lanistas, sed in domibus per Equites Romanos ac etiam Senatores armorum peritos erudiebatur. The Poet's intent then is, that poor yet worthy men were excluded from the chief seats, but rich ones were admitted, though their fathers were of the vilest sort of people; so that knighted wealth, not Vertue, was respected.

22. When asks an *Edile* Their advise? Even a mean Magistrate scorns to consult with a poor man, though never so wise. Wherefore, says he, the poor should indeed long ere this have made one departure more from proud Rome, and have left it desolate, as once they did; though they suffer'd themselves to be perswaded back again by *Mænenius Agrippa*. He indeed wittily expressing the quarrel between the Nobility and People by the fable of the Parts of the Body quarrelling with the belly for devouring all, till by withdrawing their aid to fill the belly, not only that, but all the other parts were like to perish, won them to a reconciliation, which was made by creating *Tribunes* of the People to defend them from the insolency of the Rich.

23. Though he Well lik'd it, that by sodain change did see The *Martians* and *Sabellians* thrifty food. Some Interpreters understand this generally, that he who shall be sodainly taken from the Roman plenty and wantonness, and be but practised to the more homely fare and thrift of the *Martians* or *Sabellians*, will well like an earthen dish. Which, though a good sense, seems not to be the sense of this place; for then it had been proper and as easy to have expressed it by the future tense, *negabit*; but the generalitie of copies having *negavit*, in the time past, it does more aptly imple story. Wherefore I think the old exposition to be best, according to which it is understood of *Lucius Dentatus*, who used such simplicitie of earthen vessels, when the enemies brought him gold; saying, he had rather eat in vessels of earth, and be Lord of such as eat in vessels of gold; besides making war against these people, he became as famous by victory, as before by Thrift. Some few understand here *P. Cornelius Scipio*, but the variety of the instance varies not the manner of the interpretation.

24. The coarse Venetian hood. There were diverse people called *Venetii*, as *Orelius* shows in his *Thesaur. Geograph.* there being of that name in France, others in Italy; which latter are here in fittest probability to be understood, that so more suitably may be laid together homely and innocent *Italians*, such as the *Martians*, *Sabellians* and the *Venetii*. Where we may note, that although *Venetia*, which now flourishes, were not built till the year of our Lord, 429. yet the whole province, which belongs to it, was long before that called *Venetia*, as amongst others *Machiavel* notes in his *Florentine History*, lib. 1. and as the *Scholiast* implies in his annotation on this place, saying that these were coarse hoods, such as the *Petrusini* wore, vel a colore aut provincia Venetiarum; whose name by a little change was made from the *Venetii*, who are said to have come thither to inhabit after the destruction of *Troy*. We may farther take notice of what *Ammianus* says on this place, *Venetum caruleum*

temperare alexandriid reperit: whence we may collect, that though this kind of hood was not for the invention of the colour called the *Venetian* hood, yet that it was so called for the frequent use of it in that part of Italy. The colour is by *Britannicus* called *blauus*, which is a blew; by others it is commonly render'd by *caruleus*; and so is taken for *skie* colour, or *Sea* colour: of which see *Sat. 11. Illustrat. 16.* The hood it self, though a coarse one, was worn not only by the meaner, but also the better sort, which custome is partly touch'd by *Columella*, lib. 2. cap. 8. who advises Masters to provide hoods for their familie against rain and cold. *Julius Capitolinus*, in his *Pertinax*, mentions *truculi Bardiaci* (or, as some read, *Bardiaci*) which, it seems, the French *Bardes* did anciently use; and thence it is, as *Marcellus Donatus* (on *Jul. Capitolin.* in *Pertinax*) thinks, that Poets in latter times were painted with hoods, as, according to his instances, *Petrarch* and *Dante*; but I leave his opinion to the Reader's Judgment.

25. Not any, till they're dead, wear Gowns. The Roman Gown was a garment without sleeves, of a semicircular form, different in largeness according to mens wealth or poverrie, though the just size of it were six ells, according to that of *Horace*, *Epod. 4. Videsne sacram meientem viam, cum bis ter sinuatum toga*. In the time of the ancient Commonwealth they wore it down to the shooe, as the *Græcians* did the *pallium*; as *Aldus Manutius*, de *Quæstis per Epistol.* lib. 3. *Epist. 1.* shews cut of *Quintilian*. *Lubin* on this place render's it a mantle; the form of it *Rossius* sets out, *Antiquit. Roman.* lib. 5. cap. 32. The colour of it is said to have been white; yet we may not forget what *Pancirollus* an exquisite observer tells us concerning this, lib. 1. Tit. 43. *Togam communiter portabant, caruleam aut alterius coloris; nunquam vero atram, vel pullam; nisi in funeribus et aliam autem tum imprimis, cum ad spectacula accederent; quo colore et Senatores utebantur.* Unde et *Ordo candidatus dicitur.* *Rugersius* also, as is shew'd, *Illustrat. 9.* of this Satyre, ventures upon a conjecture of *Livery* gowns voluntarily, though flatteringly, worn by *Clients*; which being for distinction of attendance and Patrons, argues some libertie and variety of colours. Under this they wore a short garment, the *tunica* or coat. By this then it appears that the Gown a garment of such largeness was indeed a burthen, and more for Solemnitie then other use. Wherefore the *Sævi* or Confederates of the *Romans* in diverse parts of *Italie* living plainly and without pomp did all their life forbear the use of it; yet when dead, they were carried to their funerals in the solemnity of the Gown, as *Manutius* shews in the place before cited. Who also thinks that the *Toga* was a garment, which was worn only in Publick, but that their usual domestick garment was the *Lacerna*, which, as he says, was black. Yet, if he took this to be the only colour of the *lacerna*, he erred; our Poet mentioning *Tyrias lacernæ* (purple) *Sat. 1.* and likewise *aurata lacerna*, *Sat. 10.* *Martial* also makes the *Lacerna Berica* to speak thus, *Non est lana mihi mendax, nec minor alieno: Sic placeant Tyria, the mea sinxit ovæ*; implying that some were of the natural colour of the wooll; of the *Berick* wooll, which was, as *Britannicus* thinks, rufous; of a bright or fiery colour. The form of the *Orator's* Gown is thus by *Rubenius* (in his *Eloß*) set forth from an ancient Monument; though concerning some farther expression of a Closing of the Roman Gown upon the shoulder, see *Persius*, *Sat. 5. Illustr. 20.*



Juv. Sat. III. Murt. 27.

would have the *Exodium* to be proper in a sort only to *Tragedies*, to put the heaviness out of the Spectators minds; yet *Pollux* makes it belong to *Comedies*: which uncertainty may make it probable that it was used at both.

27. At the sight of a pale gaping Actor. *Persona pallentis hiatum.* At the *Atellan* plays they did anciently bring in terrible, or rather ridiculous goblins with great jaws, and gnashing their teeth. *Manducus* is taken for such a one in *Plautus*, and signifies the same with *μορμολυκός*; so they feign'd *Lamia* to be a devourer of children: and therefore *Pomponius* an *Atellan* Poet entitled an *Exodium* which he made, *Python Gorgoneus*; the *Gorgons* also being painted with great teeth. See *Joseph Scaliger* on *Varro de Lingua Latina*, lib. 6. p. 150. & 151. & *Pignorius de Servio*, p. 99. aptly thus presenting this from an ancient brazen expression by him applied to this passage of *Juvenal*.



Juv. Sat. III. Murt. 27.

26. When the known Parting-song Returns unto their stages.— They had yearly shews, as *Tragedies* or *Comedies*: at the end of which, it was the Custom, as the Poet here implies, to have a concluding Song at the People's departure or Going forth of the Theater, and therefore called *Exodium*, after the nature of a jigge after a play, the more cheerfully to dismiss the Spectators. Where it may be observ'd that the *Scholias*t and after him others

28. —Nor the First Seats more gay. *Orchestra* (from *ὄρχησθαι*, to dance) was properly the place where the Players usually danced: but here figuratively it signifies the seats next the stage. Of this see *Marcellus Donatus* more largely, on *Sueton's Caesar*, cap. 76. p. 265. It was the place in the Theater, where the Senators sat at Shews, as *Vitruvius* tells us, lib. 5. cap. 6.

29. —But a white Coat. In Municipal Towns, only

only the *Ediles*, to whom belong'd the oversight of the Plays, wore a White coat; whereas at Rome the people used it at their publick Shews, as appears by that of *Martial*, *Et plebs & minor ordo maximusque Sancto cum duce candidus federes*. Thus *Britannicus* on this place; yet we must farther remember, that in places out of Rome, as the Poet says, the *Ediles* wore only a Coat.

30. —Another trims his page, Inrich'd with their fine cakes. *Crinem hic deponit amati, Plena domus libris venalibus*. The Poet here shews the misery of poor clients, who so continue their Patrons favour are forced to take all flattering courses in their several professions; as to barb their Patron's servants of ripper age, and, if he had any younger and wanton attendant, to trimme his locks; or rather, when his hair was cut-off and dedicated to some God (which time was accounted Festival) they were glad to send bribing-cakes, as presents to the young favorite, which being many and costly he sold again (as men over-fill'd with New year's guifts) and so grew rich. This is the most received interpretation, as implying the fond custome in the dedication of their Hair and First Beard, as also the Offring it self in a manner holy; *Liba* properly, as *Britannicus* notes, being offerings to the Gods. Concerning the Custome of offring their first beard to some God, *Sueton* mentions it of *Nero*: whose beard being cut-off was put in a box, and being adorn'd with pearls was dedicated. Of the Dedication likewise of their Hair, *Martial* speaks, lib. 1. epig. 31. in those words, *Hos tibi Phœbe vocet totos à vertice crines Entolpm Domini Centurionis opm*. But we must take notice that some latter critics do according to some copies read here, *Plena domus libris venalibus*, understanding it of a custome in Great mens houses to keep books containing a vain-glorious catalogue of all their clients: which books say they (among whom is *Pignorius*) were fold unto Great mens Clients at dear rates. For the first of which, that they had such books, I grant that *Seneca*, de Benef. lib. 6. cap. 33. (cited by *Pignorius*, de Servit. p. 218.) implies it: but as for the copying of them out for sale, and so for any great gain, it seems but a supposition: the use of these books being not for the clients, but for the Patrons, or rather for their Nomenclator, or Prompter, who readily was to tell them the name of any client that came to salute them; as *Lipsius* shews on that passage of *Seneca*. Wherefore we may probably suspect those few manuscripts, which have this last Reading, as being but ignorantly transcribed, and the occasion of more phansie, then truth. Besides methinks that if these Criticks had but observed the connexion of the Poets discourse, they could not easily have interjected this impertinent argument. For with what propriety should the Poet have immediately added, *accipe, & illud Fermentum tibi habe*, (take also this Leaven with you,) if he had not spoken of *Liba* before? What propriety of inference from *Libri* to *Fermentum*! But having spoken of dainty cakes, which are usually made light and easy of digestion, to shew notwithstanding, if they were truly consider'd, that they were heavy to a poor client, what could more naturally and aptly be said, then that these cakes though fine did notwithstanding not want their leaven, which might justly make a poor client swell with anger at the charge. Where it may be observ'd that the Poet (in the person of *Umbricius*) bids the client, though he gives away his cake, yet to keep the Leaven to himself; *fermentum tibi*

habe, says he; implying that the rich favourite had the guift, and the poor client the greif.

31. And Barb'rous mice gnaw'd Poems though Divine. *Et divina Opici rodebant carmina mures*. The Poet proceeding to describe the misery of the poorer sort, shews that they were forced to hire the cock-lofts of mean mens houses, to which they usually ascended by a ladder, according to that of *Martial*. lib. 1. epig. 117. *Et scalis habito tribus, sed alius*, and there dwelt in a place next the flats, fitter for pigeons then men, and which if a fire happen'd below, was unhappily ready for instant ruine (yet even in a storme without all fear of drowning) *Orbilius* the rigid School-master, as *Sueton* describes him, had such a habitation in his old age; and here *Codrus* a poor Poet, by *Juvenal* call'd *rancus*, Sat. 1. seems to be dressed in the like povertie, as may appear by the small furniture of his house, in which he had yet forsooth a statue or two; particularly one of *Cheiron*, which underpropp'd his table. Yet some would here understand the Works of *Cheiron*, who was Physician to the *Argonautick* fleet; and that poor *Codrus* not thriving by his Poetrie turn'd Physician. But this last they speak without proof; and the Poet seems only to imply that this *Codrus* was not accommodated either with the ordinary ornaments of a house, or with so much, as a convenient place for his few books; which, it seems, were so coarsely layd-up, that the mice gnaw'd them. Concerning the explication of which last and cheif passage we may know, that some would have *Opici* come from *Ops*, (*terra*) and so it should signifie earthly or base mice; others rather from *opizur*, which, say they, signifies to imitate the noise of mice when they gnaw, and so it might nibbling mice. Which interpretations are recited in the manuscript commentary, and the last is prefer'd; and so in the margin of one manuscript, *opici* is expounded by *rosfores*: which is a tautologie, being but to say, *rosfores rodebant*. The Scholiast brings it from *opizur*, but makes it to signify those that speak unskilfully, or, according to others, those that have an unpleasant voice. *Mancinellus* an ancient Interpreter of *Juvenal* (and since him others) deriv'd it from *ora*, *caverna*, or *foramen*: which we may grant to be an ingenious conjecture, according to which it might be rendred, lurking mice. Some take *Opicus* for one that is ignorant of the Greek language, and prove it from *Agellius*, lib. 11. cap. 16. where he says, *Percussant cuspim, qui literarum & vocum Gracarum expert fuit, cujusnam liber & quâ de re scriptum esset*, adds, *tunc ille opicus verbis meis inchoatis & inconditis adductus*: and that this should be the sense, they the rather think, because he speaks of Greek books, which *Codrus* had, and which are here said to be gnaw'd. Yet *Britannicus*, though he alleges this, thinks that *opicus* signifies one ignorant of the Latin, and so expounds *Opici* by *Rudes & barbari, nec qui Latine sciunt*. But the word and sense he draws from *Opici* a People of *Campania*, the same with the *Opici* a rude people, of whom that of *Titinius* an old Poet is spoken, *Opce & Volsce fabulantur, nam Latine nesciunt*. Which derivation is very agreeable to the sense of this place. But whereas some out of *Agellius* would have it signifie one ignorant in the Greek, we may admit that it signifies so there, yet only by accident, and that in the like manner it may signifie one ignorant in the Latin; but properly it signifies one ignorant or rude in Speech, and of the two in this place rather rude in the Latin, then in the Greek. And this

this way of interpretation will most aptly agree with the sense of this passage, and likewise shew why we receive not the derivation from *bird*, *foramen*. For first it were but an impertinent epithet in this place, to say *Lurking* mice gnaw'd Divine Poems, without any sharpness of opposition; and secondly the word being used again by Juvenal is of a far different signification. For when he says in the first Satyre, — *atque opica castigat amica Verba*, he intends, according to the receiv'd exposition of that place, that a proud Roman dame reprehends her she-friend (though but less skilful) as one Rude of Speech, particularly there of the Roman Speech. Whence it may be inferr'd, seeing that in *Agellius* one ignorant of the Greek and in Juvenal one ignorant of the Latin is reprehended by the same word *Opicus*, that the word generally implies one Rude in Speech. And in this sense it is expounded by *Britannicus*, who renders *Opici* by *Rudes & Barbari*; nor had he erred, had he not straitned the sense to an Imperfection or Rudeness in One only language. The Poet then says Ironically, that the Poems, which were gnaw'd were Divine, that is here, most Eloquent, and the mice that gnaw'd them were most Barbarous.

32. Which once graced the *Phacasian* Gods. The Poet in this next place shews the contrary condition of the Rich, by the grief and help that was afforded them, if any distress, as sodain fire or the like, beset them: for then were the Law-days stay'd as in a publick mourning, and other rich ones instantly furnish'd them not only with necessaries, but even with ornaments. The reason of which flatteries, notwithstanding the loss of their houses and moveables, we may guess to have been the greatness of their estate in land and their want of children. In the description of the ornaments sent unto them the Poet mentions the pictures and statues of the Gods of other nations, from whose Temples they were brought as spoils by the conquering Romans, and employed in the adorning of their stately houses. But in the explication of this point there is some variety; one copie, alleged by *Labin*, having here *Hic Asiaticum*, in effect agreeable with *Pirham* his manuscript, wherein it was *Hac Asiaticum*: which Reading is preferr'd by *Lipsius* upon *Seneca, de Beneficiis, lib. 7. cap. 22.* the intent being, that the Romans brought their spoils from the Asiatick Temples. Yet the Reading now generally here receiv'd and taken notice of by *Pirham* also, is, according to the truest writing, *Phacasianorum*. But both Readings being warranted by copie, though I approve the last as best, it seems but equitie to allege the motive of my choise. It may be observ'd then, that the Poet mentioning those things, which were sent to the Rich ones in their distress, reckons-up *Peices* perform'd by *Euphranor* an excellent Painter and by *Polyclete* a curious Statuary, both Athenians. Now because the *Dii Phacasiani* were Athenian Gods (though Alexandrian also, as some say) this verse is a fit exposition of the former, shewing with good coherence, that their Guits were not from the Asiatick conquests, but from the *Gracian*, as most congruously appears by the Workmen and the Gods, both Athenian and so both *Grecian*. Now for the name, *Phacasiani*, it is from the shoes call'd *Phacasia*, with which their Gods were pictur'd: their Priests likewise were thus dress'd; and *Appian. de Bello Civili, lib. 5.* speaking of *M. Antonie*, says that he wore white

shoes, such as the Priests of the Athenians and Alexandrians use. We may only add, that these shoes were remarkable rather for the perions that wore them, then for their valew; the price of a pair mention'd by *Seneca, de Beneficiis, lib. 7. cap. 21.* being but three *denarii*, or, two and twenty pence half-penny: which is agreeable to *Helychium*, who calls the *Phacasium*, a Country-shoe.

33. Silver, almost a peck. *Modium argenti.* *Modium* is commonly render'd a bushel; but by the learned it is as commonly acknowledg'd to be an error: though what it is, may seem as hard, as it is useful, to be determined. But not to vex the Reader instead of informing him, we need not discuss the doubt from the learned and large discourses of *Georgius Agricola, Budam, or Mariama*, who have with singular diligence tried the ancient measures: but with a more speedy, success we may positively be instructed by our last Translators of the Bible; who on *Mat. 5. 15.* upon the word *Eusbel* in the text, *μίσθον* in the original, say in the margin, that *The word in the Original signifies a measure containing about a pint less then a peck.* The peck then containing sixteen pints, and the *modius* as much, wanting but about one such sixteenth part, I render it in the nearest generalitie of expression, almost a peck.

34. This Childless Persian. Some would have *Perficus* here to signifie a Persian, and so they think that *Arturius* a little before spoken against was a Persian, and that as a stranger grown rich by base courses he is pointed-at by the Poet. Others take it for the proper name of some rich and flatter'd Roman: indeed it is the name of Juvenal's friend to whom he writes his 11. Satyre, as appears from the 57th. verse of it. *Seneca* likewise *de Beneficiis, lib. 4. cap. 30.* mentions *Fabius Perficus*; on which place *Lipsius* alleges that of Juvenal, *Sat. 8. v. 14. Natus in Herculeo Fabius lare*: which *Fabius* he makes to be him, of whom *Seneca* speaks. Yet I think that this acception of the word ought not to take place here, but that it only expresses *Arturius* by his Country, and so shews with congruity the success of his devise. I approve therefore the first opinion, which is the opinion also of the Scholiast, who expressing his reason says this, *Perficus, quasi divites posuit: eo quod Persa divites.* I will only add, that if I would venter upon conjecture, I might say it is a name purposely here used by Juvenal to signifie a witty fellow, that was able to put such a trick upon the covetous and cunning Romans, as by firing his own house, to get more then he lost. For *Varro de Lingua Lat. lib. 16. p. 82.* says, *Perficus a perito.* Itaque sub hoc glossema Callide subscribunt. Upon which passage of *Varro*, the accurate *Antonius Augustinus* in his *Emendations, p. 46.* (according to *Scaliger's* Edition) places this note, *Perficus fortasse scribendum ex Sex. Pompeio, qui per acutum interpretatur; & hac Nevii verba refert, Et qui fuerit Perficus, carpeni adest ratio.* So that *Perficus* may thus signifie as much as *peritus, callidus* and *acutus*, a cunning fellow; nor may the word, though seeming obsolete, be any hindrance, seeing that Juvenal but a little before, did for his purpose use the word *Opicus*, which strictly was not of much use: yet I propose this only in a libertie of conjecture.

35. The Circus. It may suffice in this place only by the way to take notice, that the *Circus* was a large place in Rome incompass'd with seats, where pompous Shews, as running with Chariots and the like,

like, were with wonderful delight presented to the People. The description whereof may more conveniently be referred to *Sat. 6. Illustrat. 71. and Sat. 11.*

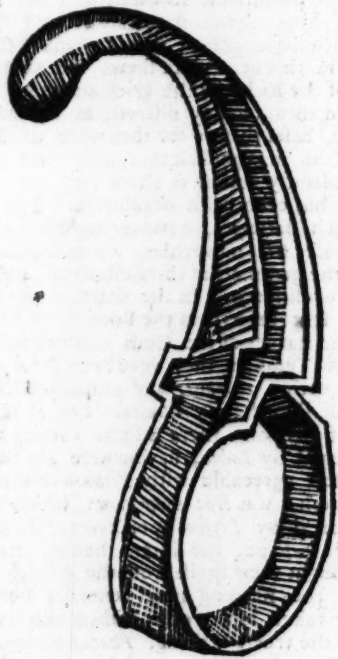
36. *Causa lætica fenestra.* Of the *Lætica* carried by six (called *Hexapborum*) or by eight (*Octopborum*) permitted but to certain persons, see *Marcellus Donatus* on *Sueton's Augustus*, cap. 76. and *Lipsius*, *Eleſt.* 1. p. 105.

37. *A souldier leaves his boot-nail in my hand.* He implies the rude thronging of some on foot, some on horse-back, as they strive to pass the streets. For this must be suppos'd, to understand these miserable and continual vexations. Of the souldier's *caliga* and *clavus*, (the boot-nail, not the rowel of the spur, which was called *stimulus*) see upon more fit occasion the last *Satyre*, *Illustrat. 3.*

38. *With what a smook we celebrate our Doal?* He shews the custome of the Romans, which, for their attendance on their Patrons, receiving at night the *Sportula* or *Cœna restia*, had fire-pans (or chafing dishes) placed in their baskets, which were speedily carried home by their Servants, (that the meat might not grow cold) though sometimes the burden of such trumperie was able to weary even *Corbulo*; one of great strength and stature. This trouble about the *Sportula* is mention'd by *Seneca* to *Lucilius*; but is to be understood, not as *Sportula* is sometimes taken, for *centum quadrantes*, but as for *cœna restia*. And here it may be observed, that though the Poet says, *centum conviva*, he does not intend that they all supped with their *sportula* together, as the word *conviva* might seem to imple; for the Poet implies afterwards that they departed to their houses with their *sportula*, as *Pignorius* also observes (*de Servio*, p. 106.) : but it shews that many came to the same Great man for such Doal. Wherefore we may take notice here, to prevent error, that *ἄνθρωποι ἀντιπαιδοὶ* in *Athenæus* (lib. 8.) is taken in a sense far different from this. For as *Roberius Titius*, *Locor. Controvers.* lib. 8. cap. 20. shews out of *Athenæus*, there were two kinds of feasts or meetings upon agreement; the one *ἄνθρωποι ἀντιπαιδοὶ*, when diverse gave their rings or other pledges, to make a meeting or feast, and so paid though they came not, or though too late; the other, *ἀντιπαιδοὶ*, when every one brought his provision in kind. Concerning which distinction see *Suidæ de Brumaliis*; but this of *Juvenal* is different from both these, though by some it might have been mistaken for the latter of the two. Of *Chafing dishes* see *Seneca* *epist.* 85. and *Casaubon*, (Out of *Aristophanes*) in his *Athenæan Animadversions*, lib. 1. cap. 6. And to prevent mistake, we may further know, that the *Sportula* being a little basket, was not a pannier containing meat for a hundred Clients, but being provision brought out by lesser portions successively to the great man's Gate, was by degrees distributed, and the Clients accordingly dismiss'd; and took the name from the small baskets, in which the Clients servants usually receiv'd it. See, *Sat. 1. Illustrat. 36.*

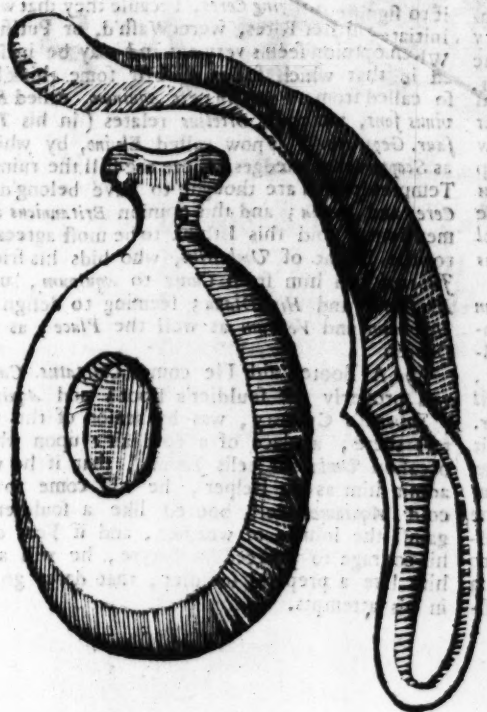
39. *The oil'd Cleansers found.* — *Domus—sonat unguis strigilibus.* He shews the trimness and diligence of servants at home preparing for their master against his coming home, all things fit for his bathing before supper as the *cleansers* and napkins handfomly folded (not foul ones already used): but though the master return, the servant that is

expected with the supper from the rich Patron, is sometimes unexpected and unhappily slain by carts in the street. The *strigil* was an instrument of Iron, says *Britannicus*; wherewith in the Bathes they scrap'd off the sweat from their bodies, and called it so *à stringendo*, 1. *radendo*, and therefore he thinks that they were oil'd, that they might be the more gentle: which *Sueton* seems to imple, whiles he notes of *Octavius*, that he hurt his body with the too much use of the *strigil*. Yet we may farther observe with *Du Choul* (*des Baines & Antiques Exercitations*, fol. 3.) that there was great difference in their matter according to the delicacy of some rich ones; diverse making them of brass, silver, gold, ebony; others more tender using *spunges* not only white, but some died in scarlet: though I believe that the common sort was of Metal, as may seem to be implied here by *Juvenal*, in the word *sonat*. The form of the *strigil* is thus presented by *Fortunatus Scabbus* in his *Myrothecium*, lib. 1. cap. 35. (as also in effect by *Pignorius de Servio*, p. 46.) * And here it will not be unpleasant to



remember concerning the *strigil*, what *Plutarch* (*de vitio Pud.*) tells of *Theocritus*: who being in a Bath, where two fellows desir'd to borrow his *strigil* or Cleanser of him, the one of which was a stranger, the other a noted thief, answer'd the first thus, *I will not lend it you, because I do not know you*; and the second thus, *I will not lend it you, because I do know you.*

40. *The Oil-horn.* *Guttus.* It was so called from *Gutta*, because the oil leasurely dropp'd out. It may be observ'd, that there was also a vessel of the same name mention'd by *Varro*, used for wine, and in their sacrifices, and called so for the like reason, the manner of dropping forth. The *guttus* is from Antiquity thus fashion'd.



41. The farthing for the ferry-man. *Trientem*. The Poet here implies the vain opinion of the Heathen, who held that if a body lay unburied, the Soul remain'd on the bank of *Acheron*, and might not be permitted by *Charon* to pass over till it had wandred an hundred years between Heaven and Earth, as *Virgil* implies, *Æneid*. 6. They believ'd likewise that they which were to pass, were to have their ferry-mony in their mouths: for which cause the *Athenians* were wont to put such mony into the mouths of the dead. Now the Poet seems to implice, that he which is here said to be kill'd, could not have passage, because the person was so crush'd, that the mony could not be dispos'd of according to the custome; or because, as some add, the servants cruel master would not bestow upon him so much as the ferry-man's pay, though but a *triens*, or farthing, it being but the third part of *As* (so called from *Æs*, the least brazen coin) which was ob. qa. as is shew'd, *Sat*. 1. *Illustrat*. 36.

42. If he fight With no body. He expresses the disorders of the City; and thus *Sueton* particularly relates of *Orbo*, that he used to walk by night, to beat those that he met, and with his companions spreading his *Sagum* or souldier's cloak, to toss men up with it. The like night-wandrings are reported of *Nero*, who would sometimes cast those that he met, into the common jakes.

43. And cut leeks. *Scæile porrum*. The Authors of some of the manuscript annotations expound *scæile* by Great, because, say they, it was big enough to be cut into many peices; or because, say others, this implies a niggard-

liness in the owner, in spending but a peice of it at a time. But without such niceness, better is *Britannicus* his observation out of *Pliny*, lib. 29. cap. 6. who divides *porrum* into *scæile* and *capitulum*, according to the different ordering of leeks in the garden: one for being let to run to a head, the other being usually cut for the service of the kitchen. In like manner there seems to be no special matter intended in the word *scæile*, when the Poet speaks of a sheep's head, though there is an apparent Ironie in *labra* for *caput*. But *Aurum* his exposition here is somewhat different, who makes *Cajus* echo the *limes* to signify *Cajus* *favore* *limes*; as thinking the poor man here grided, as being grown proud, for having served, though but basely, with his Patron. But the drunken gallant here mention'd, asking the poor man what coblers were with him at the great cheer, seems to implice that it was the entertainment, which one poor man bestow'd upon another, and seems to flout rather at their misery, then their pride.

44. At what Temple door May a man find you begging? The Romans had for houses of sacred use distinct names, as *Templum*, *Ædes*, *Phanum*, and *Proseucha*, which last though we render, by the most known word a Temple, yet we may strictly call it an Oratory, from *προεύχασθαι*, to Pray. Which kind of places the *Scholias* says were proper to the Jews, but others prove them to have belong'd also to the Romans: which seems the more probable, it being incongruous, that the poor Romans should beg at the Oratories of the Jews, who are throughout our Poet describ'd generally as very poor; or that they should beg rather of Jews then Romans, charity being commonly extended only to persons of a like devotion.

45. And bind thee o're to answer't. *Vadimoniam*-faciunt. This expression is in effect as sureable to the Romans, as to us, though the manner and season of the appearance be not the same, yet among them he that committed a misdemeanor was compelled to put in Surety, that he would answer the accuser: and this was called *vadimonium*, from *vadere*; because as some have it, the surety did *vadere* in *discremen*, go into danger for another, or, as some, because after the Surety was put-in, the partie bound to appear might go at libertie till the Hearing.

46. —When the Pontine Moore, And Gallinarian Pines. *Et Pontina palus & Gallinaria Pinus*. The Pontine sen and the Gallinarian Wood of pine-trees were places in *Campania* notorious for robberies, mention'd by *Strabo* and *Sueton*. *Jovianus Pontanus*, lib. 2. de *Magnificentiâ*, and since him *Lubin* says, that *Julius Caesar* layd drie this moore: but *Marcellus Donatus*, p. 239. on *Sueton's Caesar*, cap. 44. did heretofore note, that *Caesar* only intended it, being prevented in the performance by death; but that it was afterwards perform'd by *Trajan*. *Strabo* says, that it was called *Pontina palus* from a City called *Pontia*; and *Pliny* tells us, (lib. 3 cap. 5.) that anciently there were 23. Cities about it.

47. And the Sun grows low. *Et Sol inclinatur*.

Our Poet not mentioning at what time of the day his friend *Umbritius* began to speak to him, concludes more warily than the Poet *Nemesianus* (by birth a *Carthaginian*, flourishing at Rome in the time of *Dioclesian*) who in his *Bucolicks*, *Ecolg.* 1. bringing in *Timetas* and *Tityrus* talking together in the Morning, whiles, as *Timetas* there says, *Et ros & primi suadet clementia Solis*, does after a few verses interchang'd, (which could not take-up the fourth part of an hour, as *Hug. Martellius* on that place, *Annot.* 1. sharply observes) make *Tityrus* conclude after this manner, *Sed jam Sol demittit equos de culmine mundi, Fluminea suadens gregibus præbere liquores*.

48. *Helvinian Ceres*. *Me quoque ad Helvinam Cerecem*. Some read, as *Britannicus* says, *Me quoque Eleusinam Cerecem*, making *Ceres* to be so called from her Temple which she had at *Eleusis*, (between *Athens* and *Megara*) whence by *Virgil* (in his *Georgicks*) she is called *Eleusina mater*. But this epithet seems not so proper here; it being no such apt expression to lay, Call me to *Eleusin Ceres* near *Aquinum*. *Scoppa* and *Brodaus* take *Helvinam* for a title given to *Ceres* from the colour of ripe corn (of which she was the Goddess) and to signify yellow. Yet methinks to express so common a notion so obscurely were a choice of words as far from Art, as from Necessi-

ty. Some derive the word *ab eluendo*, making it to signify purifying *Ceres*, because they that were initiated in Her Rites, were Wash'd, or Purified. Which opinion seems very apt and may be included in that which follows. For some think her so called from a Fountain nere *Aquinum*, called *Helvinus fons*, which as *Ortelius* relates (in his *The-saur. Geograph.*) is now called *Eluino*, by which, as *Scoppa* acknowledges, there are still the ruins of Temples which are thought to have belong'd to *Ceres* and *Diana*; and this opinion *Britannicus* also mentions. And this I think to be most agreeable to the intent of *Umbritius*, who bids his friend *Juvenal* call him from *Cuma* to *Aquinum*, unto *His Ceres* and *His Diana*; seeming to design by *Helvinam* and *Vestram* as well the Place, as the Deities.

49. A Booted aid Ile come. *Caligatus*. *Caliga* was properly the souldier's Boot; and *Aquinum* (*Juvenal's* Country, was by reason of the waters there, a place of a cold air: upon which occasion *Umbritius* tells *Juvenal*, that if he will admit him as an Helper, he will come to his cold *Aquinum* well booted like a souldier against the injurie of weather, and if Fear chill his courage to proceed in Satyre, he will assist him like a prepar'd souldier, that dares go on in his attempts.

SATYRE

SATYRE. IV.

ARGUMENT.

Crispinus first for Lust and Cheer
 Is here expos'd: next does appear
 Cæsar himself, whose Vast Expence
 Exceeds Belief, as well as Sense.
 The Poet then calls on his Muse
 For help, to tell True and strange News.
 The Lords by th' Emperours Will and Wit,
 About a Fish in Council sit:
 They all are censur'd with concise
 Truth, in their Manners and Advise.

Now more behold Crispinus! Oft I shall
 Make Him act here; a Monster, whom from all
 Vice, no one Vertue rescues! Sick, yet strong
 In Lust; Only th' Adulterer scorns to long
 After your Widow's Dainties! What is't then
 In long arch'd Walks [1] to tire Mules, or by men
 Be carried in Vast shades of Groves; or nigh
 The Forum, [2] Houses, nay whole Acres, buy?
 No Bad man's Happy. Least of all a vile
 Tempter, with Incest stain'd, who did defile
 But lately a veil'd Vestal, [3] which by right
 Vvas to be buried quick. But now of sleight
 Faults we complain, and yet for faults as small
 Under the Censor's Judgment others fall.
 For, what did good Titius and Sapius stain,
 Became Crispinus! But complaint is Vain!
 The man's more Ugly then all Crime! He paid
 six thousand for a Barbel, which being weigh'd
 Cost a Sesterium a Pound, [4] as they
 Report, who of great things do greater say.
 Yet I'de commend his Wit, if by his rare
 Guist, he became some Childless old man's Heire:
 Or had it on some wealthy VViddow been
 Bestow'd, that rides in her glas'd Cave unseen.
 Away with Plots; twas for himself: we see
 VVhat our Niggard Apicius [5] durst not! Free
 Crispinus, thou dar'st This; though once, you know't,
 Your Country Paper made you a girt coat. [6]
 VVas this a price for Fish-scales? I durst guess,
 One might have bought the Fisherman for less.

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

Our Provinces for This much sell some store
 Of Acres, and *Apulia* affords more
 What Feasts did th' Emperor swallow then? when all
 These Selterces (which were but as a small
 Mels taken from the Margin of his Cheer
 VVhen Least) were by a Court-rook belch'd out here,
 Now Chief of all our Knights: Though time was, when
 He cried but broken Fish to's Country-men! [7]

Begin *Calliope*, I am Fix'd; I will
 Not Sing; 'Tis very Story. Lend your skill
 Ye young *Pierian* Maids: help ye my tongue;
 And help the sooner, since I call you young.
 VVhen the last *Flavius* th' half-dead world did tear,
 And *Rome* to bald-pate *Nero* [8] crouch'd with fear,
 Fore *Venus's* Shrine, *Dorique* [9] *Ancona's* grace,
 An *Adriatick* Turbet of vast space
 Plung'd in, choak'd up the Net [10] and stuck no less
 Then those, which the *Maotick* waves oppress,
 Till thaw'd at the dull *Pontick* Gates they throw
 Them out, first with long cold made fat and slow.
 The Boat and Nets glad Master does ordain
 This Monster for the High-Priest. [11] VVho so vain
 Indeed, that such a Fish or Sells or Buys;
 VVhen no shoar wants Informers, prowling Spies,
 VVho'd strive for Sea-weed! and to th' Boatman say,
 This Fish unworthily had stoln away;
 And first being fed in *Cesar's* Ponds, he ought
 Though scap'd, to his first Master to be brought.
 For if *Palphurius* lies not, if we dare
 Trust *Armillatus*, what so e're is rare,
 Swim where it will, 'tis *Casars*. If I can,
 I'll Give't, not loose't then, quoth the Fisherman.
 Now sickly *Autumne* was by Frosts displac'd:
 The Sick fear'd Quartans; [12] winter all defac'd
 VVhistling in Cold, and kept the prey still New;
 Yet hastens He, as if a South-wind blew.
 And when the Lakes they'd past, where *Alba*, though
 Half-down, keeps th' *Ilian* Fire, and with less shew
 Serves *Vesta* still, the wondring Rout did stay
 His Entrance, till remov'd, the Gates gave way
 VVith easy hinge. Th' excluded Fathers wait
 To see th' admission of these (a) Dainties: straight
 He to *Atrides* goes; to whom thus spake
 This poor *Picenian*. Daigne, Great Lord, to take
 This that exceeds all private fires. This day
 Spend on thy *Genius*: cleanse without delay
 Thy Stomack; and this Turbet, kept not sought,
 For Thy Raigne, Eate. The Fish would needs be caught;
 Greedy of happy ruine! This to *Eies*
 Half-blind was open Flatt'ry. Yet his Comb did rise!

Once equal men with Gods, [13] their Rule shall be,
 In such mens Praise there's no *Hyperbole*.
 But now there lack'd a size of Pot: in all
 Hast then the Lords he does to Councel call,
 Men whom he hated, in whose vilage late
 A paleness of Dread Favour. Loudly straight
 A large *Liburnian* baules ye out, *Run, Run,*
Cesar is set. *Pegasus* then begun
 To stir, catch'd up his Roab, and first does come:
 He was of late Bayliff of frightned *Rome*.
 VVere *Prefects* then ought else? He was the best
 Indeed, and Law with exact truth express'd:
 Yet saw, in those dire Times things so did stand,
 They might be touch'd but with an half-just hand.
 Then came (b) old pleasant *Crispus*, of a sweet
 Temper and Eloquence, and none more meet
 To have advis'd Him, that rul'd Sea and Land,
 Might he but have condemn'd foul Actions; And
 Had not *That Plague of Mankind* loath'd to hear
 Truth. But what's fiercer then a Tyrant's eare?
 VVith whom to talk of Heat, Cold, Spring-show'rs, straight
 (As if you'd in the weather search his Fate)
 VVas Death! Hee'd ne're then swim against the flood:
 No man for Truth durst spend words, much less Blood.
 Arm'd with these Arts of Proof, This man, in fears
 And such a Court, did live safe fourscore years!
 Next came *Acilius* [14] of the like Great Age;
 His Son too, whom the Tyrants bloody Rage
 Mark't-out and seiz'd-on. But meer Prodigie
 Long since, Great Age was in Nobilitie.
 So that I'de be, though not for size, for birth
 A brother [15] of the Giants (born of th' Earth).
 He scap'd not then, though in the *Alban Sand*
 This naked Hunter kill'd with desp'rate hand
Numidian Bears. [16] For such *Patrician Art*
 VVho knows not now? VVho now admires the Part
 Once acted by Thee, (c) *Brutus*? No hard thing
 'Twas then, t' Impose on a rude, Bearded King. [17]
Rubrius [18] too, though of no Noble race,
 VVent thither with as sad a heart and face.
 He did a Court-fault, which to name's no wit,
 Yet, then the Pathick that a Saryre writ,
 VVas worse. *Montanus* came too, and his slow
 Paunch; and *Crispinus*, who did rankly flow
 VVith sweat of Morning-ointments: [19] they scarce wast
 So much upon two Fun'rals! Then did hast
Pompey more cruel: He could, with a fine
 VVhisper, cut throats. *Fuscus* did likewise joine
 In Speed and Councel; on whose entrailles fed
 The *Dacian Vulturs*, He to the VVars was bred

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

In his brave Marble Summer-house. Then went
 The shrew'd *Veiento*, [20] and *Catullus* bent
 To bloody Plots. He us'd to be inflam'd
 With Beauties, which he saw not, but heard nam'd;
 A Grand, conspicuous Monster in these worst
 Times, a Blind, flatt'ring, cruel States-man, first
 Brought from some Bridge, [21] fit still to begg, and throw
 His flatt'ring kisses towards those, that go [22]
 By Waggon down to *Arucia*. None stood more
 Astonish'd at the Turbet; words good store
 He us'd, but did towards the left side stand,
 When as the Beast did lie at his Right hand.
 He'd Praise *Cilician* Fencers; Crie, *Well hit*;
 Commend a Stage [23] and Play-boys thence, by fit
 Devise, catch'd-up to a feign'd Cloud. Yet came
Veiento short of him? struck with thy flame,
Bellona, he Divines: and, here, says he,
 A wondrous *Omen* of Great Triumph see!
 Some King thou shalt lead Captive, or at last
Arviragus [24] from *British* (d) Chariot cast..
 The Beast is Forreigne: On his back behold,
 Upright thy Darts stand! [25] Yet *Fabricius* told
 Them not the Turbet's Age and Country. But,
 Quoth *Cesar*, What d' ye think? Must he be cut?
Montanus cries, The Fish Disfigure not!
 But make a large, round, deep, thin-sided Pot
 Of Earth: straight some *Prometheus* of rare worth
 With Clay and Wheel bring quickly. But hence forth,
Cesar, some Potters on your Court should wait.
 This Counsell worthy of the Author straight
 Took place. The *Cesar's* Riots He long knew,
 And *Nero's* Mid-night-suppers, and his New
 Hunger, when *Falerne* draughts his Lungs had fir'd.
 No man to Rarer Trencher-Art aspir'd
 In my Time! If from the *Circean* shoar
 Or *Lucrine* Rocks came Oysters, or from more
 Remote *Rhutupian* depths, [26] He'd tell aright
 At the First Taft: nay more, at the first sight
 Tell from what shoar a Crabb came. They Rise, and
 The Lords (the Counsel ended) by command
 Depart. These to his *Alban* Court our Great
 Leader had drawn frightened to Hast and Sweat;
 As if he would have said somewhat about
 The (e) *Catti*, or the sterne (f) *Sicambrian* Rout:
 As if from divers Parts some News had come
 With rushing wing, [27] which might have startled *Rome*!
 And would he had in these toys spent his Reign;
 Wherein without Revenge brave men were Slain.
 But when his rage did against Coblers swell,
 Imbrued in *Lamian* blood [28] He likewise fell.

NOTES on JUVENAL, Sat. IV.

(a) **D**ainties — *Obsonium*. ὀψώνιον, proprie vocatur edulium quod additur pani praesertim coctum: and *obsonare* signifies sometimes lautius vesci, and ὀψονάζει, obsonatores did of old, male audire, as Erasmus observes. But though this word is taken in this large signification, yet we find it in good Authors, in a more restrained sense, and by way of eminency put for Fish, as here in our Poet *obsonia* is put for the Rhombus: So paulum obsonii for paulum piscis in Terent. And. A. 2. sc. 2. and in Adelpb. &c. so likewise in Scripture ὀψῆσα are two fishes, Job. 6. 9. and in many other places, as Grotius and other Commentators ad locum do shew. The reason of this Antonomasia is no other then the delicacy and excellency of Fish above Flesh. The Roman and Greek Gluttons (the best Judges of such matters) had Fish, especially the *Murena*, in very great esteem, as may every where be observ'd in Martial. Sueton. Tacit. Plin. &c. and hence Athen. calls the famous Glutton *Philoxenus ὀψιχόων*, *Deipnos*. lib. 1. cap. 6. and more concerning the delicacy of Fish may be learned *ibid*. cap. 8. ὁ τῆς ψιχῆς, &c. some hence are of opinion that *Tiberius* styl'd the instruments of his Lust *Pisciculos*. Suet. in vita, and that the Poets fancied *Venus* to be born of the froth of the Sea; and that the Fish was made the Hieroglyphick of Luxury, as *Pierius Hierogl*. lib. 31. cap. 1. Upon this account many of the Romans were not ashamed to owe their Sir-names to Fishes, as *Sergius Orata* and *L. Murena*. But though degenerate Rome valued Fish at so high a rate that *Cato* once complain'd *Roma pluris piscem venire quam bovem*: yet the old Romans in testimony of their temperance worshipp'd the Goddess of Flesh called *Carna*, as *Ovid* informs us, lib. 6. Fast.

*Prisca Dea est, aliturque cibis quibus ante solebat,
Nec petis adscitas Luxuriosa dapes.*

Upon the same score it is observ'd that *Homer*, who every where commends the temperance of his Heroes, never serves up at their Tables Fish, and there are not wanting amongst the Criticks, who think that God himself for this reason forbade Fish to be offer'd upon his Altars. All this will serve to justify the expression of our Poet, and the translating *Obsonia* dainties.

(b) Old pleasant *Crispius*, *Crispi Jucunda senectus*, this periphrasis is usuall with Authors, especially Poets: So Ἡρακλῆς, for *Hercules*, and Παιδῖς, or Παιδῶν πολυπόδης, *Polypodis*, for *Polypus*, see *Cassaub.* in *Athen. Deipnos*. lib. 1. cap. 5. So *Sententia Catonis* for *Cato*. *Horat.* and for *Scipio* and *Laelius*

Virtus Scipiade & mitis Sapientia Leli. ib.

This *Vibius Crispus* was born at *Placentia*, and lived to be fourscore years old in several Courts of Evil Emperours, by deporting himself so as our Poet says afterwards,

— Nunquam direxit brachia contra
Torrentem. —

Which is the reason of the Epithet *Jucunda*, and of the Character *Stattius* gives him,

Lumina Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi.

Who desires to know more of this politick Courtier, may read *Quintil.* lib. 10. cap. 1. *Sueton.* lib. 6. cap. 2. He was twice Consul, twice Married, and left at his Death an Estate of ∞ H. S. as *Lubin*; and for his cautious and cunning behaviour, or rather compliance with the Roman Emperours, is thought worthy of no other Character by *Tacitus* then this, *Inter potentes potius quam bonos fuit.*

(c) Who now admires thee, *Brutus*? This *D. Junius Brutus* is well known to have been one of the two first Consuls of Rome. In the reign of *Tarquinius Superbus*, upon the appearance of a prodigious Snake, he was sent with two of *Tarquins* Sons to consult the Delphick Oracle. The young men being desirous to learn of the Oracle, which of them should succeed their Father in the Kingdom, the Oracle answered, he that kiss'd his Mother first; *Brutus* hearing this, and being of quicker apprehension then the rest, pretended to stumble, and so took occasion to kiss the Earth, the common Mother of all Men, and that which was intended by *Apollo*. But least *Erutus* should be suspected to aime at the Kingdome, *Stultus videri volebat*, & inde *Bruti cognomentum accepit*, as *Livy* tells us at large, and the Commentators upon him in *Vita Tarq. Superbi*; this is that which is alluded to by our Poet in these words, *Quis priscum illud miretur acumen Brute tuum*? Where the elegant Antithesis betwixt *acumen* and *Brute*, is to be observed,

for though his Surname was *Brutus*, yet he discovered this *acumen* abundantly, in making good the saying, *Sapientis est desipere in loco.*

(d) British Chariot, *aut de temone Britanno.* This place will receive no small light from that famous place of *Tacitus* in his *Agricola*, where he thus writes of the old Britains way of fighting, *Quedam nationes curru præliantur, honestior est auriga, cliens propugnans*; from whence we may learn, that it was the custome of the Britains to fight in Chariots, and the noblest of them to fight in that part which we call the Box; for *honestior* in the forecited place, signifies the noblest, or most honourable. And to this custome, without doubt, our Poet alludes in these words, *aut de temone*, for *temo* is well defin'd, *signum illud currus, quod inter equos curum trahentes, excurrit, curum regens*, and it is well known that the Box of the Coach, where the *Auriga* sits, is fastn'd to this long beam.

(e) *Catti.* *Strabo lib. 7.* and others call them *Chatti*, they inhabited that part of Germany which is now subject to the Land-grave of *Hessen*, and are now called *Hessi*. How terrible these people were to the *Romans*, is sufficiently hinted by our Poet; and that there was cause for their fear, we learn from *Virgil's* character of them.

Mortem contemnunt laudato vulnere Catti.

(f) *Sterne Sicambrian rout.* *Strabo lib. 7.* places these *Sicambri* in Germany too, near the *Catti*. Geographers place them in that part of Germany which is now call'd *Westphalia* and *Gelderland*.

ILLU

OF THE
Fourth Satyre.

... and enough to have helped ...

IN HOC

The cover'd Walks *Juvenal* mentions again, Satyre, 7. in that passage, — *Et plaris porticus in quo*

K 2

and properly it signifies the *Forum*, and but by consequence the City. Such debtors indeed left both, and fled to other places, especially they left the *Forum*, a place of pleasant resort, like an Exchange or Bury. But methinks he needed not have suspected this inconvenience; since he might have thought, that either *jugera* was used by a poetical hyperbole, or that such large possessions might have been in many houses there, peradventure rented-out to the use of diverse others. For in the first Satyre there is a description of an other Rich one (much like this *Crispinus*) who though at first he was but a poor stranger (born at *Euphrates*) had even by the *Forum* five lesser Buries, which yearly yielded him a Knight's revenue, as the Poet says in those words, — *Sed quinque taberna Quadringenta parant*. Besides since *Crispinus* is here expressed as an example of singular wealth, what great matter had it been, to have said, he had good store of acres, if they had been Without the City, though near unto it; especially if we consider what *Seneca* says, *Epist. 89.* where he reprehends those, that think a man (truly) Rich, *quia Suburbani agri tantum possider, quantum invidiose in desertis Apulia possideret*; implying that there were some so wealthy. Indeed, though with some uncertainty, *Britannicus* of his own accord straight adds, *Aut revera hortos intelligi, quos ad amicitias habebant potentiores in medio fere urbis, et vicinos Foro*. The which he might at the first with less ambiguity and enough safely have deliver'd, and clearly agreeable to that of *Seneca* alleg'd in the precedent 11. Illustration.

3. Who did this Burlesquely, a veil'd Vestal. *Quo nuper iustitiae iacebat*. Upon this saith the Scholiast, *Ultimum Flaviae Genis Domitianum dicit; quibus, as the exposition of this place, is alleged out of him by *Antoninus*. But they might have perceived their mistake by that which follows; that not *Domitian*, but *Crispinus* is here taxed, according to that reason given two or three verses after, *Nam quod turpe bonis Fuit, Scitque decebat Crispinum*. Indeed *Domitian*, who is a little after called *calvus Nero*, is here implicitly tax'd for winking at that fault in his favourite, which he punish'd in another. Concerning the veil'd Vestal, it may be known, that the *Virgines*, sometimes render'd a coronet or chaplet, was strictly (from *vincla*) some special Binding for the Head, rather than a Veil, and a Dress for Priests, Sacrificers, Vestal Virgins and Matrons; and farther, that if the Vestals became incontinent, *Vive in parietibus struebantur* (as some express it) *aut terra obruebantur*; that they were immur'd alive, or buried alive in the ground; which last, a little more largely to describe the solemnity, was thus perform'd. At *Porta Collina* (on the North-East side of old Rome) within the City, as *Plutarch* describes it, in a roome under ground there was prepar'd a Bed, a burning Light, and (as the chief parts of food) a little bread, water and milk. The Vestal was bound alive and layd on a bier, and so carried through the *Forum* with great Silence and Horror. When they came to the cave, the bier being set down, *deposito feretro* (not let down into the Vault) and she unbound, the Priest praying somewhat secretly, brought her and set her on a ladder, by which she descended, and presently turning back from her, the ladder being drawn up, they threw in earth, and fill'd up the Cave's mouth. The reason of which punishment, according to *Plutarch* in his Problems, was either because they would not honour such an Offendor*

with Burning, which was the Rite at innocent funerals, she having so ill attended on the holy fire; or because they would not offer violence by a forced death to a consecrated virgin, they thinking that after this manner they suffer'd her to die, as it were, of her own accord.

4. He paid six thousand for a Barbel, which being weigh'd, cost a Sesterium a pound. *Mullum seu millibus emit, Equantem sane paribus sestertia libris*. *Id est*, says *Merula*, *pendentem libras sex pro numero sestertiorum. Nam mille nummos sestertius valebat*. But this last clause is an error in him, and reprehended by *Badagius*, for which, see Satyre, 11. Illustrat. 2. Briefly then, *Merula* should have said, *sestertium valebat*; which was as much as 1000. sestertii: so that the weight of this Barbel being six pounds, and he paying six thousand sestertios or six sestertia (the sestertium being 7 l. 16 s. 3 d.): this Barbel cost *Crispinus*, 46 l. 17 s. 6 d. *Antoninus* on this place says, *Asinius Celer septem millibus nummum mercatus est piscem mullum, Sestertis octo, ut tradit Macrobius, ad quem videtur alludere poeta*. But this being such an error, as *Macrobius* could not commit (and but *Antoninus* his own addition, to expound 7000. sestertia by eight sestertia) against the known values of the Roman Coins, he might more congruously have cited him, as *Britannicus* does, who reads octo millibus nummum. And so is the story related out of *Pliny* by *Lipsius* on *Seneca's Epist. 95.* *An. 40.* *Asinius Celer*, in the reign of *Caius Caligula*, *Mullum unum octo millibus nummum emit*: though *Johannes Isaacus Pontanus* on that passage of *Macrobius* (*Saturnal. 2. cap. 12.*) observes that *Franciscus Junius* likes rather to read there, according to *Juvenal*, *Sex millibus*; and then this of our Poet would seem a satyricall allusion to the story of *Asinius*. But as for Barbels they were not dear among the Romans themselves, except only extraordinary ones, *Macrobius* saying in the place above alleged, *At nunc et majoris ponderis piscem videmus, et pretia hoc insana nescimus*: though, for the weight, *Pliny* says (*lib. 8. cap. 17.*) *Maxima est copia mullis, siquit magnitudo modica, ut hic piscis raro duarum librarum pondus excedat*. So then the Barbel being commonly but small, and seldom above two pounds in weight, it was the bigness only made the price. How may we then admire that Barbel, which *Pliny* tells of, *lib. 9. cap. 18.* in those words, *Licinius Marianus prodidit mullum octoginta librarum in Mari Rubro tum*; see *Marcellus Dominus* on *Flavius Vopiscus* in *Aureliano*. Which Barbel caught in the Red Sea weighing four score pounds (supposing *Pliny's* copy to be free from corruption) if it met with as frank a Chapman, as *Crispinus* or *Asinius*, must have been sold (at a sestertium the pound) for no less of our money, then 625 l. A pretty price for a Barbel! Then we might justly cry out with our Poet, *Hoc, precium squamma?* (Are fish at this rate?) for so some copies have it, not as the common ones, *Hoc precium squamma?* Is this the price of a fish. And here the reader may observe, that *Sestertium* in this passage is the price of every pound of the fish, not the weight of a pound, as some would have it: a thousand sestertii, which were Silver-coins, being in value (as is said) 7 l. 16 s. 3 d. (a sestertium) but in weight properly, 2 pound and a half, and the weight of 16 s. 3 d. one pound weight of silver being in value, 3 l. 2 s. As for *Mullus* here, which we render a Barbel (not a mullet, which in Latin, is call'd *Mugilis*) let the learned *Hippolitus Salviannus* a Roman Physician be, as most siskilful in this argument, the fittest judge: who in his *Historia Aquatilium*

quatuor animalium, Hist. 89. says, that *mullus* is by the Venetians call'd *Barbone*; and by the French, among other names, *Barbels* (and *Barbon*). See *Salvianns* (fol. 135. and 75.) his large and exquisite work in folio (printed at Rome, 1554. and dedicated to the Pope) when he presents the lively forms of the several kinds of Fishes.

5. What our Niggard *Apicius*. Thus the Poet ironically calls the gluttonous spend-thrift *Apicius*; of which name there were three, as *Lipsius* probably shews (on *Tacitus* his *Annal.* lib. 4.) the first of which liv'd in the time of the Roman Commonwealth; the second under *Augustus*, and the third under *Trajan*. The second was the most famous, and call'd by *Pliny*, *nepotum omnium altissimus gurgis*; and seems to be here intended, as *Lipsius* thinks, on *Seneca* in his *Consol. ad Helviam*, annotat. 237. and this by the Scholiast is thought to be that *Apicius*, who writ the Books of Cookery; for he gives here this note, *author praeipiendarum canarum, qui scripsit de Fuscillis*. But I suspect that he mistakes; the Author of that Work (yet extant, a copie of which I have, Printed at Venice, 1503.) making mention (in his *Trophetes*, or sixth Book) of *Jus frigidum Apicianum*, which we may most probably think to have been some taste of this most famous *Apicius* his Palate-art, and so cited by some later *Apicius*. The end of the notorious Glutton was like his Riot, desperate; for having almost wasted his Estate, to prevent Want he dispatch'd himself. Where we may note, that *Aurumnus* on this place citing *Seneca* (*de Consol. ad Marrem*) concludes in these words, *are alieno oppressus, laqueo vitam finivit*: but his Diligence or Memory in transcribing the last words fail'd him, it being in *Seneca*, *Veneno vitam finivit*.

6. Your Country Paper made you a girt coat. *Succinthus patria quondam Crispine papyro*. The word *Papyrus* is like the Plant, *Egyptian*; it is call'd also *Biblos Nilotica*; from whence, as from the marter, the *Grecians* drew their name for a Book. According to *Pliny*, it grew in the more fenny places of their Rivers, and is mention'd by the Prophet *Isay*, cap. 19. vers. 7. according to our last Interpreters. For whereas in that place *Pagine* and *Arian Montanus* render the word *פפירוס* by *Graminea*, and one of our former translations had it, *The Grass*; the last Interpreters render it there, *The Paper-reeds by the Brooks*; by the mouth of the Brooks. The use of it was various; for they made of it, sails, ropes, mats, coverlets, garments, shooes worn only by their Priests, and paper of the stalk shav'd into sheets with a broad thin instrument of Iron; and the root they us'd for food. The Poet then saying here of *Crispinus*, that he was *succinthus papyro*, not only implies the use of it in garments, but also that it was but a coat which *Crispinus* formerly had, as is signified in the word *succinthus*, which is not only Glad, but Girt, intimating thereby his servile condition; it being the form of a servant to wait in a girt coat. (See *Sat. 3. Illust. 8.*) The Scholiast would have *succinthus Papyro* to signify, that *Crispinus* had been in his own Country a seller of paper: but this is not likely, because he says presently after, that he was a petty Fish-monger. I will not here transcribe, concerning paper, the learned observations of the accurate *Melchior Guilandinus*, or *Pliny*'s description of it, lib. 13. cap. 11. Only since it so much concerns the Scholer, it will not be unpleasant to present the form of the Reed.



7. When he cried but broken Fish to his Country men. *Magna qui voce solebat Vendere Municipis fracta de merce Silurus*. The Poet here describes *Crispinus*, as he now was, *Purpureus scuri palati*, a Court-jester, or one that by playing the Coggling jester, and so humouring a leud Emperour, was become a Noble man; more particularly, *princeps equitum*, as the Poet here calls him: which with the Interpreters is made the same with *magister equitum*: but this was an Officer in the time of the Commonwealth, and more especially in the time of a Dictator. Some take it for the General of the Horse: but that was an Officer in time of War, which was none of *Crispinus* his employment. Some render it, *Master of the Horse*; an Officer indeed of Honour: but *Equitum* will not yield that Exposition. It may be observ'd then, that he, who by the Censors in the cloze of their Offices, when the Senators were all recited by name, was in the Catalogue first nam'd, was call'd *Princeps Senatorum*, The Chief or First of the Senate; in like manner the first nam'd of the Knights, was call'd *Princeps Equitum*. Such was the Dignity of this unworthy Knight *Crispinus*; but if any prov'd unworthy of his Order, and were omitted by the Censor in the recital, such a one was depriv'd of his Dignity; though upon better behavior he might be readmitted. See *Rosin. l. 7. c. 10.* therefore render it, *Now chief of all our Knights*, (*Jam princeps Equitum*). Even such was *Crispinus* become; though at first, in *Egypt* his own Country, he sold but Fish, and that but some base and broken ware; the *Silurus* being a vile Fish, and usually bought by the poorer sort. It is sufficient in this place to render it only in general, Fish; though, *Sat. 14.* where it is reckon'd with others as a several sort, I render it, for defect of a proper name for it with us, a Nimble-tail, according to the Etymologie from the excessive motion of that part. The Poet calls them here *municipes Siluros*, for his own Country Fish, by way of jeer, implying that they were alike base: but the other words, *fracta de merce* are variously interpreted, some expounding them by *fracta vase*, as if the Vessels or Panniers in which they were carried, were broken (but this seems a weak Exposition); others laying the sense on *fracta*, and supposing that it was sold by small

penny-worths, and so was *fracta* or diminished, as in a Hucksters utterance; others thinking it to signify impair'd by stealth, as if *Crispinus* an under-huckster had stoln it. But the most easy sense is, that he bought the refuse of other mens ware, the Fish of a broken parcel, tumbled and refused by other chapmen. We may here add, that some copies have, *facta de merce*, but with little sense; and that *Pithagoras* in his *Var. Lection.* on the *Scholias*, says that most copies have *fracta*; but none, for ought he knows, have *fariâ*, which sayes he, were very witty; he means *Fbariâ de merce*, from his *Egyptian* ware. This, I grant, were apposite enough; but then it were but a tautologie, to say *municipes* and *fariâ*, they bearing both, in this place, but the same sense.

8. Bald-pate *Nero Domitian*; who was extremely offended with the mention of baldness, and writ a Book *De Cura Capillorum*, as *Sueton* relates in his Life, cap. 18. This was also the blemish of *Julius Caesar*, who to hide it wore a chaplet of Bayes. *Tiberius* likewise was bald, in disgrace of whom, *Sejanus* therein more presumptuous then wise, caused all things in a publick Shew to be perform'd only by bald men, as *Dion* reports. And here I may remember, that in after times in the favour of *Carolus Calvus*, the Son of *Ludovicus Pius*, one *Hugobaldus* a Monk (cunning it seems, in his degree of wit) writ verses in the praise of Baldness, every Word of them (futable to the word *Calvus*) beginning with the letter C. Which Monastick Phansie, omitting the verses themselves, I the rather mention, because they came in my way, being prefix'd to the Manuscript *Juvenal* in the famous Library at *St. James's*.

9. *Dorique Ancona*. It was a Greek City built by the Grecians in Italy, says the *Scholias*: *Lubin* more particularly says, a *Doricis condita*. But *Franciscus Schottus* in his *Itinerar. Italia*, part. 1. pag. 237. says, that they mistake in this place of *Juvenal*, who from hence would conclude, that it was built by the *Dorians*. It was then, according to Him, a Colony of the *Syracusians*, who spake the *Dorique* tongue, as the *Sicilians* generally, which their Poets writings testify. Yet this was in part observ'd before by *Britannicus*. It was called *Ancona* from *ἀγκών*, an Elbow, if we liken Italy to an Arm: but it is more commonly, as in *Leander* and others, compar'd to the thigh and legg; according to which similitude, *Ancona* must be plac'd in the Calf, as *Otranto* in the heel, and *Rhezgo* about the toe. But some there tell us, that *Ancona* is the chief City of *Pisa*, now *Marchia d' Ancona*, say they, when as *Pisa* is not a Country, but a City; and the Italian City of that name, (for there was one in Greece also of the same name) is in *Tiscany*: but the Country of the Fisherman, who is here call'd *Picens*, was call'd *Picenum*, now taken for the *Marquisate* of *Ancona*; which Country is on the East-side of Italy, as *Pisa* is on the West-side: and thus the Fisherman may here be call'd a *Picene*, (or, *Picenian*) not a *Pisan*. The Poet makes mention also of the *Picene Pears*, *Sat. 11. vers. 74.* which some there also not without mistake call *Pisan Pears*.

10. Choak'd-up the Net. *Implevitque sinus. Retia*, say the Interpreters; more particularly *Lubin*, and *concaeva retia*, and rightly, *The bosome of the Net*. But he adds, *vel per sinus intelligit angulos & curvaturas ejusdem portus*; and then it was a monstrous Turbet indeed: but he forgot to leave room in the Haven for the Fisherman's Boat, that caught him, or, by admitting such an Exposition, to make room in the Boat for the Fish being caught. For though the

Beast be call'd *monstrum*; yet he that master'd him is but *cymba linque magister*.

11. This Monster for the High-Priest. *Pontifici Summo*; so he calls *Domitian* the Emperour, by an Ironie; since to glorify his reign with rare examples, when *Cornelia Maximilla*, a *Vestal Virgin*, had by her offence deserv'd to be buried quick, He himself took upon him the office of the chief Priest, whom that cause properly concern'd (the care of the *Vestals* belonging to Him, as of the Fire to Them) and calling the rest of the Priests to *Alba* condemn'd her, as *Plinie* relates in an Epistle to *Cornelius Minutianus*, lib. 4. cap. 11. The Poet calls him also a little after, *Atrides*; which some expound by *Agamemnon* (the son of *Atræus*) the brave Leader of the *Greeks*: others by *Orestes* (*Agamemnon's* son) who kill'd his Mother *Clytemnestra*. Which last being not applicable to *Domitian*, his Mother *Flavia Domitilla* dying in his Fathers life time, and before his Fathers Empire, and without a Tragedy, (as appears by *Sueton*, in his *Vespasian* cap. 2.) the first is to be here understood, it being aptly Satyrical, to call him ironically *Agamemnon*, to whom he was like in Power, but not in Vertue; *Agamemnon's* worth being to lend *Domitian* rather a Shame, then a Pattern.

12. The Sick fear'd Quartans. *Jam quartanam sperantibus agris*. The Poet by way of jeer expresses the Time, wherein Fear, not Heat, hasten'd the Fisherman, namely the end of *Autumne*, or beginning of *Winter*, towards the mid'd of *December*: which he describes, by saying it was the time, wherein the sick fear'd Quartans. For so *Sperantibus* is here (as *Sperare* is by *Virgil* also taken for *timere*) commonly, and, as I think, rightly interpreted; by reason of the craziness usual at that time of the year, not only proceeding from old and inward causes, but also from the various temper of the aire. For though it somewhat agrees with the nature of the Spring for heat and cold, yet is there this especial difference; that in the Spring the heat and cold are broken into one temper, but in *Autumne* they are both preserv'd distinct, and too sodainly successive, it being cold in the morning, hot at noon, and cold again at evening. And as in the *Autumne* Melancholy is predominant, so also Quartanagues, of which Melancholy is the cause. Yet *Ptolemaus Flavius* in his *Conjellan*, cap. 17. takes *sperantibus* in this place properly, saying that the sick now hope for Quartans, which kill no man, as He seeks to prove, and into which at this season other Feavers turn. Which opinion some others like; and *Bernardus Reatinus*, *Annotat. 6.* says, that after a Quartan, health increases, the length of the disease having spent the *Phlegmatick* and Melancholy humours. Yet this opinion (though including some truth) prevails not, the Quartan being not commonly thought to be so courteous. Besides it would hence follow, that the Quartan, whose matter is Melancholy, and so most proper to the temper of the year, the *Autumne*, should be placed in the Winter-quarter, the matter of whose diseases are properly the *Phlegmatick* humour. So that to say, the Sick now hope for a Quartan were improper, the time of that disease being properly past in the beginning of *Winter*: but to say they now fear it, stands with the season of the disease; which having tormented men the most of the *Autumne*, may well be fear'd at the approach of *Winter*. Moreover it is but an uncomfortable way of cure to hope to be deliver'd from one shrew'd disease, by falling into another shrew'd disease. But the Interpreters

ters having left this doubt, concerning the danger of Quartans, undecided; it will not be unacceptable to clear it by the judgment of Physicians who describe two sorts of Quartans; one arising from the Melancholic humor properly so called, and this they make not of any great danger; the other from *atra bilis*, which is likewise generally and rudely call'd Melancholic, but properly it is *flava bilis vehementer adusta*, as amongst others the accurate *Massarius* and *Sennertus* teach; and this they hold to be very dangerous, and unto both attribute properly the same season, the *Autumn*; not that they are not in other seasons, but then most, and most properly. This last kind then is to be here understood; so that *flava bilis* being corrupted in the Summer and grown vehemently adust or turn'd into *atra bilis* by the *Autumn*, vexing the sick with a Quartan all the *Autumn*, may justly make the sick afraid when Winter comes on, and Nature has been already so much cast down. We may a little farther take notice, that some of late would have it, *jam quartanam spirantibus aëris*; that now the fields breath'd infectious Air, the cause of this disease. But this, for ought I find, is but in part confirm'd, only one copie having *spirantibus aëris*: besides, it dashes against the former reason; since, by this interpretation the Quartan should be a disease appropriated (by the disposition of the Air) to the beginning of winter, at which season the end of it, rather than the beginning, is expected.

13. *Once equal Men with Gods*. He speaks this historically of *Domitian*, who commanded that men should instyle him, *Dominus & Deus noster*, Our Lord and God! Yet (omitting his pride as horrible as his end!) though this be a truth, it may seem contrary to That in *Statius* (*Sylv. lib. 1. on the Kal. Decembres Saturnales*.)

*Tollunt innumerat ad astra voces,
Saturnalia Principis sonantes,
Et dulci Dominum favore clamant:
Hoc solum vetuit licere Caesar.*

For this implies, that he did forbid men to call him *Lord*, it being a Title Odious among the Romans, and therefore refus'd by sundry Emperors. But this doubt is rightly solv'd by the learned *Gevarcius* in his *Papinian Lectiōes*, lib. 1. cap. 47. where he shews that this prohibition of such title was only during the time of the *Saturnals*, the time of Liberty, wherein servants feasted with their Masters, as *Macrobius* mentions, in his *Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 7.* which resolution is also implied by *Statius* himself in that verse alleg'd, *Saturnalia Principis sonantes*.

14. *Acilius*. *Demopster*, lib. 1. de *Juramento*, cap. 2. says that *Acilius* was put to death by *Nero*, and is mention'd by *Juvenal* in his fourth: which may be allowed for truth, if by *Nero* we understand *Domitian*, who indeed in this Satyre is ironically call'd *Calvus Nero*. Some say, that *Domitian* having first put to death *Domitius* the Son of *Acilius*, did afterward spare the Father, the more to grieve him with his Son's death. And the Interpreters tell us that this *Acilius Glabrio* (for so *Sueton* calls him) was at last put to death for some intended treason with others. *Sueton* in his *Domitian*, cap. 10. relates it thus, *Complures Senatores, in his aliquot Consulares, interemit: ex quibus, Civicum Cerealem in ipso Asia Proconsulatu, Salvidiennum Orfitum, Acilium Glabrium in exilio quasi molitūes novarum rerum.*

15. *Fraterculus esse Gigantum*. According to the Fable Giants were born of the Earth, (as the word implies) and so base-born. Yet the Poet whiles he acknowledg'des the advantage of their

meat birth, desires to be but *fraterculus*, rather than *frater* (as *Politian* notes, in his *Miscell. Observat. cap. 18.*) least he should seem to wish for their gigantick vastness of body, as well as for their ignobleness, so to escape destruction by his obscuritie of condition: I will not here delay the Reader with any discourse of Giants, especially after the labour of *Cassian* and others, who have with much learning and delight examin'd this argument: only I will add, that whereas the Ancient Heathens prophanely drew the occasion of their fables oftentimes from the *Adisical* story, the copie of which they had, and which as in other points, so in this, they did wretchedly and childishly deprave by their fictions: yet a late French *Capucine*, one *Boulduc* (*De Ecclesiâ ante Legem. lib. 1. cap. 9.*) tells us, that the names, *Raphaim*, *Emim*, *Zuzim*, and others, as he says, commonly in Scripture taken for Giants, are not so to be expounded. Then he affirms that the Title of *Giant* was anciently a name of honour, signifying such persons, as in those times were restorers of Piety; and that their assemblies were as Colledges of instruction in that Age of the world. Thus he endeavours to prove that *Nimrod* was in that sense a Giant, a man instructed by God; which he would prove out of *Methodius*. But these his New Assertions and curious proofs from their Hebrew Titles with many other his venous exploits of phansie I leave to the leisure of thy Judgement.

16. *Numidian Bears*. *Ursos Figebat Numidos Albanâ nudus Arenâ*. The Poet here shews, that *Acilius* his Son did strive to scape the Emperor's fury, by fighting with wild beasts, so to seem mad (and therefore to be neglected, rather than fear'd) like *Brutus*, that so escap'd the rage of *Tarquin*. This is apparently *Juvenal's* intent; though some seem to impie, that he did it in right earnest to please the Emperor, who was so delighted with such sights, that sometimes he himself slew beasts in that manner of combat, according to that of *Sueton*, *ut centenas aliquando prostraverit*. But this cause seems not agreeable to *Juvenal's* instance in *Brutus*, who us'd Art under the form of Madness; besides, the word *nudus* may probably seem to distinguish His manner of fighting with beasts, from the Emperors. But here it must be noted concerning the beasts here mention'd (*Numidici ursi*), that though *Britannicus* (as before him the *Schohiast*) takes *ursi* properly, for Bears, urging *Solinus* his authority in these words, *Numidici ursi formâ ceteris præstant*; yet *Numidia* yields no Bears (they delighting in Cold Countrys) as *Pliny* testifies, lib. 8. cap. 36. besides, that the Romans, at the first but ignorant, when they saw Lions brought from *Africa*, call'd them, in usual speech, Bears, as it is proved by some out of *Virgil*. See *Lips. 2. Elef. cap. 4.* so that *Numidici ursi* are expounded by *Leones*. As for the Place, where *Acilius* his Son did thus behave himself, the Poet says, that it was at *Alba*: for there did *Domitian* use to celebrate yearly the feast of *Minerva* call'd the *Quinquatria* (as *Sueton* says in his *Domitian*, cap. 4.) at which such Shows us'd to be presented. And here it may be observ'd, that *Albana Arena* is by *Britannicus* and *Lubin* render'd by *Albano Theatro*; and that not only here, but commonly through his Commentary, *Lubin* renders *Arena* by *Theatrum*: which may be the more warily observ'd, to prevent error; the *Theaters* being for stage-plays (as also for rope-dancers, tumblers, and such like, as some think) but the *Amphitheaters* for Fights of Men with men, and of men with beasts. Which places, that the abundance

abundance of blood which was there usually shed, might not be offensive, were strew'd with Sand (to drink it up) whence it was called, *Arena*. Besides, the *Theater* differ'd from the *Amphitheater* in the form; the *Theater* being but an Half Circle, the *Amphitheater* a Whole Circle; according to its name, it being as much as a Circuiting or Compassing Theater, in substance as much as two Theaters. And sometimes Theaters were so contriv'd, that by engines they might be turn'd about and join'd into an *Amphitheater*. See for the distinction of their forms the learned *Aufonius Popma*, de *Differentiis verborum*, in the word, *Theatrum*; and *Salmuth* on *Pancitollas*, de *Amphitheatreis & Theatris*; where he says, that though at first the Theaters were us'd for the Exercises of strength and Running, they were afterwards employ'd for the use of stage-plays. See *Rosinus* in his *antiquit. Rom. lib. 9. cap. 4.* where most distinctly he says, ut *Circenses Ludi in Circo, ita Scenici in Theatro peragebantur* (to which point I speak also, to prevent error, *Sat. 8. Illust. 7.*) And therefore when *Julian* in his *Epist. 35. (pro Argivis)* speaks of hunting wild beasts, as Bears and Panthers in Theaters, *Petavius* well adds on that place this note, *Amphitheatrales venationes intelligit*, implying, that he spak not accurately. The form of a famous Theater at *Verona*, though in part decay'd, may not be unpleasant to be beheld, and by *Munster* is thus presented; and before him describ'd by *Torellus Sarayna* a Native of that City. *

17. Bearded King. *Facile est barbato imponere regi*; So *Sat. 5.* he says, *Capillato Consule*, and *Sat. ult. dignum barbâ, dignumque capillis Majorum*; whereby he intends the first or most ancient times of *Rome*, in which they wore long hair: for they had no Barbers in *Rome*, till after the building of it, 444. years, says *Calderine*, citing *Pliny*; though not without some error in the Time. The Authority is out of *Varro* (from whom *Pliny* has it) in whom it is 454 (according to *Scaliger's* Edition) and then they were brought over from *Sicilia*, by *P. Ticinius Mena*, See *Varro, de Re Rustica, lib. 2. cap. ult.* who alleges, that the statues of the Ancients were form'd with long hair and great beards: which may here be observ'd for the illustration of those places in the other Satyres above cited. The Poet then intends, that in that simple age of *Rome* it was easy to deceive a King; as *Brutus* did; but that the present Age was grown more cunning.

18. *Rubrius*. This *Rubrius*, says the Poet, was worse then *Nero*, who writ a Satyre against *Quintianus* his effeminacy, he himself being worse. The fault of *Rubrius* here conceal'd was, as some think his speaking against *Cecinna* in the behalf of *Flavius Gabinius*. But why should the Poet then say, that this fault ought to be conceal'd, as those words implicate *offensa veteris reus atque tacenda*? Yet it is thus express'd by the *Scholias*, *Rubrius iste aliquando Tibiam in pueritiâ corruerat* (*Autumnus* in the reciting of it says, *Tibiam Domitiani*) & verebatur ne pro hac mercede pœnâ ab ipso reposceret. Whether this *Tibia* (if there be not some mistake in transcribing the name, *Pitæum*, in his Notes on the *Scholias*, doubting that it should be *Livia*) were some Beauty affected by *Domitian*, or no, it appears not: but *Lubin* from a Commentary on an ancient Copy, gives this nearer reason, *quod cum Domitiani conjuge concubuerit*, for being too familiar with the Empress. And this opinion I think most probable; first because *Domitia Longina* (*Domitian's* wife) was guilty in the like kind with another, and of as low

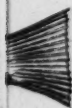
a rank, namely *Paris* the Player, as *Sueton* reports in *Domitian. cap. 3.* for which he divorced her; though extremely doting on her he took her again, pretending it to be the desire of the People. Secondly, this fault is the more probable by comparison; because not long after, *Sueton* himself, the Historian, being Secretary to *Adrian* the Emperor, was depriv'd of that honour for being in the like kind too familiar with the Empress *Sabina*. Lastly, this was most probably the crime for the hainousness of it, which, as he says, was to be conceal'd: which could not in probability be either for fear of *Tibia*, or (when *Juvenal* writ this) for fear of *Domitian* now dead; but most likely for fear of *Domitia's* kindred; since he speaks, as if wisdom made him silent; though, it seems, *Sueton* did, not long after *Juvenal*, shew more boldness in relating her like leudness with *Paris*.

19. Morning-Ointments. *Matulino Amomo*. Some take it for Eastern Ointments; some both ways. Both are true, yet the first intended, as I think; since he speaks according to the custome of the Romans, who bath'd in the Morning, and so in the Morning us'd ointments.

20. The shrew'd *Veiento*. *Prudens*. It is doubted in what sense the Poet here uses this word: but since he describes him afterward as a rank flatterer, and not worthy therefore of so solid a name, I conceive, that it here signifies in an allay'd sense, not truly Wise, but the cunning or shrew'd *Veiento*; who is afterwards in this Satyre call'd also *Fabricius*, his name being *Fabricius Veiento*.

21. Brought from some Bridge; There Beggars usually fate for Almes, and thence, he says, *Caullus* at first came, and that he was still worthy to beg of the richer Passengers that went by Waggon between *Rome* and *Aricia*, which was seated on a steep ascent. The cause of this concourse of people to *Aricia* was two-fold, according to the diversity of the persons, the rich and the poor. There was at *Aricia* (in the *Appian* way beyond *Alba*) a Grove consecrated to *Diana*, call'd *Artemisium*, greatly frequented for devotion sake; as *Britannicus* says. For this cause it was also haunted by Beggars, and much the more, when the Jews, as says the *Scholias*, as the *Christians*, as *Lubin* says, were expell'd *Rome*; who in necessity and wit resorted thither. *Lubin* thinks it is said at *Aricia*, to signify that he was not worthy to beg at any bridge in *Rome* it self; but this seems somewhat strain'd.

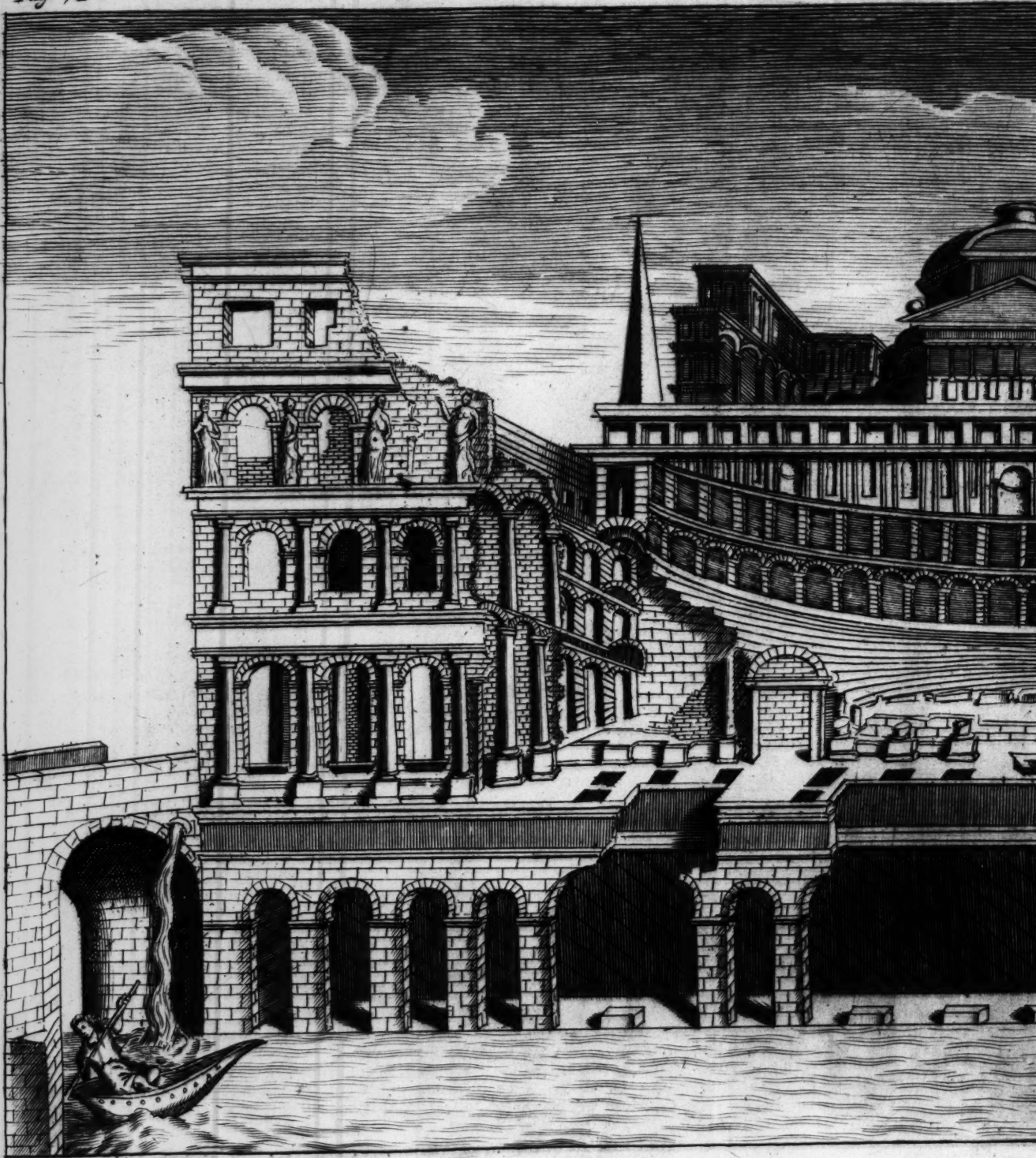
22. And throw his flatter'ing kisses towards those that go, &c. *Blandaque devexa jactaret basia rheda*. The margin of one Manuscript says, that the poor did kiss the hands of Passengers, for almes; but this is silly. Another Manuscript has not *Basia*, but *Brachia*, implying the stretching out of their armes, for almes; but this reaches not the sense of the epithet *blanda*, more suitable to the condition of Beggars. The most easie sense will be, that they did most obsequiously kiss their fingers, and then stretch them out unto the Passengers. See *Sat. 3. Illustrat. 11.* The Poet says, *Rheda devexa*; so that by the delay of the Waggon for safety, they had the more leisure, and so the more advantage, to beg. *Lubin* would here pick out this opposition; that he, who being blind (as *Caullus* is here said to have been) would yet fall in Love with Beauty, was fit to bestow his kisses at distance on the Waggon wheels. This seeming to imply, that there were Women in the Waggon, he might the rather have said it, if he urg'd the *Scholias*, who says indeed, *Rheda ferent mulieres*; implying, that in their

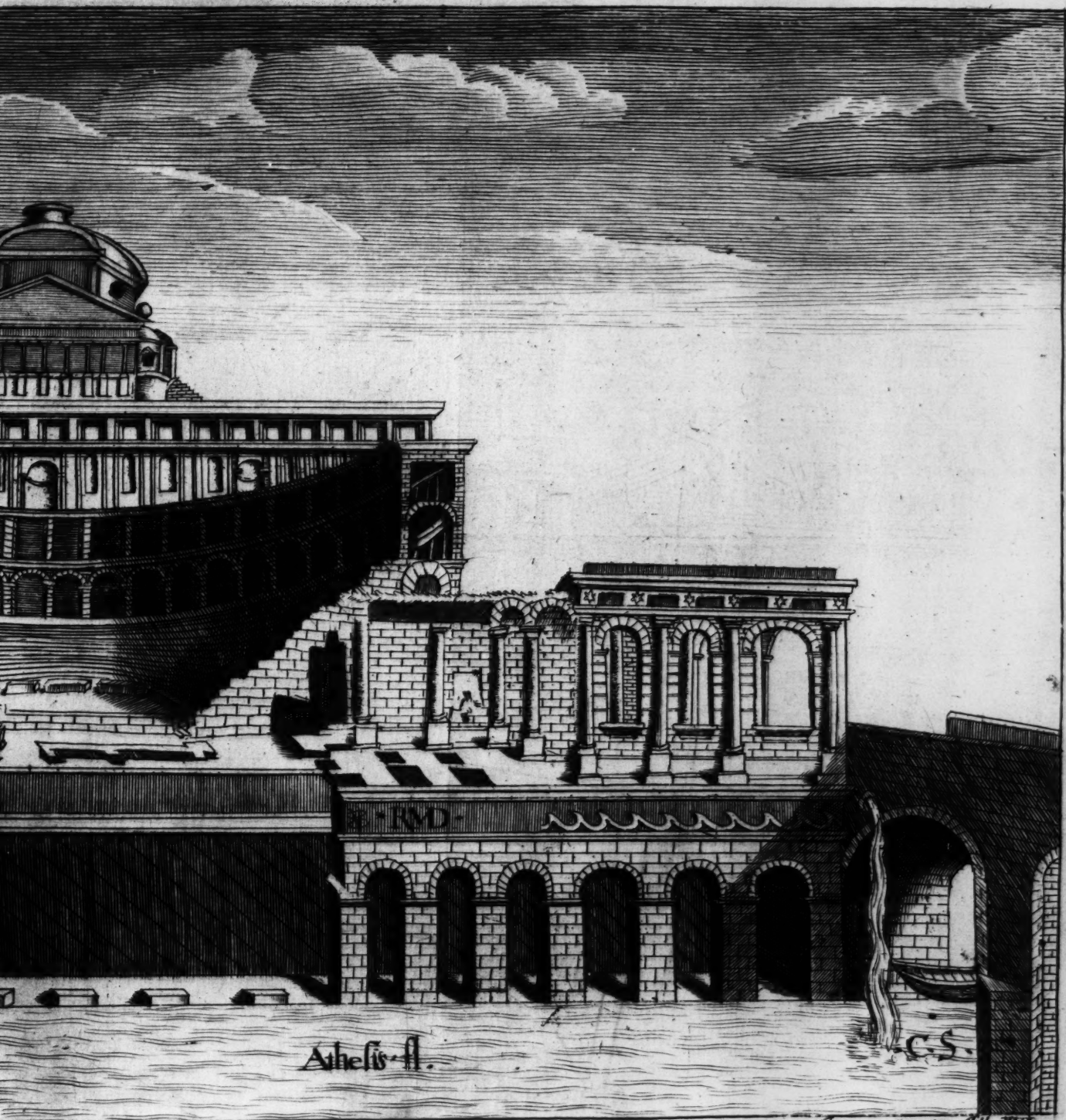


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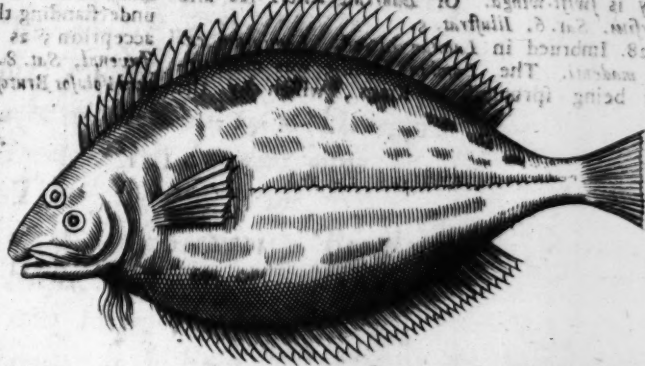
their way of devotion, That Sex was most forward.

23. A Stage. *Pegma*. A pageant by art so contriv'd, that of it self it did rise aloft; an *Arviragus*, upon which was seated a Boy representing, as is probably conjectur'd, *Ganymede* snatch'd up to the *Volaria*, the purple coverings of the Theater shielding from Sun and Rain; and, as occasion requir'd, they'd into a Scenical Heaven. Such youths St. *Augustine* lib. de Civit. Dei speaking of this argument, calls *arripituros*.

24. *Arviragus*. Not far from *Caerloyl*, *Mahmesburienfis* says, a stone was found with this inscription, *Marii victoria*: which *Humphrey Lluyd* in his *Fragment. Britan. descript. fol. (in 8vo) 28*, thinks, was a Trophie erected by *Mauricius* (who by some of the *Latins*, says *LLuyd*, is called *Arviragus*, by Others, more aptly *Marius*) in remembrance of a victorie in that place over the *Picts*, whose King was then call'd *Roderic*, who, like the Saxons, practis'd piracy upon our Seas. *Arviragus* is by the *Scholiast* (according to the copie now extant) called *Rex Arbila*; the interpreters tell us, that he was in that Age a King of the *Britans*, whose manner was to fight in Chariots: *Lubin* says that he fiercely Rebell'd against the *Romans*. But more particularly the story, at least the Legend, of this *Arviragus*, as it may be collected from our own *Historians*, is this; he was the younger Son of King *Cymbeline*; the elder was called *Guiderius*. *Arviragus* began his reign *Ann. Dom. 44*, which was in the 4th. year of the Emperor *Claudius*: whose daughter *Gemissa* he married at *Glocester*, she being given him by her Father for his singular valour. But denying to continue the payment of a tribute to *Rome*, *Vespasian* was sent hither, wonne the Ile of *Wight*, and thus by force compell'd him to the payment; others say he did it at the entreaty of his Queen. He reign'd 30. years. *Marius*, his Son, succeeded him. *Ann. Dom. 74*, which was in the sixt of *Vespasian's* Reign; see *Matthew* of *Westminster* and so about 6. years before *Domitian's* Reign. Both *Arviragus*, for valour, and his Son *Marius* for Wisdome, are highly praised by our *Historians*. *Marius* won a battle against *Roderic* and his mighty army of *Fists* and *Scythians* (called, by some, *Gothes* and *Hunnes*) and at *Stainemore* in *Westmoreland*, where the battle was fought, he caused a pillar to be erected, with this inscription, *Marii victoria*. *Marius* was buried at *Carlisle*, leaving a Son called *Coilus*, who began his Reign, *Ann. Dom. 126*. (in the 10th. year of *Adrian*.) So *Juvenal* lived in the time of *Arviragus*; and out-liv'd him many years. The flatterer then is made here to say to *Domitian*, that she shall overcome an *Arviragus*; not properly, he being dead before *Domitian's* reign, but some such stout forraign foe, as he was, yet overcome by *Vespasian*, *Domitian's* Father.

25. Upright thy Darts stand! *Erebas interga fudes*? *Lubin* gives this place this sense; As the finnes did rise on the back of the Turbet, so should *Domitian's* darts on the back of *Arviragus*: which, I grant, may, as sufficiently expressive, be admitted; yet strictly it is less proper, the finnes being natural to the fish, and so not as weapons offending him. But I acknow-

ledge, that *Similiendes* claim some pardon. But if any test-like his opinion, as an inconvenient exposition; I would then render it thus, On his back behold this rebel arise; implying, that as the forraign beast did with the spreading fins look like an arm'd rebel; yet, for all his terror, was caught; so though *Arviragus* were never so stout and rebellious, yet he should become at last a Captive. The connexion will be briefly this: The beast is forraign and behaves himself rebelliously; Lo, how he seems arm'd for resistance, rebel like! The view of the Turbet itself will somewhat improve the reason; Behold then the *Rhombus* with less trouble, than *Domitian's* Nobles did.



Juv. Sat. IV. Illust. 25.

26. *Rhutupian* depths. *Rhutupinove edita fura* de *Rhutupia* according to *Ptolemy*, *Rutupia* portus according to *Antoninus* (now *Richborough* in the North-East of *Kent*) had its name, as our learned *Camden* happily conjectures, from *Rhyd Tufth* in the *British*, that is, *vadum Sabulosum*. There was, in the flourishing times of the *Romans*, a populous City, where they took ship for forraign parts; and though the City be now become arable, yet *Mr. Camden* notes, that where the streets were, the corn even at this time comes-up but thin; and that, in plowing, *Roman* Coins are often found. By the decay of this place arose *Sandwyce*, according to the *Saxons*, now *Sandwich*, a *fabulo*. *Britannicus* renders it more largely, yet truly enough, *ex Mari Britannico*; indeed the *Roman* Luxury did search all Seas for satisfaction. Which wantonness may partly be discern'd here by the varietie of their Oysters, namely *Circean*, *Lucrine* and *Rhutupian*; and partly from the eighth Satyre, where he mentions also the *Gauran*. I will only add, that *Licinius Mutianus* alleged by *Hieronimus Columna* upon the *Fragments* of *Ennius* his *Phagetica*, p. 252. prefers the *Cyzicen* Oysters thus, *Cyzicena majora Lucrinis, dulciora Britannicis, suaviora Edulis, acriora Lepticiis, pleniora Lucensibus, ficciora Coryphanthis, teneriora Isthiciis, candidiora Circeiensibus*. See *Columna* who speaks more largely.

27. With rushing wing. *Præcipiti pinnâ, or penna*. Some think this an allusion to a custome of sending letters by pigeons, mentioned by *Pliny*, lib. 10. others to the manner of postes (as *Dion* relates) who wear a feather on their heads to give notice of their haste. The *Scholiast* thinks it to impie the *Consul's* manner of sending news to *Rome*; the *Good* as he says, being

ing express'd on the letter by a Bay, the bag by a feather. His words are, *Si ad hunc nunciandum, laurus in epistola fidebatur: Si autem aliquid adversus, pinna fidebatur.* For which last word Autumnus has, *adhibebatur*; and Pinna, guesies it should be *forebatur*; but Dempster (on *Responsum* lib. 16. cap. 29.) more easily mends it, thinking it should be *figebatur*. Indeed concerning the bay-branch *Salmas* (on *Pancrallus*, lib. 1. tit. 4.) speaks more plainly, *Solebat Imperatores Romani, re bene gesta, lauros lauro revinctis mittere*, adding the reason out of Pliny at *l'iso affectu carum bonum* when *interdenderat*. But the least constrain'd sense is this which I use, taking *epistola precipis pennis* by an ordinary figure, for a letter of ill news; which usually is swift-wing'd. Of Laureate letters see also Persius. Sat. 6. *Illustrat.* 4.

28. Imbrued in *Lamian* blood. *Lamium ca-*
de madenti. The *Lamian* familie was most no-
ble being sprung from Kings, which by the

testimonie of *Homer* (in his *Odysse*) reign'd
at *Caesara*. Of which familie was *Ælius Lamia*,
whose wife, *Domitia Longina*, *Domitian* took a-
way; as *Sueton* relates in his life, cap. 1. and
afterwards put him to death; as also divers
other eminent persons, *Sueton* shews in the 20th.
chapter of the life of the said *Domitian*. And
here we may note, that when the Poet speaks
of the death of *Domitian*, saying, *Sed perit*,
postquam cædonibus esse timendus Cæperat—; (that
he was slain, when he began to be terrible to
the meaner sort, even to Coblers) some under-
stand by *Cædones*, the *Christians*, thinking the
poet, after the manner of the *Gentiles*, to call
them so by way of contempt. But methinks this
exposition shews more sagacitie, then certainty,
and therefore I rather follow the *Schooliast* & others,
understanding the word according to the common
acceptation; as most probably it is used again by
Juvenal, Sat. 8. in that passage, —*qua Turpia cæ-
doni Volusus Brutusque decebant*.

SATYRE. V.

ARGUMENT.

*The Poet here strives to disswade
Vile Trebius from his Table-trade:
Shews, that though Povertie's some Curse,
To be a Parasite is worse:
Presents his Patrone Virro's Cheer,
Which, bought with Libertie, is Dear.
Yet with Great Virro he does joine
Rather in Table, then in Wine,
Or Cups, or Water, Servants, Bread,
Fish, Oile, Flesh, Mushrooms, Fruit: But fed
With couz'ning Hope, or Grief at least,
Injoys a Famine at a Feast.*

I F [1] at thy Resolution thou dost yet
Not blush, but on another's trencher set
Thy heart and blis: if tamely thou dost that
Digest, which nor (a) *Sarmentus* suffer'd [2] at
Cæsars's proud Table; nor vile (a) *Galba* ere
Indur'd; I'd scarce believe thee, should'st thou Swear.
(b) Mere Hunger's wondrous Thrifty: But yet grant;
Thy empty belly needful food did want;
Is no Shoar, Bridge, or more then half-fall'n shed,
Void? Dost so prize another's Flout and Bread?
His starving Table? With more Honest Need
Thou might'st quake there, and on (c) base Dog-bran feed.
Besides, Count this; when once he thee invites,
All former Service fully he requites.
The fruit of his Grand Favour's Vi'alls: which
Though rare, he reckons; reckons though he's (d) Rich;
If then after two Months neglect, wee'll grace
A Client (though to fill [3] a third void place)
Saying, *Let's sup together*; straight thou dost
Injoy thy Wishes. What seek'st more? Now must
Trebius break his sleep, now [4] half-dress'd run,
Least the Saluting Rout their Round have don;
When day-spring dimmes the Stars, [5] or 'bout the Pole
The slow *Bootes* his cold Wain does rowle.

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

Yet see the Cheer! Thy wine-dregs moist Wool can't
 Indure; they make a Guest turn (e) *Corybant*.
 Ill words begin; then Cups flie, when a slash
 Mads thee, and a stain'd Napkin wipes the gash.
 For when your Lords Freed-men and you fall-out,
 With *Saguntine* stone-pots a Battle's fought.
 His Wine was in some [6] long-hair'd *Consul's* days
 Laid in, and a choice grape His cup does praise,
 Trod-out in our Confed'rates War: to's Friend,
 Though heart-sick, not a cup of This hee'l send.
 To-morrow from th' *Albane* or *Setine* hills
 His bowl with wanton choice and wine he fills;
 Whose Country and Inscription are defac'd
 With Age: the Vine by th' hoary Vessels grac'd.
 Such *Thraseas* and *Helvidius* with (f) flow'rs crown'd
 Drank on the Birth-dayes of the two renown'd
Bruti and *Cassius*. Bowls to *Virro* come
 Of *Amber* (such th' *Heliades* wept) and some
 All rough with pointed *Berylls*. Gold they do
 Not set by Thee; or set a keeper too
 To tell the Gems, and see, sharp nails forbear;
 Blame him not; A fair *Jasper* glisters there.
 For *Virro* (as now many) from his rings
 Unto his Goblets sparkling Jewels brings:
 The youth yet, who *Iarbas* fierce out-sway'd,
 With such instarr'd the hilts of his stout Blade.
 The *Beneventane* Cobler's glass to Thee
 They bring, fow'r-nos'd and crack'd, [7] that begs to be
 Exchang'd for Brimstone-matches. If much meat
 Or wine thy *Patron's* stomach over-heat,
 Water decoct they fetch, more cold then e're
 Was *Scythian* Frost. Did I complain you were
 Not serv'd with the same wine? why see, you have
 Not the same Water. Some *Getulian* slave,
 A Foot-boy, or some Black-Moor's bony hand
 Brings Thee Thy Cup; whom so ungently tann'd
 Thou wouldst not meet at mid-night, shouldst thou ride
 In the steep *Latine* way, by a Tomb's side.
 On Him does wait the Flow'r of *Asia*, who
 Cost more then stout *Tullus* and *Ancus* too.
 Were worth, in brief then th' Utensils of all
 Our Kings. Look back then, when for wine thou'dst call,
 On a *Getulian* *Ganymede*. To fill
 To beggers, a Boy bought so dear wants skill.
 Yet such a Face and Age do well agree
 With such disdain. When comes he then to Thee
 Though call'd, [8] with his hot water, and his cold?
 Indeed he scorns to wait upon an old
 Client; that Thou shouldst call for things, and lie
 At ease as 'twere in state, and He stand by.

Ev'ry great house is full of such proud slaves.
 See too, how one that sets the bread behaves
 Himself with growling; bread, which hardly can
 Be broken, musty crusts, the which a man
 May with his jaw-tooth rather gnaw, then eat:
 But for thy Lord's set snow-white, tender wheat,
 Keep back your fingers, pray; [9] and in awe stand
 Of the dread Butler. Yet suppose thy hand
 More sawcy, such thy sawciness were vain;
 There's one, will make thee lay it down again.
 From your own Basket will you not be fed,
 Bold guest, and learn the colour of your bread?
 Th' art pierc'd and groan'st thus, *Wast for this (poor Man!)*
I've left my Wife so oft and up-hill ran
On the cold Esquiline (g) in Spring when main
Hail ratted down, and my Cloak dropt with rain?
 Lo, with what depth of breast thy *Patrone's* Fish
 Deck'd round with Sperage-buds extends a Dish:
 VVith what a Tail he sleights a Feast? Inhaunc'd
 He comes, by a tall Servant's Armes advanc'd.
 Thou some shrunk Crab-fish and half-eggs dost get:
 A [10] Fun'ral Supper in like dish they set.
His Fish swims in *Venafrian* oile: but *Thy*
 Half-wither'd Hearbs (poor wretch) in Lamp-oile lie.
 For, what his wooden dish yields for thy lips,
 Came [11] in *Missipfan* canes by sharp-beak'd Ships.
 For which our Bathes rank *Boccher* shun; He's Hor:
 'Gainst *Africk* Serpents this Stink's Antidote.
 Thy Lord a *Corfick* Barbel has, or one
 The *Taurominian* rocks did yield; for none
 In our own Seas are left. The *Roman* Throat
 Devours so fast; and Markets all so note,
 So search our Seas with daily nets, th' exceed:
 They respite not the *Tyrrhene* fish to breed.
 The Provinces our Kitchens help, and That
 Comes Thence, which progg'ing *Lenas* buyes, and what
Aurelia sells. A goodly Lamprey caught
 In the *Sicilian* Gulph, to *Verro's* brought.
 For whiles the South-wind in his Dungeon sits
 Pruning his rainy wings, and so admits
 A little calm, the hardy nets dare view
 The midst of fierce *Carybdie*. Now on *Ton*
 There waits an Eele, half-Snake, or some Fish bred
 In our own *Tiber*, whom th' Ice spots, one fed
 Fat with the rowling *City-sink*; his fault
 VVas, he swom far-up [12] the *Suburra* vault.
 VVe'd speak a word t' him, if mild ear he'd lend:
 VVe ask not what was sent to a poor friend
 By *Seneca*, good *Piso*, *Cotta*; when
 Bounty, not Names and *Consul's* Rods, made men.

D. JUNI JUVENALIS.

VVe say but This, *Sup Civilly*; Like more
 Be then, Rich to thy self, to thy Friend Poor.
 Thy Lord his [13] Great Goose-liver has; as fair
 A Hen; a smoaking Boar worthy of rare
 Golden-lock'd *Meleager's* Spear; In Spring
 Scrap'd Mushrooms too, which welcome Thunder bring;
 Corn, says *Aledius*, do Thou, (*h*) *Lybia*, spend:
 Unyolk thy Oxen, so thou Mushrooms send.
 In the mean time, that thou may'st want no greif,
 Thou see'st a Carver Dancing, whiles with cheif
 Motions and Laws of Hand, his flying knife
 Acts all his Master's Dictates to the Life.
 'Tis no small difference, with what gesture men
 Of Art *Vnlace* a Hare and *Spoil* a Hen.
 Now if thou should'st once mutter, [14] as too free;
 As if a Three-nam'd Man, straight thou should'st be
 Dragg'd out of the doors by th' heels; So entertain'd
 VWas *Cacus*, who by *Hercules* was brain'd.
 Besides, does *Virro* drink to Thee? or take
 The cup thy lips have touch'd? Yet dar'st thou make
 So bold, to say, *Sir Drink to Me?* They dare
 Not utter much, whose cloaks are grown thread-bare.
 But yet [15] fow'r hundred Sesterces if straight
 Some God or *Heros*, kinder then thy Fate,
 Threw thee: from wretch, from nothing, O how grown
 Thou'dst be? How dear to *Virro* then? Then none
 But Thou! *Carve Trebius of this dish; that other*
Reach Trebius. Will you of these entrails, Brother?
 O Money, Thee he dreads, his Brother Thee
 He makes. But now if thy Lord's Lord thou'dst be;
 No young *Aeneas* in thy Hall must toy-
 About, nor Daughter sweeter then the Boy.
 A barren VVife makes Friends esteem'd. Yet, thought
 Thy *Mygale* into thy bosome throw
 Three Children, with thy chatt'ring nest he fine
 Sport makes; [16] gives a green coat, nuts and small coin;
 If ask'd; when as thy Infant-Parasite
 Unto his Table comes; Thou can'st requite.
 Dangerous Mushrooms to Poor friends they set;
 To thy Lord choice ones, such as *Claudius* eat:
 Yet such I mean, as he did eat before
 His wife's came, after which he eat no more.
 For *Virro* and his *Virros* with choice skill
 Apples they bring, whose very smell does fill.
 Such the *Pheacian's* endless *Autumne* brought:
 You'd think them from the *Africk* Sisters caught:
 A Scurvy one Thou hast, yet must be glad:
 Such [17] at the Mount th' Ape gnaws, which, with shield clad
 And Helmet, fearing the shrew'd scourge to know,
 Learns from the *Goat's* rough Back the dart to throw.

Perchance thou think'st *Virra* does this in Thrift;
 He does't to Vex thee. For, what *Comick* drift,
 VVhat *Mimick*'s better, then a murmur'ing Throat?
 All this is done, if yet thou dost not know't,
 To make thee Crie, Rave and thy Jaw-teeth dash,
 And, though long time suppress'd, Now loudly gnash.
 Yet Thou as Free and thy Lord's Guest dost swell:
 He thinks the Nose led by his Kitchen's smell,
 Nor does he guess amiss. For who's so poor,
 So stripp'd, that such a Lord hee'd twice indure?
 VVho, that young wore [18] th' *Etrurian* golden balls,
 Or but the Knot, the Leathern Signe more gross?
 The Hope of Supping-well starves thee. Sure, some
 Of that half hare, or that Boar's haunch will come
 To Us, to Us that fat Hen, Thus at last,
 Ev'n the hard bread untouch'd, y'are Mute and Fast.
 He's wise that serves thee thus. All which, if bear
 Thou 'Canst, thou Ought'st. A [19] shaven crown thou'lt wear
 In time, then be well knock'd, and scourg'd in th' End,
 VVorthy of such a Feast and such a Friend.

NOTES

(1) *Virra* is a name of a person who is known for his thriftiness. (2) *Comick* is a name of a person who is known for his comical behavior. (3) *Mimick* is a name of a person who is known for his mimicking behavior. (4) *Etrurian* is a name of a person who is known for his Etrurian golden balls. (5) *shaven crown* is a name of a person who is known for his shaven crown. (6) *knock'd* is a name of a person who is known for his knock'd behavior. (7) *scourg'd* is a name of a person who is known for his scourg'd behavior. (8) *Feast* is a name of a person who is known for his Feast behavior. (9) *Friend* is a name of a person who is known for his Friend behavior.

NOTES on JUVENAL, Sat. V.

(a) **N**Or Sarmentus nor Galba. Sarmentus was a famous Droll in Augustus Caesar's Reign, and by such Arts insinuated himself at last into the Emperors favor so far, as to have the privilege of coming frequently to his Table, where he (being a Roman Knight) to the dishonour of his quality, endur'd all manner of affronts, while he endeavour'd to sauce their dishes with his scurrility upon others and himself. See a famous Duel of Wit fought by this Sarmentus, and one Messius Cicerrus, pleasantly describ'd by a more innocent Droll, Horat. lib. 1. Sat. 5.

Nunc mihi paucis
Sarmenti scurræ pugnam, Messique Cicerræ
Musa velim memores.

Apicius Galba exercised the same illiberal Art in the reign of Tiberius, and is often mention'd by Martial. Aristotle's making *ἀντρολογία* a virtue in his *Nicom.* and the ancient Romans worshipping the Goddess *Vacuna* (i. e. *Dea que prescit vacantibus & otiosis, ut in ipsis recreationibus religionem colere viderentur, vide Hospin. de Fest. Decemb.*) shew there is an innocent kind of Drollery to be allow'd of: But when men shall have no regard of honesty or Religion, and spend the little wit they have in abusing themselves and others onely to gratify their Patrons, and get a Dinner, this is that which our Poet Quarrels at. These Parasites are called by way of contempt *Mures* by Plaut. in *Perse*; quod semper alienum edunt cibum: They are also in the Proverb compar'd to *Musca*; see Erasmus Adag. *Impudentior Musca*, for these *Musce* us'd to trouble the Heathens in their Sacrifices to Belzebug (a God of Flies, as the word signifies) and so did these Drolls, which occasion'd Aristotle's elegant term, by which he expresses this vice of scurrility in his *Nicom.* *Βυμολογία* from *βυμὴ* an Altar, and *λόγος* *jaceo*, because these Drolls lay behind the Altars till the Sacrifice was over, and then pleas'd the Sacrificers with some jests, till their bellies were fill'd with the reliqs of the Sacrifices. This likewise they did at Great mens Tables, all which will do more then justify the indignation of our Satyrist.

(b) Meer hunger is wondrous thrifty. *Ventre nihil frugalius*. That nature is content with a very little, has been the constant observation of the soberer Heathens. Plato observes, that Man of all other creatures, spends the most time in digesting his meat: to denote that nature would not have those nobler employments (for which man was created) interrupted by too frequent eating, and as this is a good Moral reason, so the Physical reason (which *Anatomists* afford us) is not to be contain'd, for they observe that the *Ileon*, one of the guts through which our meat must pass, is 6 times longer than our whole body, and so folded in and out, (hence its Etymology from *εἰλέω* *involvere*) and withal so small, that the meat cannot presently pass through it.

(c) Base dog-Bran. *Farris Canini*. *Far* is well known to signify Barly when taken properly, it has its name *à frangendo*, apud antiquos enim molarum usus nondum erat, sed frumentum in pilâ missum frangebant. Vid. Isid. in voce *Zea*. populum Rom. farre tantum è frumento 300 annis usum, Verrius tradidit Plin. lib. 18. cap. 7. & cap. 23. he says, *Romani* (uti & *Græci*) existimantes omnium frugum antiquissimū & pretiosissimum, ab hoc in omni sacrificio, in quo víctima crematur igne, initium sumunt; and hence they called your *Sacra* nuptias, consarreationem *à farris* communicatione; this being their best sort of grain they then had. But afterwards Wheat was invented, and Barly was accounted a courser Grain, and fit to be eaten only by the poorer sort: The Epithet *Canini* makes it yet courser, such as was fit only to be thrown to dogs. *Frandium Caninum* is put for a poor ordinary dinner in Agell. lib. 13. cap. 30. ubi plura.

(d) Rich. Rex. i. e. *potens & dives amicus*, in the same sense Horace. *sepe veresundum laudasti, rexque paterque audisti coram*, &c. Horat. Epist. 7. lib. 1. and Plaut. *Afin. Act. 5. ni impetro, regem perdidisti*, &c. and our Poet below, vers. 129. *ut dicat regi, bibe*, &c.

(e) Corybant. *Corybanta*. The mad Priests of *Cybele*, amongst many other names, were call'd *Corybantes*, either from one *Corybantus*, one of her first attendants, or from *κρυπτικὸν* *occultare*, because they conceal'd *Jupiter* by the great noise they made with their Cymbals call'd therefore *era* *Corybantia*, or rather as Strabo lib. 10. will have it *ἐν τῷ κρυπτικῷ θάτρῳ*, quod in armis cum saltatione incederent: These Priests were infamous for their drunken and frantick performance of the rites of their Goddess, which is the Ground of our Poets expression.

(f) With

(f) With flowers Crown'd. *Quale Coronati*, &c. The Antiquity of celebrating Birth days, may sufficiently be prov'd out of Scripture, as *Mark* 6. and *Gen.* 40. & 42. The manner of their celebration is more largely set down by our Poet in the beginning of the 12 Sat. and by *Perfius* in the beginning of his 2 Sat. and because at such times they did *indulgere Genio*, they us'd to wear Crowns sometimes made of *Apium*, as is prov'd at large by *Lambinus* on that of *Horace Ode* the 11. lib. 4. *Est in hortu Phylli neſcendis apium Coronis*, &c. but most commonly of *Hedera*, which is therefore so often mention'd by Poets as a Tree sacred to *Bacchus*, and that such who drunk hard, wore such Crowns, appears from *Plautus Amphit.* Act. 3. where *Mercury* is brought in speaking thus, *Capiam Coronam mi in caput assimulabo me esse ebrium*: and *Cicero* describing the debauches of his time *Catil.* 2. says they were *Vino languidi, conferti cibo, seris redimiti*, & *Plinie* gives us the reason of this custome, by telling us, that *Ivy* had a vertue in it of expelling the vapors arising from Wine, and in his 16 lib. cap. 35. adds this experiment, *si vinum mixtum aqua immittatur in vasculum ex materia bederacea confectum vinum effluet, aqua remanebit*. Besides these Arts, they us'd sometimes to eat the leaves of Laurel as *Martial* hints, *Fate e multo myrtale solet vino, sed fallat ut nos folia devorat Lani*, our drunkards may learn many other Medicines to cure the Head-ach us'd of old by the merry Greeks from *Athen. Deipnos.* lib. 4. cap. 2. 101. The Poet therefore uses this expression, to shew with what jollity these Stoicks *Ibraseas* and *Helvidius* celebrated the birth days of the *Bruti*, one of which expell'd *Tarquinius Superbus*, the other was amongst the Murderers of *J. Caesar*, both accounted Patriots of their Country of this *Ibraseas* and *Helvidius*. See *Lact.* *Annal.* 16. and *Suet.* in *Neron*.

(g) In Spring, &c. *Jupiter Vernus*. *Jupiter* is put for air, the seat of such Meteors, and the Epithet of *Vernus* has a great deal of Philosophy in it, for in the Spring and Autumne the greatest hail usually falls, as may be learn'd from *Aristotle*, in his *Meteors*, and Commentators on him.

(h) *O Libya disjunge boves*, &c. *Libya* when strictly taken, signifies only that part of *Africa* which lies betwixt the River *Nilus* and *Cyrene*: It had its name either from *Libya* the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or from *livos* an old Greek word for black, and so agrees with the complexion of the Inhabitants: or (as the learned *Bochart*) from the *Arabick* word *Lub* sitire, hence *Lucan.* lib. 1. *Libye sitientis arenas*. And *Virg.* *Hinc deserta siti regio*: and because this Country is so sandy, and barren, that according to the Proverb,

Aegypti sulcus Libya non curat arenas.

It cannot be the *Libya* here mention'd by *Juvenal*: we must therefore note that the Greeks did by an usual *Synecdoche* by *Libya* understand all that part of the world which was called *Africa* by the Latines: and hence *Libs* the South wind is by the Latine Poet call'd *Africus*, creberque procellis *Africus*; and hence *Dionysius* in his *numy.* divides the world into these three parts, *Libya*, *Europe*, and *Asia*, see vers. 9.

Πρώτη μὲν ἐν Λιβύῃ, ἡ δὲ Ἐὐρώπῃ, ἡ Ἀσίῃ τε.

And *Libya* took in this large fence for all *Africa* may well be understood here; for *Africa* is well known to have abounded with Corn, and hence *Bochart* derives it from *Pherik* an *Arabian* word, signifying an ear of Corn. And *Ovid de Ponto*, lib. 4. *Africa quot Segetes?* and *Aegypt* a part of *Africa*, was always acknowledged --- *Horreum populi Romani*, because it did annually furnish *Rome* with four Months Provision: insomuch that it was said by *Pliny*, that the greatness of the *Roman Empire* could not long continue without the Corn and Wealth of *Egypt*. And this the *Romans* were so sensible of, that they allowed the Ships of *Alexandria*, which brought this Corn, the honour and priviledge of having *Suppara* or top-sails, as *Lips.* ad *Sen. Epist.* 77. and *Cassaub.* ad *Sueton.* Aug. c. 98. This makes our Poet so angry with the glutton *Aledius*, because he prefer'd his tubera before all the Corn of *Libya*.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Fifth Satyre.

Iniquæ Mensæ. The Roman Fashion of Lying on Beds at their Meals. *Triclinium.* *Caput Lecti.* The chief place at the Table. *Mensa secundæ.* *Boni Eventus Poculum.* The Number of Guests and Beds; *Various.* *Sigma.* *Antisigma.* The Ancients Storing-up of Wines. *Water Heated and Drunk with Wine.* *Snow mixt with Wine.* *Canna and Gandeia.* *Altilis.* Different Opinions about the Right of *Tria Nomina.* *Heroes.* *Hirsuta Capella;* the diverse interpretations of it, examin'd. *Bulla aurea.* *Britannicus.* his opinion about *Vertice raso.* Shaving, a mark of Servitude.

I F at thy resolution, &c. *Si te propositi nondum pudet, &c.* *Lubin* will here have not *si*, but *sic*, making it signify as much as *ficcine*; and so reads it with an interrogation, acknowledging that it is different from all Copies, but thinking that otherwise the place yields no convenient sense. But such alterations (without copie) being rather to make, then expound a work, I retain the usual Reading: nor seems there any inconvenience, the Poet's meaning being this, If thou art troubled neither with Shame nor Greif at worse disgraces, then the Parasites *Sarmentus* and *Galba* suffer'd at other mens, I should scarce believe thee, though thou should'st swear that thou had'st such patience; it being indeed a Baseness never to be found in the nature of man, unless extremely degenerated.

2. At *Caesar's* proud table, &c. — *Iniqua Caesaris ad mensas.* *Johannes Brodaus* in his *Miscell.* lib. 9. cap. 1. expounds *iniqua* by *unequal*; because there was worse cheer provided for the guests, then for *Caesar*. This I grant to be witty; yet the common exposition made by *Britannicus* and others seems more natural; who, interpret it by the scornful and jeering table of Great men, according to that which follows, *Tantine Injuria cæne?* implying that they were entertain'd rather with a Flout, then a Feast. Besides, there might be some difference of provision at *Caesar's* table for himself and a *Sarmentus*; and yet no injury done to such a guest.

3. Though to fill a third void place. *Tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcitra lecta.* That the Ancient Romans lay on Beds, or Couches, at their meals is commonly known; yet in the first or most ancient times, they did use to sit, as *Varro* tells us: but their conquests over *Asia*, *Greece*, and *Hannibal*, taught them this wantonness. Thus *Syphax* the

Numidian King (as *Livie* notes, *Decad.* 3. lib. 8.) sup'd lying on a Couch, when he entertain'd *Scipio* and *Hafdrubal*. *Virgil* also imple the like of *Dido*, when he says of *Aeneas*, *Inde ibero pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto*: yet after the men were grown to this fashion, it was Long e're Women came unto such boldness. Besides, *Cato Uticensis*, when Civil war was once begun in his Country, in sign of sorrow and severitie sup'd always sitting, as *Plutarch* notes of him. See *Aldus Manutius de Quæstis per Epist.* lib. 1. ep. 4. The Place wherein they sup'd was metonymically call'd *Triclinium* from the usual number of the beds, which were placed about the table: but more properly it signified the beds themselves. *Plautus* in *Bacchid.* mentions *Biclinium*; but *triclinium* was most usual. The Table at first was of a plain form, four-square, and thence call'd *τετραγωνος*, at it is usually deriv'd from *τετραγωνος*, and accordingly had four feet. But afterwards they us'd Round tables, and some semicircular; the meaner sort standing on three feet, the more stately on One. *Camerarius* therefore to avoid the inconvenience of the first derivation brings it from *τρεῖς κλῖναι τὸν πρὶν*, from moving the foot of it. The figure of the beds compassing the usual table, like three sides of a square about a circle (the fourth being left open for the



waiters and the ordering of the Table) is thus set down by *Camerarius.* *Decur.* 9. *Problem.* 6. * The manner was after they had wash'd and put off their gowns, as also their shoes (least they should soil the couches, which were fairly adorn'd to put on a garment convenient for the purpose; and

and then upon each of the beds usually lay Three, sometimes Four. Each did lean on his Left elbow, the Second with his head in the bosome of the first, and the third with his head in the bosome of the Second; yet so, that their heads were somewhat erect, with cushions (or pillows) behind their backs to bear them up. After which manner they

lay, whilst they did eat: but at times of intermission they lean'd their backs and heads towards their pillow, somewhat erecting the upper part of their body, as if they sate. Which posture of the lower part at a table with one couch (more the phantse may supplie) is by *Mercurialis*, (*lib. 1. Gymnastic*, p. 55.) thus aptly portray'd. * Which



ACCVBITVS

Juv. Sat. V. Illust. 3. 6.

being supposed, the dignitie of place at the table may be thus conceiv'd. Of three beds the Middlemost was the Chief; and on each bed he that lay without any body behind him, the First, *ad Caput lecti*, was call'd *summus*: yet of the three (on the same bed) the Middlemost person was the Chief, and *summus* in order was the Second in Dignitie. If four lay on one bed, the Second in Order, that is, He which was Next unto *summus*, was the Chief; and *summus*, or the first in Order, was likewise

but the Second in Dignitie. If there lay but Two on a bed, *summus*, or the first in Order, was the Chief; as *Lipsius*, *Rosinus*, and Others determine it; yet with this remembrance, that the Wife's proper place was in the bosome of the husband. Besides, it must be observ'd, that this number of 12. or 9. or fewer guests, was but the convenient rule at private feasts: for at publick, as at Marriages or the like, these rules could not be observ'd. The master of the feast was call'd *epistemon*.

M 2

A feast

A feast in the latter and luxurious times of the Romans was divided into three parts, or courses; as *Lipsius* notes, lib. 3. *Antiqu. Leditio*. the first of which was call'd *antepena*; the second *Cena*, and the third *Mensa secunda*. The first was not us'd in the thrifty times of the Romans; the second was the Chief, and at this the chief Dish was call'd *Caput agni*: The third consisted of Fruit and Junkets. You may see in *Macrobius* his *Saturnal. lib. 2. cap. 9.* (according to *Pontanus* his correction) the particulars of the two first parts of such a feast; and of the last part, in cap. 14, 15, and 16. When their *mensa secunda* were brought-in, they had their *boni eventus* (1. a good omen) *poculum*; and then they began their Drinking for the consummation of their meeting and mirth; as *Camerarius* notes in the fore-cited place. And here it will be necessary, for the preventing of an inconvenience, to add, what the learned *Petrus Ciacconius* (de *Triclinio*) says concerning our Saviours last supper with his Disciples. He first determines, that for them all, though thirteen, there were but three couches about the table; and his reason is, because at farther distance, they could not all have reach'd to the same dish: which possibilitie must be granted from that in the text (Mat. 26, 23.) *He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me*. This may be confirm'd also from the name, *triclinium*; as the accurate *Fulvius Ursinus* notes upon this passage of *Juvenal*, in his *appendix* to that work of *Ciacconius*, p. 104. saying, that the Romans did place only three beds about a table, nisi cum cena publica daretur, aut convivium exhiberetur ab Imperatoribus. *Ciacconius* then disposes them thus; He places five of the Disciples on each of the lower or side beds; and on the Middlemost (or, uppermost) three, namely our Saviour, St. John (who is said to have lain in his bosome) and thirdly (si divina permittitur, as He speaks) St. Peter: and his reason is, Is enim veluti proximus Johanni innuit, ut ex Domino auctorem tanti facinoris quaereret. Yet according to the former doctrine we must grant our Saviour to have been between these two disciples, because otherwise we cannot attribute unto him the chief place (which was the middlemost) on the same bed; and therefore veluti must a little temper proximus; and St. Peter will notwithstanding be near enough for the purpose he intends, and have the summus, or first place in Order, but the second in dignity; and St. John will have the third, or last place, and so be in the bosome of our Saviour. We may farther take notice, that *Fulvius Ursinus*, p. 102. shews from *Martial* and *Athenaeus*, that sometimes six, nay seven lay on one couch; and that, p. 126, and 128. he shews, that sometimes they had one semicircular bed, which they call'd *Sigma*, from an ancient form of that Greek letter, like the Roman C; and that sometimes they added another semicircular bed on the other side, which they call'd *antigma*, and so of both made a compleat circle of couches about a round table. This Truth may discover many errors, that may be met with; and the Reader may observe, that when the Table was in the fashion of a *Hemicycle*, the fore part only left for the waiters cannot properly be call'd the *Hemicycle*, though by some it be so call'd, that being but the less part of the figure.

4. Now half-dress'd run. *Et ligulas dimittere*; to let the strings (for fast) hang loose, wherewith his garments, or shoes should have been tied together: which I render therefore according to the more general sense of the word; though *Festus Pompeius* makes it a part of the shoe, like a tongue thrust forth. He means, it seems, the buckle of the shoe;

though the word be of a larger signification, being sometimes taken also for a measure, and sometimes for a kind of sword.

5. Or 'bout the Pole The slow Boyes his cold wain does rowle. *Quo se frigida circumagunt pigri Saracae Bootae*. The Poet describing here the early speed of Clients in visiting their Patrons, so to indear themselves unto them, says that they came by day-break or more early, when *Charles-wain* rowles about in the North part of Heaven: not that he means it stands still at any time; but that they came even before day-break, or by night when yet the motion of the waine was Apparent. *Janus Parrhasius* (epist. 1.) speaking of this passage of *Juvenal*, does more particularly describe the time of *Bootes* his appearing to be circiter secundam vigiliam, nocte videlicet intempesta, adding afterward, *Bootes autem sub eadem noctis horas incipit apparere, et ante crepusculum matutinum definit*. Now the Second Watch of the night being from nine till twelve, it were absurd to ascribe that time for Clients. It must be then understood by what he adds, that then it Begins to appear, and disappears before Day-break; so that the meaning is, They came not only at day-break, but some sooner, whilst yet *Charles-wain* was to be seen.

6. His wine was in some Long-hair'd Consul's days Layd-in. *Ipsae capillato diffusum consule patas*. He means in the Ancient times of Rome; And here I render *diffusum* not according to the Action intended by it, but the Purpose; it signifying here not wine fill'd-out as to be presently drunk (though that be *Lubin's* first exposition, *et dolis in craterem, et ex cratere in pateram fusum*, not suitable to the sense of the place) but wine pour'd out from one vessel into another, and so stor'd up; according to that of *Badami*, de *assu*, (lib. 3. p. 235.) *Vina autem in dolis inveterascere non senebant antiqui, sed in amphoras et callos diffundebant*. Thus *Pliny*, lib. 4. cap. 4. relates of wine that was kept 200. years, and that it look'd like hony. And on such vessels plaister'd up they inscrib'd the Country of the Wine, and the names of the Consuls, in whose year they laid it in. And such brave wine, says the Poet, was drank by the lovers of the Roman Liberty, on the birth-days of the *Bruti*, that is, say some, D. *Junius Brutus*, that expell'd *Tarquin*, and M. *Brutus*, that help'd to destroy *Caesar*. But the Reader may know that both these *Bruti* lived at the same time, and conspir'd against *Caesar*: but he that expell'd *Tarquin*, was call'd *Lucius Junius Brutus*. See *Sat. 1. Illust. 1.*

7. That begs to be exchange'd for brimstone-matches, *Et rupto poscentem sulphura vitro*. Upon the word *Sulphura*, the Scholiast says, *Quia hoc solent vitrum solidare, id est, mactare*; which word seems to come from *μαλδν*, a kind of soder, as it is commonly expounded, made with lime, sand, water, pitch and wax, and nam'd *μαλδν* (from the softness of it.) So that He implies, that *Trebius* had as base a cup or glass (for calix and vitrum raptum are here the same) as the *Beneventane* cöbler had; and that being broken, it requir'd to be soder'd. But *Britannicus* and others reject this exposition; expounding it with more probability, as I render it; it being the manner ev'n in those times to change-away broken ware for other trifles, as here broken glass for brimstone-matches, according to the probable sense of that in *Martial* (lib. 1. epig. 42.) *Qui pallentia sulphurata fractis permutat vitreis*: where saying not *Sulphura*, but *Sulphurata*, he implies them to have been somewhat besides brimstone.

8. With

8. With his hot water and his cold. — *calida gelidaque minister*. Amongst many differences between the proud *Vitro* and his wretched Guest, he says, the guest is attended at the table by some Negro, but the Lord by some curious waiter, such an one as this * presented from an ancient



Juv. Sat. 7.

Illust. 8.

expression. And as for the curiositie of the Rich man's wine and water, he mentions The Custome of the Ancients to drink Cold or Hot water alone, as some, or mixt with their wines, as others, is generally known: yet this difference may be observ'd, that the mixture of hot water was counted the worse wantonness, as *Ebilo* (*de vitâ Theophrastica*) and Others note. The use of this was chiefly in Winter. The vessel, wherein they prepar'd their hot water, was call'd *miliarium*, as *Salmuth* (on *Pansiroli*, lib. 1. Tit. 51.) shews out of *Ulpian*; and from *Seneca*, in his *Nat. Quæst.* lib. 3. cap. 24. *Muret* also noted the same on that place of *Seneca*. The name is by some deriv'd from its capacitie of many measures. Yet concerning their *aqua frigida* they were likewise grown to singular

wantonness, keeping snow under ground, for such uses, till Summer: and as *Seneca* implies, (*epist.* 78.) they did mix snow with their wine.

9. And in awe stand of the dread butler. *Salva sit artopia reverentia*. *Britannicus* reads, *artocopi*, deriving it from *artos*, bread, and *copos*, labour; and thinking it so signifie, Elaborate bread. Others take *artopos* (and *artopos*) according to the *Oracians*, for the Baker himself. The *Scholias* reads, *Artopos*; yet takes it either for the Baker, or the Pan in which the bread was baked; and so some derive it from *artos* and *bakos*, affo; but *Lubin* better (as I think) from *artos* and *bakos* (*video*) alleaging in the like kind, *vinis*, *vinis* *inspector*. So that *artopia* shall here in general signifie the butler, or overseer of the bread, in a great familie perchance a distinct officer.

10. A funeral supper, *Feralis cana*. They did place in the sepulchers of the dead, to appease their ghosts (such was the Heathens folly) a little milk, honey, water, wine and olives; and strew'd flowers. It was call'd *feralis*, from *fera*; which, as *Britannicus* notes, did with the Ancients signifie Death (probably deriving it from *ferio*.) But some more accurately take *Cana feralis*, as I shew on *Perfium*. Sat. 6. Illust. 4.

11. Came in *Micipsian* canes by sharp-beak'd ships. *Canna Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta*. *Micipsian*, that is, *Africano*, from *Micipsa* King of *Nubidia* in *Africa*. But this verbe is diversely expounded; The *Scholias* taking *Canna* for a kind of ship (by some render'd a *Canna*;) and *Britannicus* making *canna prora acuta* to be the same thing, a sharp-beak'd ship, saying *Hoc autem dicitur quia ut scribit Plinius, lib. 7. cap. 56. naues sunt vires ex papyro, et scirpo et arundine, simulque ad id respectit, quod in India arundines sunt tanta proceritate, ut ex singulis internodiis navicula fiant, qua alveo navigabili ternos interdum homines ferant. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 2.* But this methinks does not satisfy: for though they might of such weak materials make a vessel that might serve on *Nilus*, yet it would prove too weak for the *Mediterranean* wave; and according to his own allegation it was but of capacitie for two or three, as being made but of the spaces between the knots or joints of the cane. And though it were possible for such a boat to cross that Sea, yet these ships here intended were of usual passage between *Africa* and *Italia*. *Lubin*, though he alleges not any reason for the rejecting of the former opinion, prefers, and as I think, rightly the interpretation of some, that expound *canna* by *doliolum*, making it probable from *Strabo*, who says that the *African* canes are of a mervallous thickness; and therefore he thinks, that the parts of them serv'd for vessels, wherein they put their oile, and so shipp'd it over for *Italia*. This I think the most congruous, and so, as distinct things, render *canna* by the cane, or oile-vessel, and *prora* by the ship. As concerning the two next verses (*propter quod Roma cum Boccare nemo lavatur. Quod rutos etiam facit & serpentes Afris*) some would transpose them, others leave out the latter: but the difference being not much material, we may retain the order and number in the common copies; and the rather, because the particule *etiam* in the last verse, if it were plac'd in the second, were less needful; but if left to the third, is an apt addition of a farther aggravation. According to which the sense is briefly this; *African* ships bring over for thee, poor *Trebius*, *African* oile, for whose rankness no man will indure the same Bath with

a Bochor, an African (some make him the same with Boochus, sometime a King of the Moors) since it out-slunks, nay drives-away African, or the most rank, Serpents.

12. *Pinguis torrente cloacâ. Rutgersius* (Var. *Le-Bien. lib. 2. cap. 17.*) would have it, torpente, sluggish; which is a witty varietie, but without copie; besides, whether it be right, let *Britannicus* judge, who says here, *Nam tota urbs pensilis erat cloacis, corrivatis septem omnibus a M. Agrippa sordes urbis in Tyberim deferentibus. Lege Livium.* But as for the fish, which is in the former words said thus to grow fat, — *glacie aspersus maculis Tyberinus*, and was thought to be spotted with the ice, it is the *Lupus* or Wolf-fish, prais'd by *Varro*. Yet *Columella* noted, that by the luxurie of the times, it began to be sleighted; much more then, in after-times, as in *Juvenal's* age. There were two sorts of them, as *Brodeus* (*Miscell. lib. 7. cap. 27.*) notes out of *Columella*; of one of which kinds he says, — *quorum dorsum ex albo caruleum est, venter candidus nigris maculis conspersus*; and this was noted as the worse sort.

13. Thy Lord his Great goose-liver has; as fair A hen; a smoaking boar. *Anseris ante ipsum magni jecur, anseribus par Altilis, & flavi dignus ferro Meleagri Spuma aper.* Thus it is most commonly pointed and expounded. But *Marsilius Cagnatus* (in his *Var. Observation. lib. 2. cap. 14.*) places the point after *anseribus par*, referring *altilis* to *aper*; and then expounding the first part thus, that the liver was as big as the goose, according to that of *Martial* (*lib. 13.*) *aspice quam magno tumeat jecur anseris majus*. Yet there is no necessity to draw *Juvenal's* words to the like sense; *Altilis* may, I grant, be truly, rather then aptly, applied to *aper*, it seeming superfluous when the boar is come to the table, as is suppos'd in this place. Besides it is us'd in the end of this Satyre, for a hen, which because it was fatted is there call'd *minor altilis* (as *Britannicus* expounds it) which I grant was spoken by way of difference from *aper*, of which the Poet spake in the former verse. And in this place to take it for *gallina* is a very fit and Satyricall aggravation of the sense in this passage, signifying the glutinous excess of *Virro* and such like, in fattening a hen to the size of a large goose.

14. —As too free, As if a Three-nam'd man. *Tanquam habes tria nomina*; Thus the Manuscripts have it: and by the Scholiast and *Britannicus* it is expounded *De nobili*; so that they make the right of three names to have been the propertie of a Noble man; and so the sense of the Poet to be this, Thou poor *Trebius* must not talke boldly, as if thou wert a Noble man and great *Virro's* equal. For the proof of which exposition *Britannicus* alleges that of *Ausonius* (*Edyll. 11.*) *Tres equum turma, tria nomina nobiliorum.* Yet *Lydus Gyraldus*, *Lubin* and the most expound it more largely *De ingenio & libero*, making the right of three names the propertie of every Freeman; and so the sense to be this, Thou poor *Trebius* maist not be so bold, as to talk like a Freeman. To judge of which two so different opinions, it may be observ'd that at the first even the most noble person had but two names, as *Valerius Maximus* testifies (*lib. 10.*) though in after-times such eminent persons for some special cause had a third name added; and at last custome bestow'd this credit upon every Freeman. So witnesses *Quintilian* (who liv'd in *Juvenal's* time) *lib. 7. cap. 3.* in these words, *Propria liberi, quæ nemo habet nisi liber, prænomen, nomen, cognomen, tribum*:

haber hæc addidit. Where he adds that they which were made free were admitted into some tribe (and, as some say, call'd also by the name of the tribe) and that this right of three names a Freeman retain'd, although he were in debt ad (*addidit*) deliver'd-up to his creditours, till he could redeem himself. Which being so clear a truth, there is one doubt fit to be observ'd, and the rather because not observ'd by the Interpreters that expound this passage *De ingenio & libero*; and that is, how the Poet could say of *Trebius*, *Tanquam habes tria nomina*; for this were plainly to denie him to be a Freeman. But *Trebius*, though poor, was one of *Virro's* Clients, now Clients though they perform'd much honourarious attendance upon their patrons, yet were not properly servants, but sometimes guests, and so Freeman. Let *Juvenal* be judge, who describing Clients hastening for the *sportula*, says it was *Turba rapienda togata*; now the toga was proper to the Citizen, as the tunica without the toga, to Servants. *Trebius* then being a Freeman, we must (unless we will reject *Copie*) expound it with *Britannicus*, *De Nobili*, and understand *Juvenal* (as also *Ausonius*) to speak of the right of three names as it was bestowed for some famous cause at the first. So that *Juvenal* may seem here satyrically (though he himself also enjoy'd the priviledge of three names) to check the vain custome of bestowing three names upon every one that was made free; such empie names being but the guise of their masters, and as well marks of their old servitude, as of their new libertie. But if any would understand this passage *De ingenio* according to the latter custome of the Romans, they must flie to Conjecture for some new Reading. In which way of exposition the learned *Rigaltius* very wittily thinks that *Juvenal* writ, *Quamquam habes tria nomina*: this indeed avoids the alleg'd inconvenience concerning *Trebius*, and according to this the sense will be this, Thou *Trebius*, must not talk *Freely*, though thou art a Freeman: for Though thou art a Freeman, thou art but a poor man. But the Critical rule of interpretation prefers not Guess before *Copie*, where this does yield a tolerable sense; wherefore I retain in my interpretation the first exposition; to this sense, Thou maist not (though free) talk like a Nobleman, like a three-nam'd man of the first institution, before the priviledge became ordinary. And thus the ancient Reading, *Tanquam*, will be preserv'd.

15. But yet four hundred Sesterces if straight some God or Heros, &c. *Quadringenta tibi si quis Deus, aut similis Diis, &c.* He means *quadringenta sestertia*. (31251.) a Roman Knight's yearly revenue according to the Law. Thus much, as the Poet says, if some God, *aut similis Diis*, some Heros, as *Lubin* renders it, or some Man by his Bountie not unlike the Gods, should bestow on thee, *Virro* would then esteem thee. Where it may be observ'd, that the Heros according to the doctrine of the Pythagoreans were Good Angels, as they sometimes call them, being of a middle nature between the Gods and their *Dæmones terreni*, that is, Learned and wise Men: for unto these three sorts of excellent natures they held a reverence to be due. So *Hierocles* an Alexandrian Philosopher of that Sect, in his Commentary *In aurea Pythagoreorum carmina* (publish'd by *Curterius*) p. 18. distinguishes them: and p. 41. describes them saying, *τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔστι δαιμόνιον ἀγαθὸν καλὸν ἰσχυρὸν.* And these Heros of a more excellent nature than Man, they held to be Rational: according to which doctrine

ster (in the place above cited) says, —in *seguis officia obeunt animadvertat*, —non voce modo, sed & verberibus; and makes *verber* in *Claudian* and *flagellum* here in *Juvenal*, to be the same. Yet he wavers much in his assertion; for by and by he adds, *Nisi dicamus & verber & virgam & flagellum, tessera instar fuisse, non vero plebendo tironi dicatam*; which he thinks may be, according to that of *Virgil Æneid. 5.* —*signum clamore paratis. Epytides longe petit, insonuit flagello.* Notwithstanding he presently falls again on his first assertion, saying, *Sed expeditius est, ut ad pœna usum flagellum istud petrabamus.* Thus with him it serv'd both for a token or signe at some of their Games to direct the Actors (as when to begin their exercise) and also for a scourge: but his testimonies reach not to the proof of this second. *Lipsius* then not choosing *Sealigers* opinion, understands this passage of the venator, and *bestiarius*, qui *feras jaculari condiscit in capella*, such a one as fought with Beasts, a fellow of the vilest condition, and subject to the scourge, arm'd also with the *parma* and the *galea*; and such, says he, *did practice upon a Goat.* But *Autumnus* has censur'd this opinion only as recited by *Lubin*, saying of it thus, *Quod est magis falsum, quam quod est falsissimum.* As for the *Agger*, *Lipsius* takes it to be a publick place, where such fellows did practice: but this practice and exposition of *capella* for a mark, is without proof. Besides, to press his own reason, why should apples be the diet of the *bestiarii*? and why should such diet be proverbially vile? *Dempster* changing his opinion which I before mention'd, does in his *Additions to Rosinus lib. 10. cap. 10.* expound this place of *Juvenal* thus, according to *Claverius*, —*simiam intelligit insidentem capra & edoſtam tironis instar jacula inde vibrare*; and takes *agger* for some eminent place in the *triclinium*, or supper-room. And that this passage is to be understood of *Simia*, he proves it from that of the *Scholias*t, on *vers. 143. viridem thoraca, armilausiam prasinam, ut gestare solent simia*; and from that on the 154. (as he orders the words) *In scabie frueris mali, quale simia manducat*; and then adds, *Ira cense vir literatissimus Stephanus Claverius, & cessent tandem aliquando Critici turbare, aut aliam expositionem querere.* *Rutgerius* likewise prefers this exposition (in his *Var. Leſion. lib. 3. cap. 15.*) urging the Authority of the *Scholias*t, and that of *Martial (lib. 14. epig. 202.)* concerning apes taught to throw the dart, *Callidus emissas eludere simius hastas.* Of this opinion then the *Scholias*t was the Author, yea (in substance) of the three last Interpretations; for in this place he is too uncertain, his expositions of the several parts of this passage being inconsistent. For by *metuens flagelli* he understands *simia*, yet by *Qui tegitur parma*, he understands a young Souldier, tiro, and by *ab hirsuta capella*, he understands a sene magistro, *capella campidoſore.* In the explication of which last opinion of *Simia*, that *agger* should be some place in the *triclinium* seems improbable: we may more safely then take *Lipsius* his exposition, and take notice, that a part of old *Rome* was fenced with a ditch or trench a hundred feet in breadth, and that by it was rais'd a Mount, or rampire of great height and breadth, between the *Esquiline* and the *Colline* gates (about six furlongs in length, as some describe it) the top whereof was contriv'd into pleasant walks, and the like delights; implied in that of *Horace*, *Nunc licet Esquilis habitare salubribus, atque Aggere in aprico Spatiari*—; as also mention'd again by our Poet, *Sat. 6.* and as some think in the eighth also, as in those places is observ'd; see *Sat. 6. Illuſt. 71.* towards the end; and *Sat. 8. Illuſt. 4.* which *Agger Tarquinii* is omit-

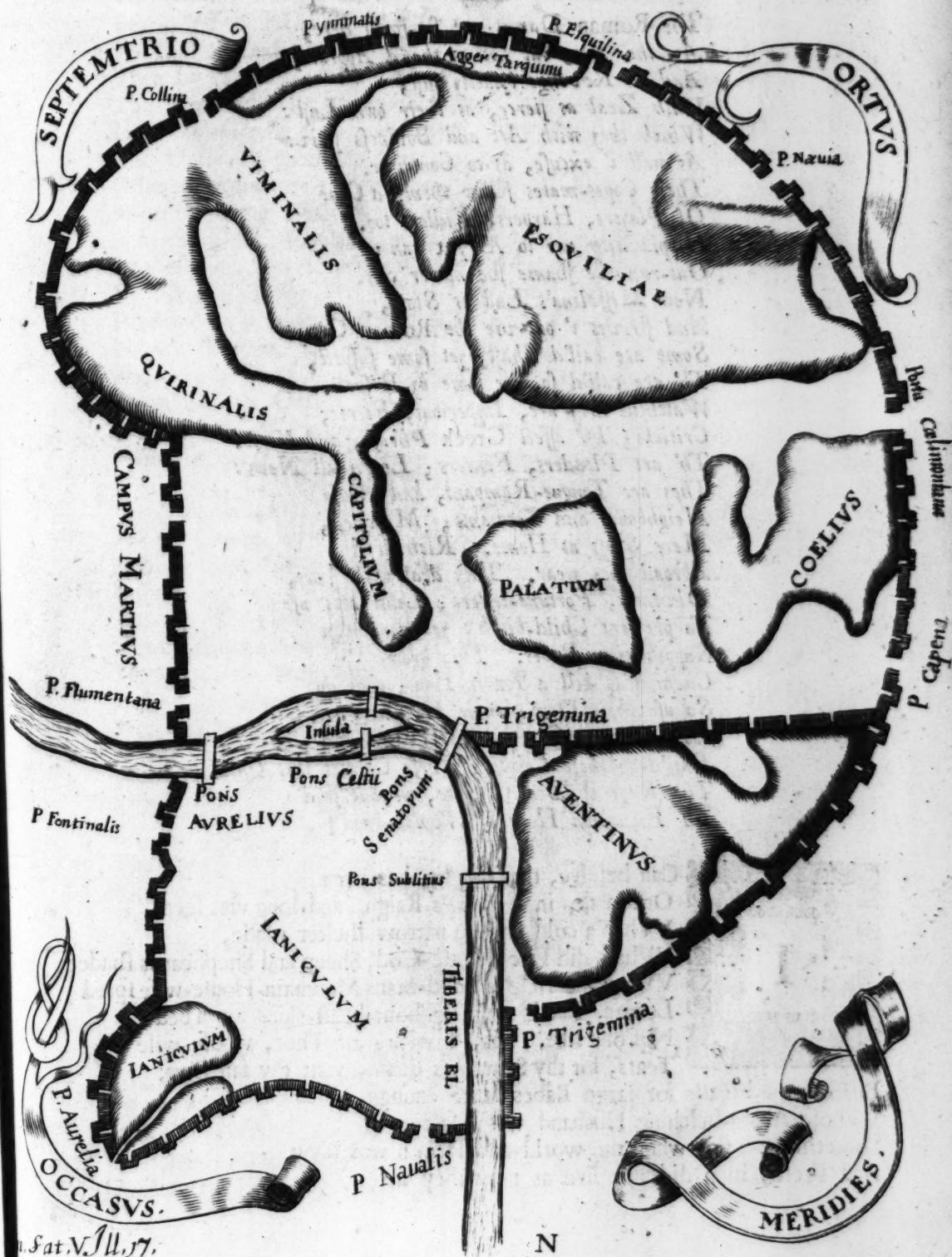
ted in the Maps of old *Rome*, both by *Bertellius* and *Boissard*; but by the accurate *Marian* is thus excellently set forth in the North part of *Rome* in this his Map; and may save all future search and trouble to Interpreters, and give clear light in the knowledge of old *Rome*, to the Authors. * Now this Mount was greatly frequented by the meaner sort; and many sports, as tricks with Apes, and the like, were here perform'd. The substance then of this last exposition is this; For *Virro* is provided the most choice fruit; but thou, poor *Trebius*, hast such as they feed Apes with, at the Rampire, or as *Juvenal* amplifies it, such as he, that is, the Ape mumps upon at the Mount, where being ridiculously clad with Helmet and Shield, and quaking at his Masters lash, learns to cast the dart Souldier like, from the back of a Goat, on which he is ridiculously placed. This I prefer before any of the rest; first, because it is without any alteration of the Copy, and is in the ancient interlinear *Gloss* of the *Scholias*t, as also in the Margin of one Manuscript (namely in that in *Corpus-Christi* Library): which, though in an interlinear exposition it has *Campidoſore Capella*, has yet amongst other interpretations this also, *Alii dicunt simiam fuisse, quam exulta & armata capella flagello cœbatur imitari certamina*; varying only in taking *Capella* for a proper name. Secondly, I prefer it, because it is free from any of those inconveniencies, which follow the other opinions; Thirdly, because it supposes nothing, but what, according to the ordinary custome of such sports, will be easily granted; and lastly, because it is far more quick and Satyrical, to this sense; *Virro* has his curious fruit; but Thou such as they feed Apes with.

18. *The Etrurian golden Bos.* The golden Bos (brought in among the Romans by the *Etrurians*) permitted first only to Noblemens Children, afterwards to all free-born, was made in the fashion of a heart, and worn before their breast, to prompt their young age to the study of wisdom; as *Macrobius (Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 6.)* observes: but *Liber-tinorum filii* (whose Parents were first Servants) wore them of Leather. The *Scholias*t upon the words, *Puero si contigit aurum*, says, *Antiquitus nobilium pueri bullas aureas habebant*: upon which place *Pithæus* in his Notes adds, *αὐρὸν χρυόν*, citing the 1. *Machab. 11.* The quotation is at the 58. verse, where it is said, that young *Antiochus*, amongst other honours done to *Jonathan*, gave him leave to be cloth'd in Purple, and to wear a golden Buckle; so our last Translators render it. This, we may grant, might admit some Comparison with the *Bulla*, rather than likeness. It was indeed a sign of honour; but the person *Jonathan*, to whom it was permitted, was High-Priest, as is express'd *vers. 57.* The aurea bulla was left off by children in the 16 year of their age; and yet it was worn by them that Triumph'd.

19. A shaven Crown thou'lt ware in time, &c. *Pulsandum vertice raso Prabebis quandoque caput.* *Bri-tannicus* takes this for an admonition given by the Poet to *Trebius*, that he should at last vindicate himself to Liberty from very servitude for a meals meat; and so supposes it an allusion to the manner of servants Manumission; who, when they were to be set free, had their heads shav'd; then going to the *Prator*, were struck by Him, or at his appointment, by the *Litor*, twice or thrise upon the head with a wand, and then being turn'd round became free. But this seems not to be here intended, according to the most receiv'd interpretation of this place, which is commonly expounded, as I render it, not for an admonition, but a flout; implying that he, who was already thus base, would become yet

yet baser; it being an inference from the precedent words, *Omnia ferre si potes, & debes*; after which he descended to particularize the chief of those infamies, namely to have his head shav'd, to be struck on the pate, and at last to be scourg'd, as they us'd Slaves. *Lubin* to this effect parallels it to that of *Plautus* in his *Captiv.* — *nisi qui colaphos perpeti*

proest parafirus, frangique aular in caput; implying the baseness of *Parafirus*, that could indure to have pots broken on their heads. And this exposition I rather choose, because the Poet seeming positively to express, what course *Trebius* would next take, does yet with more art of Satyre conclude rather with a sharp Irony, then a flat Exhortation.



SATYRE. VI.

ARGUMENT.

*The Roman Dames are set-forth here;
As the' Are, but not as they'd Appear;
And in Revenge exactly just,
With Zeal as fierce, as their own Lust:
Which they with Art and Boldness strive
As well t' excuse, as to Contrive.
Their Copes-mates follow them, a Crue
Of Players, Harpers, Fidlers too.
Hippia with one to Egypt ran:
Out-run the shame she never can.
Now Messalina's Lust is Story,
And strives t' out-vie the Roman Glory.
Some are call'd Chast, yet some suspect,
Th' are call'd so, for some by-Respect.
Watchful they are, Imperious, Fierce,
Criticks; Th' affect Greek Phrase, and Verse:
Th' are Pleaders, Fencers; Learn all News:
They are Tongue-Rampant, and Abuse
Neighbours and Servants; Mercylest;
Mere Sluts at Home. Rich dress
Abroad they wear. They deal with Jews,
Diviners, Fortune-tellers; Leud arts use
To prevent Child-birth: yet dare show
Supposititious Babes. They grow
Cunning to kill a Son-in-Law; they do
So use their Own; their Husbands too.
Long Peace and Pow'ful Wealth us'd ill
Rais'd-up these Crimes; These Crimes this Quill.
The Rage of Zeal! Sure, we but find
Th' Exception Here of Woman-kind!*

*Can beleive, that Chastity has been
On Earth, in Saturne's Raign, and long was seen;
VVhen a cold Cave a narrow shelter made,
VVhich did Fire, House-God, Sheep and Shepheards shade;
VVhen the rude VVood-mans Mountain-House-wife spred
Leaves, Reeds and neighbour-beast-skins for a bed;
Not one like Thee, Cynthia; or Thee, whose wife
Tears, for thy Sparrows death, vext thy fair Eies.
But one of breasts for large Babes large enough,
VVhose Acorn-belching Husband was less rough
Sometimes. For when the world and Heav'n was New
And Fresh, men did not live as now they do;*

VVhen

When [1] they were born of th' op'ning Oak; they say,
Or without Parents: were compos'd of Clay.
Then many foot-steps one perchance might show
Of ancient Chastity, at least some few
Ev'n under Jove, till Jove was bearded; when [2] one in mind
The (a) Greeks swore not by another's Head, nor Men
Fear'd lest their Herbs and Fruits should be a Prey
To Thieves, and Gardens all unmounded lay.
Then by degrees to Heav'n *Africa* led
The way with Her; thus these two Sisters fled.
He Acts no new sinne, *Posthumus*, that sleights
The Genius of another's Marriage-Rites;
Other Crimes not till th' Iron-Age stain'd Man
Adultry in the Silver-Age began.
A meeting yet, Cov'nants and Spousals Thow
In these our Daies prepar'st, and art remain'd now
By some cheif Barber, [3] and already hast
Perchance a Ring bestow'd. Sure, once thou wast
No Crack-brain. Yet a Wife in these Times takes
Posthumus? what *Tisiphone*, what Snakes
With twining Curles thus made thee? Can'st endure
The Empire of a wife? when yet there's cure
From so many spare-halters; daz'ling-high
VWindows, [4] and from th' *Emilian* Bridge so nigh
Or if these scapes less please, perchance in deep
Art of Crime, by thy page thou'dst rather sleep,
And so scape Night-brawls, by no guifts thy wealth
Impair, and as Thou wilt, preserve thy health.
But 'tis the *Julian* Law, so Chast, so grave,
Vrsidius likes: Now a sweet Heir he'd have
Now the fair Trout and larg-fin'd Barbel are
Below him, and such cogging Market-ware.
But what's unlikely, if *Vrsidius* get
A wife? If an old known Adulterer let
His fond Head with the Marriage-nooze be dress'd:
VWhom quivering *Latinus* his Stage-Chest
So oft has hid? Nay, a Chast wife he'd fain
Find! [5] O Physicians, strike his middle-vein!
Choise Sir! See, the (b) *Tarpeian* threshold thou
Prostrate adore, and (c) kill to *Juno* now
A Heifer with her gilded horns, if blest
Thou art, with one of a Chast Brow and Breast
Ceres pure Veils, so few deserve to wear:
Or touch, whose lips their Fathers need not fear!
VWith Garlands dress thy Gates: on thresholds strew
Thick-berry'd Ivy-boughs. Let all men know,
Thy *Iberina* will but one mate [6] trie
Content she will be sooner with one E
A Country Damsel yet great Fame has won:
VWell, let her live at *Gabii*, as Sh has done

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At Home; or at *Fidena* not grow warm;
 VVe'l grant her Chast too at her Father's farm!
 Yet who will say the Hills and Caves, though cold,
 Are Chast? Are *Jupiter* and *Mars* so old?
 But in our Arch'd walks, think'it thou, thou can'st spie
 A woman worthy of thy Trust and Eie?
 Or can the (d) *sears* at *Shews* yield to thy sense,
 VVhat thou with Love and Safety may'st choose thence?
 VVhiles soft *Bathyllus* does the *Leda* dance,
 VVith rare hand-gesture, *Turcia* in mere tranche
 Of Love, forgets retention; *Appula*
 Breaths rapture too: [7] *The start* and *Well-a-day*
 VVith long attention *Thymele* does note;
Thymele, rude till now, now learns to doat.
 VVhen th' empty *Theater* stands shut, and all
 Stage-dress lies-by, only the *Law-Courts* baul;
 VVhen [8] from these shews the *Megalesian* too
 Are far-off; in sad hope some Dames [9] yet view
Accius his Visard, Dart and Truss. A strong
 Laughter [10] at an *Atellan* Parting-Song
 Some *City-Mimick* raises; with each limme
 Acting the mad *Autonoe*. On Him
 Poor *Ælia* doats. At dear rates some, as vile;
 Unbutton [11] a *Comedian*; Others spoile
Chrysogonus his Voice. Your Tragick throats
Hispula loves. VVho on (e) *Quintilian* doats?
 Thou VVedd'st: *Ambrosius* the Piper's thus
 A Sire, *Echion* th' Harper, or *Glaphyrus*.
 Scaffolds for the view i'th narrow Streets erect;
 VVith large Bayes let thy Posts and Gates be deck'd;
Lentulus, thy arch'd Canopy must grace
Euryalus the Fencer's Babe and Face!
 (f) *Hippia* [12] a Lord's wife with a Fencer fled
 To *Pharos*, *Nilus* and the walls far spred
 By a bad Fame, where *Lagus* reign'd: whiles base
Canopus did prodigious *Rome* disgrace.
 Her Husband, House and Sister she forgot;
 Sleighted her Country: She regarded not
 (Leud wretch) her howling Children, and (O strange!)
 For Him She did our Plays, nay *Paris* change!
 At home, when young, she slept in Down and Ease,
 And border'd Cradles; yet now scorn'd the Seas,
 But First her Fame: for which Shee little cares
 That still is carried in our dainty Chairs.
 The *Tyrrhene* waves then, and th' *Ionian* so:
 Loud-roaring, with firm brest Sh' endur'd, although
 So oft She shifted Seas. This no devise
 VVorks in iust danger; Then their breast is Ice.
 Then trembling down they sink, so faint they are?
 Stout minds they bring to what they leudly dare.

But let her Husband bid, O, then 'tis strange
To take Ship; the Pump stinks: the Skie does change;
This, with her Fencer, never Casts, nor whines:
Th' other bespues her Husband's breast. This dines
Among the Sailors, gads about the Stern,
Handles stiff ropes, as if Sea-Art She'd learn.
VWhat Beauty yet thus fir'd her? what young face
Caught *Hippia* thus? for which, she chose disgrace,
To be instil'd *The Fencers*. For dear
Sergiolus had shav'd his throat, and, e're
Long, his main'd Arm hop'd for release. No small
Blemish his Face had too, as a shrew'd gaul
Made by his Helmet; A huge Bunch o'retop'd
The mid'st of's Nose; from's eye sharp rheum still drop'd;
A Fencer yet he was; This makes them seem
Mere *Hyalinths*: This She did more esteem
Then Children, Country, Sister, Husband too.
'Tis Metal sure they Love. For had but you
Freed *Sergius* from the Sword, [13] The Rod, like Hate,
Had *Sergius* made a mere *Vejento* straight.

But what's a private House? what's *Hippia's* Fame?
See now the Rivals of the Gods! The Shame
Claudius indur'd! From whose side, whiles he slept
Secure, his watchful VVife ignobly crept!
Before His bed She chose a Mat that stunk,
And wore a Night-hood too, an Empreſs-Punk!
She went but with one girl, such was Lust's Care,
A [14] yellow Veil hiding her Sadder hair.
Thus enter'd she the Stews, whose quilt well known
Reak'd yet; She took a Cell void, and her Own.
Under [15] *Lycisca's* name with Breasts adorn'd
She stood: to shame thy womb she should have scorn'd,
Noble *Britannicus*! Kind words she gave
To them that came, and the Reward did crave!
But when the Girls were all dismiss'd, no hast
She made, she left her Cell both Sad and Last.
Depart she did, not 'cause she would, but must,
Still burning with the wild-fire of fierce Lust!
And though to her self no Licence she deny'd,
VVeary she did retire, not satisfied!
Then with [16] cheeks soil'd with Lamp-smoak, back she went
Bearing to *Cesar's* Couch the Stews rank scent.

Their Love-cups shall I name, Charms, Poisons too
Temper'd to drench a Son-in-Law? They do
VVorſe things, when th' Empire of their Sex does win
Upon them; that their Lust seems their least sin.
But why's *Cesennia* by her Husband prais'd?
She [17] brought her Thousand: This the chaste name rais'd!
Lov's Shaft or Flame nor Pines nor Burnes his heart:
Thence took he Fire; The Dowry threw the Datt!

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Her Freedoms Bought. She dares Nod, write-back; see;
 VWho will. Niggards Rich wives are widows, Free.
 Why does *Sentorius Bibula* so grace?
 Would't know? The wife he loves not, but the Face;
 Let but three wrinkles come; her wither'd skin
 Slaken, her teeth grow black, her eies shrink in;
 Pack-up, his Freed-man sayes, Begon, you grow
 A burden, and your Nose too oft ye blow;
 Hence straight, there's one to come with a Drie nose.
 Till then she's Fire and Tyrant: does impose
 Laws on her Lord! Shepherds, (2) *Canusian* Sheep;
 And Elm-prop'd *Falerne*-vines she'l have; Nay, [18] keep
 VWhole Work-Houses of Slaves. And, if there's ought
 She wants at home, if neer 'tis, straight 'tis bought.
 When in short [19] days *Iason* the Merchant lies
 Shut-up, and his house bright with Snow denies
 The ready Seaman's wish, fetch they must great
 Vessels of Chrystal, nay more large and neat
 Of Myrrh, and the known Diamond more rich
 By *Berenice's* finger; This 'twas, which
 The *Barbarus Agrippa* did bestow
 On his incestuous Sister; where, you know,
 Kings [20] on their Sabbaths bare-foot go, though cold;
 And where kind Custome lets their Hogs grow old.
 Does none of these Heards please? Suppose then one
 Fair, Modest, Rich, Fruitful, and of long known
 Ancestors rank'd in Porches, and more Maid,
 Then loose-lock'd *Sabines*, who a battle stay'd:
 Be she Earth's Rare bird, rare as a black Swan,
 Who'l indure Her, that does her Vertues skan
 And prize them to thee? Sure, give me, give me
 A poor *Venusian* wench rather than Thee,
Cornelia Mother of the *Gracchi*. Vain
 'Tis with great Vertue to bring great Disdain,
 And as part of thy Dowry reckon All
 Thy Triumphs. Prythee take thy *Hannibal*
 Thy *Syphax* take in his Camp overthrown,
 VWith all thy *Carthage* too pry thee begon.
 Spare [21] *Paan*, Goddess spare your shafts sure flight:
 Guiltless the Children are; the Mother smite;
Amphion cries. *Paan* his bow bends still;
 The shaft the children smites: Him grief does kill;
 Whiles *Niobe* does flight *Latona's* Race,
 And the white Sow that pigg'd thrice ten, disgrace.
 VWhat Gravity's so dear, what Shape, that still
 It should upbraid thee with its worth? what fill
 Of pleasure in this Bliss, which spoil'd by Pride
 More *Aloes* has, then Honey? who'll abide
 VVorth and Scorn? who's so wife-sick, but he may
 Praise, and loath such a one seven hours a day?

They've

They've more small faults, at which yet who could wink?
 For what's more stinking; then that one should think
 Her-self not fair, till of a *Tuscan*, she
 Turn petty *Greek*, of a *Sulmonian* be
 A mere [22] shee *Cecrops*. All's done in *Greek*; though
 VVe should blush more our *Latin* less to know.
 In *Greek* they shew Fear, VVrath, Joy, Care, and pour'd
 Forth all the secrets of their Breasts. VVhat more?
 Their Lust is *Greek*. VVhich in Girls y' admit,
 In Thee, whom th' Eighty-six year strikes, is't fit?
 Smatter'st thou *Greek* still? This tongue does ill grace
 An old Trot, who her talk does interlace
 VVith her * *zōē ē tōxō!* phrase but now (* *My Life, my Soul.*)
 Under thy blanket left, shamelessly Thou
 Bring'st to the common Ear, For sure a Light
 And tempting word whom does it not excite?
 'Tis as Lusts Rankest Motive. But, [23] although
 Thy sinking wings invite, and that there's no
Hemus or soft *Carpophorus* appears
 More wooing-voic'd, Thy Face numbers Thy years.
 If one by Cov'nants and just writings join'd
 Thou lov'st not, why to wife thy self dost bind?
 VVhy loose thy [24] feast and wine-cakes, when thy friends
 Half-clog'd depart? To what, the first night, tends
 Thy Guist? Thy Charger full of golden Coine,
 VVhere *Dacian* and *Germanick* Titles shine?
 But if thou'dst simply Marry, and one bed
 Intend, with ready neck bow then thy head
 To bear the yolk. Not one pitties a kind
 Husband, though she affects him; but, his mind
 Delights to Vex, and Robs him. Thus the Best
 Husband is by a wife still most Distress'd.
 Thou shall not Give, Sell, Buy, if she conspires
 Not with thy will. Sh' Appoints thee thy Desires.
 An Old Friend thus, whom [25] thy Gate heretofore
 Knew bearded, must be now shut out of dore.
 VVhen *Pandars*. Fencers, Sword-players do make
 A VVill, Thou art Compell'd for heir to take
 VVhom thy wife names, thy Rivals too! A [26] *Cross*
 Raise for thy Slave. VVhy? was his Crime so gross?
 VVho's witness? who's th' Accuser? Do no wrong
 Dear wife; to a man's Death no Delay's long.
 Fool! Is a Slave a Man? Suppose his hands
 Guiltless; 'Tis my will: Will for Reason stands.
 Thus she's her Husbands Empress; yet ('tis strange!)
 Soon leaves this Pow'r, and House for House does change;
 VVeears out new Crimson Marriage Veils: Thence flies
 Again, to th' bed which first she did Despise.
 The Gates she leaves, which dress'd but late had been;
 The Hangings too, and threshold-boughs yet green,

Thus

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Thus grows the Number : Shee [28] Eight husbands takes
In *Autumnus* Five. Her Epitaph shee makes.

Whiles thy wife's Mother lives, of Peace despaire,
Shee'll teach her still to keep her husband bare :
Shee'll teach her to write back with no rude quill
To her Adult'rers letters : by [28] meer skill
Or Bribe shee'll tame the keepers ; and then call
Archigenes, though shee be well, and all
The heavier bed-cloths cast aside : Mean while
Th' Adult'rer lurks, and by Delay's more vile !
Indeed, can't think, that when the Mother's Bad,
Shee can teach Vertues, which she never had !
Besides, for an old, filthy trot to train
A daughter up, as leud, is no small gain.

Scarce comes a Cause, but y' have a woman chooses
One side : *Manilia's* Guilty, or Accuses,
They draw yee Bills, teach *Celsus* to dispose
His Heads of Speech, how to Begin or Close.

Their Purple Rugs and Wrafflers Ointments who
Now knows not ? and the [29] hollow wounds so true
With daily spears made on a Post, which still
Their Shield provokes, whiles They All Arr fulfil.
Such Matrones *Flora's* trumpet should command,
If their stout breast intends not the True Sand.
Shee's past a blush, that once a helmet wears ;
That has renounc'd her Sex, and, sleighting fears,
Admires the Sword-fights so. Her Lust yet can
Not suffer her to wish to be a Man.
A brave fight 'twere, should thy wife's Goods be sould,
Her Belt, her Gauntlets, Plum'd Crest, and the bold
Left thigh's half-armour, or if shee be dress'd
For more fights, when her Greaves are sold thou'rt Blest !
Yet in a round Thin Dress These Sweat ! So pure
Their lims, that the Silk-gown they scarce indure !
See, with what roar stroaks, if fore-warn'd, shee bears !
Under what weight of helmet shee scarce rears
Her head ! How pois'd shee on her hamms does sit !
[30] The Band of her thick-volum'd Coats ! The fit
Jeer is, when shee's disarm'd, a spiteful pott
Betrays the Champion. Speak, you, whom such spot
Ne're staine, yee Nieces of great *Lepidus*;
Of blind *Metellus*, wastful *Fabius* ; Thus
Was Fencerels e're dress'd ? Did e're the most
Bold-fac'd *Asylus's* wife fence with a Post ?

The Bed, in which a wife lies, still does keep
Retorted braulings. That's no place for Sleep.
When Greif shee faighns, with lecret guilt First stung,
The Tiger's less fierce, that has lost her young.
Shee's then thy Load : shee does thy Children hate :
Complains of a (faign'd) harlor. Fresh tears wait,

And

And alwayes in such readinesse do stand,
They but expect Her Order and Command,
Thou thinkest this Love, fond [31] Sp'row, and art glad;
Thy Lips drink up her teares; thy Eyes more Add;
If yet this jealous Dame's Casket one threw
But Open, Oh what letters might it thou view
But when with Slave or Knight, shee's caught in the Act,
Some Colour shew, *Quintilian*, for This fact
You Pose us, cries the Orator; Speak then
Thou Woman: Why, says shee, *Agreed I was, when*
VVe married, Thou should'st do what Thee should please;
I what lik'd Me: Crie-out then; Heaven and Seas
Mix, if thou wilt. I me Woman [32] They dare Flout,
When taken; and from Crimes grow fierce and stout.

But dost thou ask, whence all these Monsters flow?
Chast were our Dames, when their estate was low.
Small roofs from Vice's touch were saved by tough
Labour, short sleeps, by hard ned hands made rough.
VWith *Tuscan* fleece, by *Hannibal's* nere Pow'r
By their arm'd Husbands at *Collinus's* Tow'r.
Long Peace confounds us: Riot worse spoil makes
Then VVar; Revenge the Conquer'd VWorld Thus Takes,
No Crime, no bolder Act of Lust is strange,
Since our old Thrift for Riot we did change.
Since, to [33] These Hills have flow'd the sins more wild
Of *Sybaris*, *Miletus*, *Rhodes*; Defil'd
VVe are with bold *Tarentum*, where still crown'd
They quaffe, and with rich Ointments are half-drown'd.
Twas filthy Mony, which brought these strange Crimes
Soft VVealth with Riot did corrupt the Times.
For, what does drunken Lust regard Chast Fame?
Shee for the Face mistakes what's Nature's shame;
VWho her great Oysters does at Midnight ear;
When [34] *Falern* wine with Ointments dash'd does sweat
Perfume: when in large shells carouse they do:
VWhen round the house turns, and each light seems two.
Go now, and scarce believe with what rank flour
Of nostril *Tullia* draw's-up air; Go doubt
VWhat 't is *Collatia* tells known *Maurus* night
Chastitie's Old Altar, as they pass-by.
Here stand by night their Litters: here they staine
The Goddess, whiles her statue they prophane.
Here mutually they're vile; and yet although
'Tis night, the Moon sees all. Thence home they go:
Thou visiting Great Friends the place dost tread,
VWhen Day returns, where stood thy wife's leud Bed.
The Rites of the Good Goddess now to light
Are brought: where Pipe and Horn and Vine incite
VWhere these astonish'd *Menades* tie re shame,
To run with rowling hair: O inward flame!

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The Leud *Lawfella* makes a Game of Sinne:
 Rewards proposes, and [35] rewards does winne:
 Shee to worſe *Medullina* yet gives place:
 The Worſe the Nobler! Thus they mount to grace!
 Here's nothing feign'd; All's True: Enough to fire
 Old *Priamus*, and *Nefſor's* maim'd deſire.
 But when theſe very Women have all done,
 Impatiently from theſe Deceits they run.
 A Lover they 'll not want; though Some do blind
 Nature's broad Light and Sin below their Kind!
 Yet would at leaſt our Old and Publick Rites
 VVere not prophan'd with theſe impure delights:
 But *Moors* and *Indians* now have learn'd by Fame
 VVhat ſinging Wench of no mean Manhood came
 Thither, whence but a bolder Mouſe, if Male,
 Muſt flie; where a He-Picture has a Veile.
 VVho ſcorn'd the Gods Then? who did Fear ſo lack,
 To ſhout at *Numa's* Chalice, and his Black
Vatican Earthen Diſhes? But Oh ſee,
 VVhat [36] Altar from a *Clodius* is now free?
 I know what you my friends adviſe me to,
 Bar her, reſtrain her with a Guard. But [37] who
 Shall keep the Keepers? Them her wit Firſt winnes;
 The Rich and Poor A like are in Theſe finnes:
 Shee whoſe bare foot the durty ſlint does vex;
 And Shee that's carried on tall *Syrians* necks.
 To ſee the Playes *Ogubnia* brave Attire,
 Servants, Chair, Pillow, and Shee-friends does hire,
 A Nurſe and Wayting Maide with golden haire.
 Yet though her Portion ſhee does thus impaire.
 Shee waſts on ſmooth-chinn'd wraſtlers, her ſweet friends,
 VVhat's Left: Her Houſe-hold-ſtuſſe at laſt ſhee ſpends.
 Many at home are of Small Means, But No
 Modeſty in Such want, nor Meaſure know,
 To which their Need has ſiz'd them. Yet to Thrive
 Sometimes their Huſbands late Fore-ſee, and ſtrive
 Taught by the Learned Piſmire, to ſcape cold
 And Hunger: whiles the wiſe waſtfully bold
 Obſerves not their decreaſe; but as if ſtill
 Mony reviv'd and th' emptied cheſt would fill,
 And ſtill be taken from the full heap, they
 Ne're reckon VVhat for theſe delights they Pay.
 Some of More Art have [38] Eunuchs for Deſpaire
 Of Beard: Such for Abortive Cups ne're care.
 If Song ſhee loves, his [39] Button will not hold;
 VVhoſe Voice the *Pretor* buyes. Her hand's ſtill bold
 With Inſtruments: Her Lute all-radiant ſwells
 VVith thick-ſet gemms: the ſtrings her rough quill tells.
 Once ſoft *Hedymeles* us'd. This; Shee ſtill:
 VVith joy ſhee ſweetly kiſſes his ſweet Quill;

One of the High-born *Lamian* Race with wine
 And cake at *Janus* and at *Vesta's* shrine.
 Ask'd, if that *Pollio* to his strings renown
 Should win the (i) *Capitolian* Oaken Crown.
 Sick had her Husband been, could more be done?
 More, had *Physicians* Left her Dying Son?
 Shee stood before the Altar and ne're fail'd
 Through Shame, for a base Harper [40] to be veil'd.
 The prompted words (as *Custom* bids) shee spake,
 And, at the Open'd Lamb, struck pile did quake.
 Speake, I thee pray, speak now most Ancient God,
 Great Father *Janus*, Lend'st thou These a Nodd?
 In Heav'n yee 've wondrous Leasure then! 'Tis true;
 Yee Gods (for ought I see) just Nothing doe.
 This a *Comædian*, a *Tragædian* Shee
 Prays for: th' *Aruspex* needs must Crook-leg'd be.

Yet better shee thus Sing, then haunt each street
 Boldly, and ev'n the places where Men meet,
 Talking before her Husband with your stout
 Arm'd Captains face to face with breast Layd-out.
 VVhat's done in the whole VVorld. Shee knows: what now
 The *Scythian* or the *Thracian's* doing: How
 A step-dame secretly deals with her Son:
 VVho's Love-sick: what Adulterer begun
 A hope, but Mifs'd: who did a VVidow wooe
 And worse: the Month shee knows; and more Arts too!
 'Twas shee First saw [41] the Comet, that did bring
 Fear to th' *Armenian* and the *Parthian* King:
 Fresh News shee catches at the Gates: faigns Ground
 And People by *Niphates* to be drown'd:
 That Cities nodd with Earthquake, Hills sink down,
 She tells to all shee meets throughout the town.

This is not yet so vile, as she that strips
 Poor neighbours, whom shee drags and wounds with whips,
 VVhen shee Forgives them. For if a loud curre
 Breaks her deep sleeps, *Your Cudgels straight bestirre*,
 Shee cries; The Master's First bang'd, the Dog Next.
 Shee's dreadful Met, or View'd: The Baths are vex
 With her, by [42] Night: Then Move, with tumult great,
 Her Bathing-Shells, her Camp; Thus shee will Sweat;
 VVhen with the massie ball of lead o'retoyl'd
 Her arms fall down; and her leud limms are Oil'd.
 Mean-while the Ghuests, whom Sleep and Hunger tame,
 Do wait: at last comes-in this ruddy Dame.
 Thirsting for a whole Flaggon: at her foot
 A full Urne 's plac'd. A double draught must doe't
 Three Pints, to [43] raise fierce stomach, which being wash'd,
 The [44] Draught returns, and on the floor is dash'd.
 The Marble flows, or, of her *Falerne* strong
 The brave guilt bason smells; as when a long.

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Snake does into a deep tun fall, shee drinks
And vomits : Her vex't Husband's sick and winks.

Shee's yet more Irkesome, at her Boord that uses
Virgil to Praise; *Eliza's* death *Excuses*;

Compares your Poets : making *Maro* swaye,
One Scale [45] and does in th' other, *Homer* waigh.

Grammarians yeild, and *Rhetoricians* : [46] All

Stand Mute : Lawier, nor Cryer does so baul;

No, nor another Woman ! Pow'r of Tongue !

You'd say, [47] so many Bells and Basons rung.

Your pans and Trumpets now weary no more :

This can alone [48] the Lab'ring Moon restore.

In Just Acts too New Aime [49] shee gives. For, shee
That pretends Art and Tongue, should Coated be.

But to th' Mid-Leg ; should to *Sylvanus* slay

A hog, and at the Bath the Farthing pay.

Let not the Dame that lies by Thee, have Taught
Forms of speech, or with winding words and thought.

Hurle a short *Enthymeme* : nor at command

All stories know ; nor some Books Understand.

Her do I hate, that in [50] *Palamon's* art

Is quick, has Laws of speech, and Rules each part ;

Verses (Great Antiquarie !) does repeat

To me unknown : corrects a friend less neat,

Or rude in words, which Men neglect : yet such
Solacisme in a Husband think not much.

All faults a woman grants her self ; no check

Shee feels, when stately Em'ralsds grace her neck ;

VWhen great [51] Eye-checking Pearls stretch her soft ears :

Then a Rich wife, worse Burden No man bears !

Her loath'd face yet, worthy of Laughter, [52] swells

VWith paste, or of *Poppean* ointment smells ;

It bird-limes her poor husbands lips. VWith care

Shee's wash'd for her Leud friend : when looks shee fair

At Home ? your choise Leaf-Ointments for her Friend

Shee gets, and what you, slender *Indians*, send.

At last shee's seen ; her Crust of Paint Lies-by :

Shee's known : shee's smooth'd with asse's milk still nigh.

For, Asses still shee'll keep, though shee should be

Banish'd to th' *Hyperborean* Axle-tree.

But, with chang'd Med'cines, what shee so daubs-o're,

And clots of flow'r, A Face is 't, or a soare ?

'Tis worth the knowing how they spend the Day.

If in the night Averse her husband lay,

VVoe to the [53] wool-waigh-maid ! The Chamber-maid

Is stript ! Her Litter-man has too long stayd,

He too, for his dull Master's sleep, must needs

Suffer. On This the canes are broak : He bleeds

VWith whips ; a Third with Thongs : by some ther's spent

Upon your Torturers a yearly rent.

He whips, whiles shee at ease her print renews;
 Talks with shee-friends, or gold-embroyd'ry views;
 He whips; shee the long bills of the day past
 Reads twice. He whips, with whipping tir'd. At last,
Begon, shee thunders-out; but all's done first:
 The Old *Sicilian* Court was not more Curs'd.
 For if shee'd be dress'd rarely, and haste straight
 To some fair Garden, where a friend does waite,
 Or rather to the [54] haunted Brothel-shrine
 Of *Isis*; wretched *Psechas* does with fine
 Order Dispose her hair, Her self with hair
 All torn, with shoulders too and breasts all-bare.
 Why [55] stands this Curle so high? with Thong shee's pay'd
 Straight, for the Crime of a few hairs mislay'd.
 What has poor *Psechas* done? wherein does lie
 The witches fault? If thy Nose stands awry.
 And Anger's thee? Another combs as fast
 Her left-side-locks; which into Curles are cast.
 Some *Marrone* Counsaile, who now wool does spin,
 Yet [56] once was cunning at the Crisping-pin.
 Her judgment is ask'd first; then They impart
 Their mind, that are yet Less in Age and Art.
 As if it were for Fame or Life, so great
 Her study is to know how to be Neat!
 With store upon storie shee so rears
 The structure of her head, that shee appears
 Before [57] like tall *Andromache*; behind
 Shee's Less, Nay, scarce the same, if shee's short loin'd.
 Then a *Grile-pygme* shee's more Dwarf without
 High heels; and tiptoes for a kisse and flout.
 Mean-while shee flights Husband and Thrift: her Life
 Makes her more like a Neighbour, then a wife.
 Shee's nearer yet in This, that shee does hate
 His Friends, his Servants, and wast's his estate.
 Loe, fierce *Bellona's* and great *Cybel's* Quire
 Enxers, and an huge *Eunuch*, [58] whom th' admire
 As less Obscene: long since he did neglect
 Pleasure; with pot-sheard to himself dissect.
 Him the hoarse-rout and petty drummers fear,
 Who on his head the *Phrygian* cap does wear.
 September's Southern blasts approaching nigh
 Loudly he bids them Fear, or Purifie
 Themselves, Each with her hundred eggs, [59] and then
 Give him their Old Cloths brown like vine-leaves, when
 They're dried: so shall there pass the worst of fear.
 Into the Coats, and expiate the whole year.
 Shee'll break the frozen River sink, through th' Ice,
 In a cold morning dive in *Tiber* thrice.
 And in it's whirle-pooles wath her trembling head
 Then overfall proud *Tarquins* field half-dead.

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VWith cold and Quivering, if White *Is* shall
 So bid, on bloodied knees shee'll naked crawl.
 Shee'l go as far as *Aegypt* Confines stretch;
 And [60] from Hot *Meroe* shee'll water fetch.
 To sprinkle *Isis* Temple, which stands rear'd
 By the Old Sheep-fold. Shee believes shee heard.
 The Goddess bid her So. Loehere, a right
 Pure Soul, with whom the Gods may talk by night.
 He then with These does the chief honour gain,
 That [61] acts (*k*) *Anubis* midst his bald-pate train.
 In linnen dress, yet closely does but flout
 The howling People, whiles he runs-about.
 He pardon begs, when from the Marriage-Rights:
 A wife abstaines nor upon Holy Nights;
 VWhen [62] th' injur'd bed deserves no gentle rod,
 Gently [63] the silver Serpent seems to nod.
 This to His Tears and studied Pray'rs th' ascribe:
 Their great Goose and thinne Cake *Osiris* bribe.

A quaking Shee-Jew next [64] leaving elsewhere
 Her Hey and Basket, begs close in their eare.
 Shee the *Jewe's* Law expounds, is [65] in some grove
 Chief Priest, and a sure post 'tween Them and *Jove*.
 Her hand shee fills too with some petty coine:
 The *Jewes* will sell ye what dreams you'll enjoin.

Next some *Armenian* or some *Commagene*
 Southlayer does assure One, the Gods mean,
 Shee shall enjoy a Lover young and fair
 Or be some childless Rich One's Mighty Heir.
 A hot dove's Lungs did shew it. He does view
 Th' entrails of Chicken, whelps, and Children too
 sometimes, [66] His Crime then on Another thrust;
 But in *Chaldeans* they more firmly trust.

VWhats e're an *Astrologian* says, they count
 As sure, as if 'twere fetch'd from *Ammon's* Fount;
 Since th' Oracles at *Delphi* cease, Deep Night
 Shading the times to come from Humane sight.
 He yet is Chief, that oft has been Exil'd,
 By whose [67] kind scheme worth all price, a high-stil'd
 Cittizen sell, once *Otho's* dreadful foe.
 Whentheir [68] arms sound with chains, and once they grow
 Tir'd pris'ners in the Camp, Men trust their skill;
 Your Figure-flinger has no *Genius*, till
 Condemn'd and ev'n Lost; when he hardly shall
 Be, sent to *Cyclus*, or call'd-back from small.
Seriphus. Thy dear *Tanaquil* would know
 Of such, thy Mothers funeral so slow,
 Though hast'ned by the Jaundice, but Thy Date
 First, Then her Sisters and her Uncle's Fate.
 Shee'd know if her Adult'rer shall Outlive her:
 Indeed, what greater bliss can the Gods give her!

Shee knows not yet what woe *Saturne* implies.
 VVith what [69] star *Venus* does success-ful rise:
 VVhat Month's unlucky, what Times good for Gain;
 But ev'n to Meet Her, see thou shun amain;
 That has her *Ephemerides* like gumme
 Or fat, worn-out with her perpetual thumb;
 That now Askes not Advise, but Gives it; who
 Lets her dear Husband go to th' wars, or to
 His Home return, but still Her Comfort lack;
 If that *Thrasyllus's* Figures call her back.
 VVhen [70] shee is carried but a mile to look
 Abroad, the How'r is taken from her Book.
 If Rubbing makes the corner of her Eie
 But itch, her Birth-scheme view'd, Cure shee does trie:
 Sick though shee be, no how'r for food shee'l use,
 But that, which *Petofyris's* skill does choose:
 If Poor shee be, [71] shee'll at the Race-bounds stand;
 There draw her Lot, then shew her brow and hand
 Unto a Fortune-teller, who does crave
 Often to clap her palme. But Rich Dames have
Phrygian Diviners; or some *Indian* hire
 In Heav'n and Nature skill'd; or some Grave Sire,
 VVhose Art [72] does publick Lightnings Expiate.
 The Mount and Circus know the People's Fate.
 Shee whose long neck no Gold or Jewels weats,
 Before the *Tow'ers* and *Dolphin's* pillars dares
 Enquire, if in new marriage shee shall take
 A Cloak-seller, and th' Inne-keeper forsake.
 Yet These from Child-birth-pangs are not secure;
 And press'd by need the Nurse's toile indure.
 But Gold-work-Beds a Lying-in scarce know;
 Her hideous Arts and Med'cines prevail So,
 VVho barren makes, and undertakes to kill
 Man scarce conceiv'd; wretch, be thou glad, and fill
 Thy wife what drench shee likes. For if that quick
 Shee'd be, and feel the lively infant kick;
 Some *Black-Moore's* brat perchance Thy Heir should be,
 VVhom in a Morning thou 'dst ne're gladly see.
 I name not Now supposititious Heirs,
 False joyes, or, at the [73] Bastard's Pools, vain Prayr's;
 Nor our High Priests, not *Mars*-priests, that Thence came,
 Nor Persons Forg'd to bear the *Scauran* Name.
 Fortune in waggish sport and secret night
 Smiles on the naked babes: they're her delight.
 Shee hugs them: Mounts them to brave houses: then
 Makes them her secret *Mimicks* to act men.
 These shee does Love; these to her self indears;
 Leads-forth these Darlings; and the world Thus jeers!
 One brings them *Magick* Charms: Another sells
Thessalian Love-cups, whose wild force expells

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A Husband's wits. Their pantofle with scotch
 May clap him. Thence 'tis, thou growst Fool, for loth
 In Brain! Thy understanding is struck blind
 Nor canst thou, through a Dulness, call to mind
 VVhat thou did'st last. Yet thou might'st be but Sad
 At this, if that it makes thee not stark Mad;
 Like *Nero's* Uncle; into whose drench'd bowle
Cassia squeeze'd the whole brow of a foale.
 And who'll not imitate an Empress? All
 Took fire, and the world's frame quite crack'd did fall;
 As if *Juno* had made *Jove* mad. Less ill
 Did *Agrippina's* Mushrome. That did kill
 But one: It made but One Old Palsie-pate
 Descend [74] to Heav'n, with drivling lips. This straight
 Snatch'd Fire and Sword; This Potion tortur'd so,
 That slaughter'd Lord's and Knight's blood mixt did flow.
 All this One colt did work: VVhat then, think you,
 Can Shee, that has the Art of Poisons, do
 These hate their husband's bastards; nor is 't spight:
 But Now to Kill a Sonne-in-Law's held Right.
 Take heed, ye Orphans, to whom Riches must
 Descend; guard your dear lives, no Table Trust.
 VVith staining poison brought by On's Own Mother
 Far dainties are Too Hot. Let then some Other
 Bite First: though shee her self bring wine ne're sip,
 Till it has first touch'd [75] thy Guide's trembling lip.
 But sure we faigh: Our Satyre has put-on
 The lofty Buskin, And Old bounds out-gone.
 Our *Sophoclean* throat yawnes out a Crime
 News to *Rutilian* Hills and *Latian* Clime.
 Would we did Fable now: but [76] *Pontia* cries,
 Guilty, I do confess, I did devise
 My Children's death by poison. This my fact
 Was known and publish'd: yet I this did as
 VVorst viper! At one Supper didst kill two?
 Two! Yes, *Seav'n*, if th' had been *Seav'n*, had seem'd *Few*.
 VVe now believe what's e're Tragædians Wit
 Of sterne *Medea* and of *Progne* writ.
 I'll not Oppose their Stories: though those times
 Durst Monstrous Acts: yet not for Wealth, Such Crimes!
 Less wonder's due to wondrous sins, if done
 VVhen This sex fir'd with Rage does headlong runne,
 Like [77] stones cleft from a rock, when th' under-part
 Sinks, and the Side from th' hanging brow does start.
 Her do I hate, that a vast Crime contrives
 And Acts in sober blood. The stage to wives
 Presents *Alceste*, who did undertake
 The worst of Fate, for her dear husband's sake.
 But could such change be now, and such change help,
 They'd wish their Husbands dead, to save their Whelp.

VVee *Belides* and *Eriphyle* meet
Betimes, and *Chytemnestras* in each street.
Yet with this odds; This *Tyndaris* did choose
A bungling Axe, which both her hands did use.
Now with a red toad's subtle lungs they do
The feat; yet they would use the sure Axe too,
Should wise *Atrides* th' Antidote once take,
VVhich [78] the thrice-conquer'd *Pontick* King did make.

NOTES on JUVENAL, Sat. VI.

(a) **S**Wore not by anothers head. *nondum Græcis jurare paratis per caput alterius*. According to the appointment of *Solon* the *Græcian* men were to swear by *Jupiter* alone, who was therefore call'd *Opus*, and *jurandum quasi Jovis jurandum*, as some are of opinion; *Euripid. Med.* assures us of this custome in these words *ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἄλλου θεοῦ ὀρκισθῆναι*. But afterwards they learn'd to swear by all the Gods and by creatures too. *Pausanias* tells us *Corinth. 74.* that afterwards they had such a superstitious opinion, that they ought out of greater reverence not so much as mention the name of their Gods in their oaths, which he signifies in these words *ἐκκαταλείποντες τὸν ὀρκισμὸν τῶν θεῶν*. *Socrates* is recorded by the *Scholiast* upon *Aristoph.* In *Avib.* for the Author of this opinion, and he pretended to have had it from *Rhadamanthus*, who expressly forbade them to swear by the Gods, but allowed them to swear by the creatures; and hence sprang the custome of swearing by the head as he did in *Virg.*

Per caput hoc juro, per quod pater ante solebat.

And this was one reason why they accounted the head holy and Sacred as *Athenens* tells us *Deipnosoph. lib. 2. cap. 25.* (where he gives more reasons) and why they accounted Sneezing a *Diety*, and why they expressed a profane fellow by this proverb *cerebra sine fine comedet*, see the learned *Casaub.* upon the place. This was also the reason why *Pythagoras* commanded his disciples to abstaine from beans: for *Lucian* gives this reason in his *Dialogues*, and *Eustathius* likewise in these words

ἵνα τοι καὶ μὴ τι παρὰ τὸ κεφάλαιον τι τῶν ἄλλων.

For beans have the signature of the braines and so occasion'd that symbole. This kind of swearing we find particularly forbid by our Saviour *Mat. 5. v. 36.* where *Grotius* gives more instances of this way of swearing out of *Synesius* and others, and makes some difference betwixt swearing by our own head, and the head of others which is here chiefly intended by our Poet.

(b) Tarpeian threshold. *Tarpeium limen adora.* *Jupiter* is here understood, called *Tarpeius* from the Mountain on which his Temple stood; both had their names from the *Vestal Virgin Tarpeia* who betrayed the place to the *Sabines.* *Virgil. lib. 9.*

(c) Kill to *Juno* now, &c. *auratam Junoni cede Juvencam.* *Juno* was one of those *Dietyes*, *cui vincla jugalia cura.* As patroness of marriage shee is called *pronuba* and had therefore at such Solemnities beafts Sacrificed with gilded horns as *Plin. lib. 33. cap. 4* see more of these Sacrifices afterwards on *Sat. 12.*

(d) Or can the Seats. *Cuneis.* *Cunei* has many significations, sometimes it is put for the worst place of the Theater, whose remotest part resembled a wedge and hence *inter cuneos residere* is to be a base ignoble fellow. Sometimes it is put for the jointings of the seats together and so signifies by a *Synecdoche* any seat; hence we read of *cuneus Equestris* mention'd by *Tacit.* in his *Annal.* in this General sense it must be taken here viz. *pro sedilibus.*

(e) Who on *Quintilian* dotes? *Fabius Quintilianus* who wrote the *Rhetorical Institutions* and *Declamations*, and was Tutor to our Poet, was too good a man to please the lew'd Ladies of *Rome*, who were more delighted with Stage-players, &c.

(f) *Hippia* a Lords wife. This *Hippia* was wife to one of the Senators *Fabritius Vellentus*, and is thought to have this fictitious name from the excess of her Lasciviousness,

for *inros* in Greek signifies a strumpet; the reason of the metaphor learn from *Virgil*, 3. *Georg.* *Scilicet ante omnes furor est insignis equarum*, and *Ælian*, lib. 4. cap. 6.

(g) Canusinian sheep. *Ovem Canusinam*. Canusium was a Town of *Apulia Daunia* in *Italia* upon the River *Aufidus*; it was famous for sheep which they used to cloth to preserve the wool from dirt and bryars: these were called *oves pellite*. Those that wore garments made of this wooll were called *Canusinati* *Mart.* lib. 9.

(h) Flora's trumpet. *Floralis matrona tuba*. The Poet here alludes to the *Floralia* instituted in honour of *Flora* called by *Lactantius de fals.* Rel. lib. 1. *Faula* for which *Vossius* reads *Flaura* there. She was *Scortum Herculis* as *Verrus* cited by the same *Lactantius*. Shee was made the Goddess of Gardens and Meadows by the Senate, *ut pudenda rei quædam dignitas adderetur* as the same *Lactantius*. Which is likewise told us by *Ovid*, lib. 5. *Fast.*

*Convenere patres & si bene floreat annus,
Numinibus nostris annua festa vocent.*

The same Poet acquaints us that these solemnities were perform'd in *April* towards the latter end.

Incipio Aprilis, transis in tempora Maii

Alter te fugiens, cum venit alter, abit.

This festival therefore was instituted *ut fruges cum arboribus, aut vitibus bene prospereque florescerent* as *Lactant.* lib. and vile impudent strumpets were wont to dance naked through the streets to the sound of a trumpet to which our Poet here alludes more particularly.

(i) Capitolian Oaken crown. *Capitolianæ Quercum*. *Domitian* instituted sports in honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus* which were celebrated every fift year: and he that came off victor was rewarded with an Oaken crown. See *Martial.* Ep. 54. lib. 4.

(k) Acts Anubis. *Anubis* was an *Egyptian* diety the Son of *Osiris* according to *Lubin*; of *Typhon* and *Nephthys* according to *Vossius*. *Servius* on *Virg.* *Æn.* 8. v. 698. *omnigenumque Deum monstra & latrator Anubis*, says he is call'd *latrator quia capite canino pingitur*, but gives no reason why he should be pictur'd in that shape: but *Lubin* tells us this was the reason *quod in insigni canem gessit, ut Macedo frater lupum*. But *Vossius* gives this reason out of *Plut.* de *Isid.* & *Osirid.* to *Nephthys* the *Egyptians* assign'd the presidency of that Hemisphere which is below our Horizon, to *Isis* what is above it, and the Horizon it self to *Anubis*: and therefore they dedicated a dog to him, *quia ut canis diu nocturne videt & domi custodit, ita Anubis & nostrum & oppositum videat hemispherium, & quasi custos sit utriusque.* *Voss.* de *Idol.* lib. 2. cap. 75. After this dog *Anubis* the *Romans* in imitation of the *Egyptians*, went crying and howling, as if they followed him in quest of his father *Osiris* King of *Egypt*, that was murder'd privately by his brother *Typhon*; his body was at last found cut in pieces near to *Syene*. After his Deification they still mourned for him with this ceremony, and adored him in the form of a Bull; accordingly his offering was hay: and if he took it, it betokened prosperous success, if he took it not, it was ominous; *Strab.* lib. ult. *Plin.* lib. 8. cap. 16.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

SIXTH SATYRE.

Sundry phantasies of the Heathen about Man's Original. A Custom of Swearing by Another's Head, Rings; the use of them in Marriage; and the Finger on which they were worn. A doubt about Media vena, which is to be open'd in a Phrenetic. Subitum, miserabile, longum, not rightly expounded by Britannicus. Megalesia and Ludi Plebeii distinguish'd. Visards worn by Actors in Plays. Altars in Theaters. Thyrsus, Fabulae Atellanae. The Tibula, for the preserving of the voice, describ'd. Rudis, Lanista. Whether the Hair of Matrons were distinguish'd from Harlots by the Colour. Cells and Inscriptions over them in the Streets, and Lamps hang'd-up there, as also in Temples. Ergastula. Mensis Brumae. Scrofa. Subsidant penna, expounded differently from the ancient Interpreters. Mustacea, distributed to Guests at Marriages, and Money to the Bride. Barbers, when first in Rome. Quintana, a Military exercise. Bona, anciently rowl'd-up; The greatest breadth of a Page. The Reading, fluter ad-fitros, disprov'd against Britannicus, from himself. Ointments drank in Wine. The form of the ancient Harp. The Antiquity of Bells. Sylvanus his Sacrifices and Sacrificers. The Bath-see. Blenhi. The form of the Turbans of High Priests. Cap. Foliata. Xerampelinae. The Colour of Matrons garments. A Cynea Sacrifices sometimes offer'd for true. Cadureus. A Silver Serpent in the Temple of Isis. Miles in the Publick Ways from Rome Mark'd-out by Stones. Circus, the Poms Capacity and use of it. Phalae. Delphinorum columna. Poppolina. Publica fulgura. Spurci lacus. Philtra. A difficulty, about Saxa jugis abrupta, examin'd. Mithridates his Antidote.

When they were born of the
Op'ning Oak. Ruptorobora nat.
The Poet intending to set-
forth the corruptions of the
Roman Names, describes the
innocency of the golden Age
in the beginning of the world,
when there were not such
quaint mistresses, as a peevish
Cynthia, or Curullus his Lesbia, that bewailed the
death of her Sparrow: but rude and hardie people
born of Trees or form'd out of Clay; and that
thus they continued till mankind growing worse,
the two heavenly sisters, Astraea, or Justice,
and Chastitie fled to heaven. In which expression
he touches two ways concerning the Original of
Mankind, the one from trees, the other from the
Earth. Concerning the first, Britannicus says,
*Quum prima illa aetate homines in speluncis sylvarum
more ferarum habitarent, quoniam ex arboribus
iustate cavatis, tanquam ex domicilio exierint, purabantur*

then alleging that of Virgil,
Gensque vitum, uncia, dura robora cuncti
in which words he aply shews the probable cause of
the fiction, that as they dwelt in woods, so they
seem'd to be born of the trees; but while he says,
ex arboribus nascere canit (Guns of trees grown
hollow with age) methinks he does a little forget
himself, having said but a little before, *primitivae
erae*, so that there was then no time past, in
which they could be as yet grown hollow with
age: yet *Annianus* commits the same oversight.
The second way of Man's Original, from Clay,
shews that though many of the more learned Hea-
then had read the Metaphysical history, they under-
stood, or corrupted, or oppos'd the instruction, of
which last sort was *Jahan the* *metaphysical*, and particu-
larly in this argument. Who in a Fragment of
an Epistle (publish'd with his other works by Petrus
vossius) p. 334, Sec. delivers it at the Theologie of
the Ancient Heathen, that Mankind increas'd
not from two persons, as Adam taught; but that
when

when Jupiter made the World, drops of Sacred blood fell down, out of which arose mankind; *deus totus Zeti in Jupiteris ore pendens, sanguisq; pulcherrimus huius mundi, de quo tu es, et de quo sunt omnes homines, impudens arguit, quod otherwise the world could not have been so soon increas'd, though Women (as he leudly adds) had in their travail been as fruitful as Swine. The like vain Original the Heathen believ'd of some of their Gods, as appears by Varro in his *Fragments* (*Antiquitatum rerum Divinarum*, lib. 1. p. 31. &c. according to Scaliger's Edition) where reprehending their fabulous Divinities (*Mythicon genus Theologia*) he says, *in hoc enim est, ut Deus alius ex capite, alius ex femore, alius ex guttis sanguinis nascatur*. To which I may add that vanitie of some Ancient Philosophers concerning the RepARATION of Mankind. For whereas there are in the joints of the fingers little bones, commonly call'd *Seed-bones*, of which one about the bigness of half a pease, and plac'd in the first joint of the thumb, is call'd by the *Arabians* *Abadara* (as *Bartholinus* observes in his *Anatomical Institutions*, lib. 4. cap. ult.) some fondly held, that out of that, *tantum ex semine*, Man should at last be propagated again. See other opinions also of the Ancients, concerning Man's Original, in the accurate *Censorinus*, *De Die Natali*, cap. 4. at large. See also *Virtruvius*, lib. 2. cap. 1. where he says, that in the beginning men inhabiting together, by custome of conversation began words: and how that the boughs of trees dassing together with the winds struck fire; and that so men came to the use of it. See *Lucretius* also, lib. 5.*

2. When the *Greeks* swore not by Another's Head. *Per caput alterius*. So *Africanus* in *Virgil* swears, *Per caput hoc iuro, per quod pater ante solebat*. By *Africanus* some understand Parents, others the Gods, which (say they) as yet were not: which exposition though it be true, according to the Theologie of the Heathen, concerning Parents, whom they desire to have been in the beginning, yet must it be false concerning their Gods; *Julian* (as is shew'd in the precedent Illustration) mentioning *Jupiter* at the Making of the world. The Manuscript Commentary expounds *alterius* by *antici*, adding, *quasi eum loco numinis haberent*. *Labin* notes on the word *alterius*, that the poet thought their Gods to be but men, because men swore by their heads. But in brief the Poet only implies, that in that innocent age of the world men us'd not the trick, which now was so familiarly practis'd by the *Greeks*, to swear when they told an untruth, so to win belief.

3. And already hast Perchance a ring bestow'd. *Et digito pennis furasse dedisti*. Concerning Rings, the use of which was frequent among the Ancients, we may with *Georgius Longus* an *Italian* (who has writen a treatise purposely *De Annulis*) observe, that *As* with the Oldest *Latines* was as much as *circum*; so *ambire* the same with *circumire*; so *annus* as much as *circumire*; and in like manner *annulus* was so call'd from the Circuit of it. It was us'd when Persons were betroth'd together, as not only *Juvenal* here implies, but also *Pliny*, lib. 23. cap. 1. in those words, *ad sponsiones annulo exstiterunt*. *Solinus* likewise speaking of the *Thracian* wives says, *Qua praeter ceteris specie valent, subarhari volent*. It was us'd also anciently by the *Christians*; though I will not with *Longus* move you to believe that *Mary* and *Joseph* were thus betroth'd, and

that the very Ring is at this day in *Italie* kept in *St. Laurence's Church* at *Perusium*: indeed, he says it is very hard to judge of what matter it is made, and we may be content, as I think, to think so too. But for after times, *St. Jerome* speaks of *Sponsalitus annulus*, upon *Job*, cap. 8. and on *Isay*. 3. *Beda* likewise on *Luc*. cap. 15. hom. 40. says, *Sincera fidei Signaculum, quo promissa certa impressione signantur*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*pad. lib. 3. cap. 11.*) touches also another use of it, which is pointed-out likewise by *Macrobius* (*Saturn. lib. 7. cap. 13.*) in those words, *Veneres non ornatus, sed signandi causa annulum secum circumferebant*. In which place he shews a twofold cause, why the Ring was worn on the left hand, and on the finger next the little finger: one whereof is, Because, according to the doctrine of the *Aegyptians*, a Nerve passes from the Heart to that finger (or according to the common opinion, a Vein passes from the Heart chiefly to that finger; which yet *Bartholinus* in his *Anatomic*, lib. 4. cap. 1. censures as an error) the other, because at the first, as the *Hieronymians* taught, Rings were worn on the Right hand, till they began in Pride to be made of precious stones, and that then for fear of breaking by the continual use of that hand, men transfer'd them to the left; yet not to the thumb, as being much in use; nor to the fore-finger as not sufficiently guarded by reason of the shortness of the thumb, nor to the middle-finger, as being too great; nor to the little finger, as being too short; but to the next to it, as being of less use, and so of more safety. *Pliny* (lib. 33.) says that the Ring, which was sent to the Bride, was of Iron, and without any gemme in it; yet *Tertullian* says, that it was of Gold; *aureum nulla novat praterquam unico digito, quem sponsus oppignerasset promisso annulo*. See also *Marcellus Donatus* on *Julius Capitolinus* in *Maximino Juniore*, shewing the manner of betrothing with a Ring, out of *Terence* in *Hecyra*. Act. 4. Scen. 3. and from others. Of Rings see also *Festus*. Sat. 6. Illust. 3.

4. And from th' *Æmilian* bridge so nigh: Because, says the *Scholias*, There were Stews. But the usual reason I think to be better, namely, because it was an high place, from which he might cast himself into *Tiber*. Besides, for the first leud purpose, he needed not to have gone so far, or at all to the *Æmilian* bridge; which being the farthest Southward in the City, was fitter for a Melancholy and Desperate resolution, then for a wanton one; as being a place where with more convenience he might have stol'd a drowning.

5. O Physicians, Strike his middle vein. O medici, medium perundine venam. The Poet here jeering at *Ursidius Possidimus* for his intent to marry, undertakes (sarcically) to shew the cause of his resolution, namely his Fear of the *Julian* Law, which punish'd Adulterers, and his Desire of having a lawful Issue of his own; and likewise the consequence of his resolution which was, that now he would no longer accept of rich and cunning bribes from the market, brought by such as aim'd at his estate, when he should die, being childless. But then he sharply sett-upon him saying, But thinkest thou that any will marry Thee, who hast so often, to escape a taking in adultery, been elapt into a chest, as *Latins* the Mimick has been upon the stage? (Of whom, see *Sat. 1. Illustrat. 18.*) But especially doe't think to have a Chast wife too? O ye Physicians, says he, Let him bleed in the middle vein; for he has a phrensie. But here arises

arises a doubt about *media vena*; *Georgius Merula* and his Scholar *Britannicus* taking it for the middle vein in the *arme* (between the veins *Rosacea* and *Cephalica*) but *Galeotus Harnensis*, citing this verse of *Juvenal*, interprets it of the middle vein in the Forehead, which, says he, is to be open'd in Phrenetic persons. And this opinion is defended and *Merula* decided by *Jacobus Nicolaus Loensis* (in his *Miscell. Epiphyl. lib. 3. cap. 23.*) proving it by the authority of *Agnetia lib. 3. cap. de Phrenetico*; who does indeed warrant what *Loensis* says, but also conveniently decides the quarrel; which the Interpreters might have prevented, had they rightly consulted him. For he says, that if the sick be strong enough, they should presently let blood in the *arme*, and somewhat plentifully; but if they refuse to hold forth their *arme*, or if in doing it there be danger afterwards, through their unruly tossings in their disease, of loosing much blood, then, says he, let them bleed in the forehead, and take enough away at once. Whence it is clear, that the *arme*-vein is to be open'd in the ordinary course, the other in a more special case. *Etiam* likewise *lib. 6. cap. 80.* prescribes letting blood in this case, in the Forehead. Some prescribe both, if there be need, for the perfecting of the cure; and as for the order, the fore-head-vein to be open'd last.

6. Thy *Iberina*. The Poet tells him, that if he gets an honest wife, as chaste as the shee-priests of *Ceres*, he had need to give thanks to *Jupiter*, and bring to *Juno* a sacrifice with gilded horns. For so they dress'd their larger sacrifices, as *Pliny lib. 33. cap. 4.* and that he might well rejoice as they do at Weddings, decking their garbs with garlands and Ivy-boughs, or (as he speaks afterwards, which may be here taken notice of) with Bayes and Skiffolds erected in the streets for Nuptial Joies. But, says he, thou shalt not find thy *Iberina*, whom thou hast choos'd, to be such a pure peice; but that, though shee might be chaste at her obscure and country home, if brought to the temptations of places of more resort, as *Cubii* and *Fidene* (though exceedingly inferior to *Rome*) shee may prove as honest as thou hast been. In which place some take *Iberia* generally for a wife, at least for any City-dame; which were, methinks, to make the Poet's invective too large and odious: others with more decency, and indeed propriety, make it a jest at *Posthumus* only, meaning, that he, who had been so faulty himself, was for all his experience in that sex mistaken in his choice; and so take *Iberia* strictly for *Posthumus* his intended wife; whose true name per adventure was *Barina*, and shee but of a suspected fame; as he may seem to imply of her singularly, by the emphasis, *hæc*, in those words following, *ut hæc oculis contenta sit*, &c.

7. The *Stout and Well-a-day*. The Poet here expresses the lewd manners of the City, and how they are corrupted; whilst delighted with the sights of wanton action, particularly by seeing the *Leda* danced by the Pantomime *Bathylus*. Which effeminate dance requir'd a special art and motion of the hands; and therefore the Poet calls it *chironomus Ladam*; and so *Joan Baptista Suarez* in his *Antiquedades Gaditanas* (lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 285.) speaking of the Mimick and this dance describes it, telling us that such names were given by way of difference, being dances fitted to songs in the

praise of famous women. According to such gestures, the Greeks were like wise said *ὀρχήδαι* *Μίμναι*, & *Κορύμβαι*, to dance the *Ordea* or the *Canace*; which was by Motion to express the stories of those Persons. The *Leda* is sufficiently known as *Erosus* notes (*Miscell. lib. 9. cap. 1.*) from *Lucian* who says, it was by the Mimical motions of the hand an expression of *Leda* seiz'd on by *Jupiter*; which motions are here by *Britannicus* and others thought to be call'd, *Subitum*, *Miserabile*, *Longum*; but by their leav's methinks these three signifie not so many several motions as may partly appear from the conjunction *&*, which, if that sense had been intended, should for the construction's sake have been left out, and been only understood before *longum*, but being express'd before the second thus, *subitum & miserabile*, apparently makes only the two first of a like nature. Wherefore I think *longum* to be us'd adverbially (as in that of *Virgil*, *longum vale*) and to be refer'd to *attendit*, and so to signifie a long time, patiently, diligently or without weariness; and thus only the two last shall imple mimical actions. Indeed, those only were sufficient, signifying the chief passions in her rape, her Fear, express'd by *Subitum*, her Start through sodain amazement, to see so strange a swan; and her Sorrow signified by *miserabile*, her Bewailing her self, or as we may term it, her *Well-a-day*, to see her self so unavoidably surpris'd; which passion of *Leda*, *Bathylus* express'd by action; so that the construction will stand thus, *Thymele longum attendit Subitum & Miserabile Leda*; according to which sense I render it, *The Start and Well-a-day, With long attention Thymele does* &c.

8. *Atque a Plebeis longe Megalefia*. The Poet here to shew the eager wantonness of the Roman dames says, that when the Players were at certain times shut up, and that it was yet a good while, &c. the like delights were to be presented again, they would, to supplie such defect, instead of enjoying the Actions and such Plays, at least view and handle the dresses and furniture, which the Players used, as for instance, the visard, darts and truss of *Attila* a Player, in which expression there are some things either not us'd all, or erroneously, or darkly mention'd by the Commentators; the chief difficulty being in these words, *Atque a Plebeis longe Megalefia*. Upon which passage *Britannicus* says (*de plebeis*) *subaudi, quo, id est, quoniam ludi Carceres, qui in gladium plebeis maxime exhibebantur, sunt longe a Plebeis id est, per fessi sunt, & plebei a ludis discesserunt*; that is, when the Circusian Shows, (which are celebrated chiefly in favour of the People, are farre from the People, that is, were ended, and the people shew from these Shows; But this is false from the sense of the Poet, whilst *Plebei* is us'd for Persons, the people. That the *Megalefia*, as he says before, were *Ludi Carceres*, is a truth. Look on the word *plebeis* gives this note, *Unde forte vulgares Ludi, post quia* (he means per chance *spētacula*, which word he uses a little before) *longo tempore celebrata sunt Megalefia; quorum illa tenebantur a ludis*. In which words he seapes *Britannicus* his mistake; who thought that *Plebei* signified the People; but he takes them for games, yet not without *forte*, implying the uncertainty of his assertion: and indeed he shew'd it in the name, rendring it by *Ludi vulgares*. Some more positively say *post plebeios ludos*; which being a truth,

it may be farther known that the *Megalēsia* were Games dedicated to the honour of *Cybele*, the great mother of Gods (from which title they had their name) and that there were also special Games called expressly *Ludi Plebei*, instituted as *Afconius Pedianus* observes (in 1. *Affion. Cic. in Verrem*) either in remembrance of the people's Liberty after the expulsion of their Kings, or else for the reconciliation of the people after the sedition to Mount *Aventine*. Next it may be observ'd that the *Megalēsia* were perform'd in the *theatrum*, and that so were also the *Ludi Plebei*; besides, that the *Megalēsia* were celebrated in the Spring, *per dies sex, à pridie Nonæ April*, as *Rosinus* notes, lib. 3. cap. 13. so that they begun on the fourth day of April; but the *Ludi Plebei* in *Autumn*, and continued for three days, yet not as it is in *Rosinus*, lib. 5. cap. 20. *a. d. xviii. calendæ Novembris*, as testatur *veteres Fasti*; for that were about The middle of *October*; but instead of *Novembris*, it should have been said *Decembris*, seeing they were perform'd on the 15th, 16th and 17th. days of November, as his own witness, the old Roman *Calendar*, testifies. Yet I believe, considering his learned diligence, that it was but a slip at the Press (though I find it in several editions) notwithstanding necessary to be observ'd; because it agrees not with that which he delivers, lib. 4. cap. 15. where he rightly says, *XVII. Kalend. Decembris, ex duobus sequentibus, Ludi Plebei erant in Circo, ut Calendarium docet*. Lastly it may be remembered, that the delay intimated here in our Author, from the *Ludi Plebei* in November till the *Megalēsia* in April, implied in those words — *a plebei longe Megalēsia*, being about 4. months and an half, may clear the sense of the Poet, jesting at the Roman dames, which so tediously long'd for the delight of these Shews. This agrees (setting aside the unwarrantable assertions of some, on this place) with that of *Bernardus Annotas*. 8. upon this passage; *Cam Ludi magna Deum Matris Cybeles longe absunt à Plebei Ludi, vel longo tempore intermittuntur, et longissimo post illos ludos tempore exhibentur; interea ille lascivie mulieres tristes ob intermissos ludos, ipsa agunt inter se illos ludos, et minorum vestes et ornamenta trahant*.

9. Yet view *Affius* his visard, dart and truss. *Personam thyrsiferaque tenens et subligat æci*. Among the many impurities in their Shews, they had some seeming degree of modestie, the Actors wearing a visard, mask or disguise on their face; though indeed it was but that they might act the more licentious, as *Britannicus* notes on that of the third Satyre. (v. 25.) — *mulier nempe ipsa videtur, Non persona loqui, saying, nam mimi, quo liberius omnia peragerent, personas induebant*. Yet strictly the *dimi*, whose part it was to express all things by action, and whose entrances were between the Acts, were not *personati* (says *Rosinus*, lib. 3. cap. 6. towards the end.) but *fuligine obliti et agnitis amictibus pellibus*, wore not a visard, but only sullied their faces and were dress'd in lamb-skins. Which difference though neglected by many, yet may seem to be implied by *Rodolphus Agricola*, who in the explication of this verse, in the 17th of the *Philological Epistles* publish'd by *Goldastus*, more

warily says, *Histriones* (he says not *mimi*) *sacilem fuisse in scena vegetantem alienaque præferebant*. Which may be confirm'd, by that of *Suetonius Nerone*, *Tragædians quoque tantum personatus Heroum Decorumque; item Heroidum ac Deorum, personis effudit ad similitudinem oris sui*. They wore likewise a truss, without which they might not act, the rest of their body being naked. The *Thyrus* also was used by them in honour of *Bacchus*; there being in every Theater (which was form'd like an half-Moon) at the two horns or ends of it, Altars; one consecrated to *Bacchus*, the other to that God, to whom the Shews were dedicated; as *Rosinus* has it, lib. 3. cap. 4. The *Thyrus* was a dart or javelin wrapt about with Ivy; and this according to some was attributed to *Bacchus*, because in India his armie carried such to deceive the Indians then unskilful in war, by a device probably not unlike that which the Kentish-men put upon the Norman Invader. But *Macrobius* (Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 19.) though he makes the same description of the *thyrsus*, yet gives a more intimate reason. For, speaking of *Liber Pater*, he says, *Sed et cum thyrsu tenet, quid aliud quam latens telum gerit, ejus mureo hederæ lambente præcursat? quod ostendit vinculo quodam patientia obligandos imperus belli, habet enim hederæ vincendi obligandique naturam*. The Ivy has also a power to Raise Fury and Lust, and so in Greek is call'd *maris* from *maræ*; as *Vives* notes on *St. Austinus de Civ. Dei*. lib. 6. cap. 9. alleging also *Plutarch* in his *Problems*. And from the Ivy, *Bacchus* was call'd *Hederæus*, as *Demeter* observes on *Rosinus*, (lib. 2. cap. 11.) but of *Pausanias* his *Attica*; and farther tells us, that *Bacchus* his Statue was adorn'd with a coronet of vine-branches. *Britannicus* says that the Javelin was wrapt about with vine-branches; and *Vives* in the forecited place says, it was wrapt about both with Ivy and the vine-branch, and in the same manner he says

10. As an *æstivum* parting song. *Æstivæ Atellane*. *Æstivæ Atellane* were so call'd from *Atella*, a City of the *Osci*, where they were first us'd. *Fabius Dossennus* was a writer in this kind, as *Epistius* notes on *Seneca* *epist.* 89. These Plays were ridiculous and obscene; yet to please some corrupt Emperors; acted sometimes by the Roman Nobillitie. They were afterwards chang'd into *Mimic* Fables. See *Jacobus Nicolaus Zeno* *Miscell. Epiphyl.* l. 5. c. 10. Concerning the *Æstivum* or Parting Song, see *Sat.* 13. *Illust.* 26. & 27.

11. Unbutton a *Comadian*. *Fibula* signifies not strictly a button, but also a buckle, clasp or such like stay. In this place the Poet expresses by it the instrument of servilitie applied to those, that were employ'd to sing upon the stage; the *Præti*, who set forth Plays for the delight of the People, buying youths for that purpose. And that fact might not by lust spoil their voice, their over-teeth clos'd their shame with a case of metal, having a sharp pike of the same matter passing by the side of it; and sometimes us'd one of another form; or by a beaver crueltie they thrust a brazen or silver wiew through that part, which the Jew did loose in Circumcision. The form of the first, and also another fashion the curious reader may here see; being without any immodestie; as they are presented by *Pignori de Struaz* p. 6. *But whatever*



Juv. Sat. VI. Illustr. n. 6.

whatsoever the fashion or invention was, the trust was but fond, which was committed to them, as the Poet implies: seeing that the art of lust and gold could make them as vain, as the Italian engines of jealousy at this day. On such companions then the Roman dames doated, but never on a *Quintilian*, an honest man. Thus, *O Lentulus*, says the Poet speaking figuratively to some Noble-man, it is thou that art married, but it is some *Musitan's* or *Fencer's* bastard, that is born under thy Lordly Canopie.

12. *Hippia*. The Satyrists here describes a Roman Lady, one *Hippia*; which some think to be her true name; though *Jac. Nicol. Loensis* (in his *Miscell. Epiphyl. lib. 2. cap. 15*) thinks, that the Poet gives it to her for her Lust, according to that of *Virgil*, *Silicet ante omnes furor est insignis equarum*, and cites *Ælian de Animalibus*, lib. 4. cap. 6. which may be admitted as aphanie, though perchance the Poet ne're thought on it. Shee was the wife of *Fabrizius Vejento* a Nobleman (mentioned, *Sat. 4.*) in the Time of *Domitian*; and with a Fencer, one *Sergius*, whom the Poet jeeringly calls *Sergiolem*, shee fled to *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, where *Ptolemæus Lagus* once reign'd, even the *Canopians*, though luxurious *Ægyptians*, condemning such more shameless filthiness. Besides, the Poet makes it yet more strange; in that, for his sake, shee left the pleasures of *Rome*, even *Paris* the pleasing *Pantomime* (put to death afterwards by *Domitian* for his adultery with the Empress *Domitia*) Nay, says the Poet, shee sail'd with him through varietie of Seas, as the *Tyrrhene*, the *Adriatick*, the *Ægean*; in which, through the varietie of tides, shee could not but meet with uncourteous waves. But should a Husband desire her to go to Sea with him, shee would then crie, that *vertitur ær*, the skie seems to change, or all things seem to run round, and shee straight grows giddy. Besides, her sweet-heart *Sergius* was grown deform'd, and, as one maim'd, hoped shortly to be releas'd from fencing; and then, says the Poet, he also would seem as deform'd, as her husband *Vejento*. In which words, he implies the manner of discharging fencers; which was by giving them *rudis*, a rod or cudgel, a waster, the sign of such freedom. But till then, the Roman dames doated as much on such kind of creatures, as ever *Apollo* did on *Hiacynthus*.

13. The Rod, &c. *Accepta rude*. Here I render *rudis*, according to common use (as it is expounded by *Juv. Sat. VI. v. 100*, *virga*, as by *Britannicus*) a rod

(or wand) when as according to strict truth (which may be observ'd for prevention of an easy mistake) it was a cudgel, and so by some is call'd *baculus gladiatorius*, the fencer's staffe or waster; and was call'd *rudis*, as some think, because with such cudgels they practiz'd the rudiments of fencing, before they came in publick to fight at sharp. Hence is the phrase in *Sueton's Caligula*, cap. 32. *rudibus batuere*, to play at cudgels, and in the Author of the *Dialogue de Oratoribus*, *rudibus dimicare*. For, that the *rudis* was not such a trifle, as a rod or wand, it may appear from the weight of it, the cudgels or wasters, which they did practice with, being more weighty, then the true weapons, with which they did fight in publick; according to *L. Seneca*, lib. 5. *Controvers. 4. Gladiatores gravius armis discunt, quam pugnant*. And with such a staffe or cudgel in testimony of freedom from Sword-playing, some of the chief gladiators were after long service and danger freed and grac'd, and were afterwards call'd *rudarii*. The ancient Sword-fights were call'd *Munera*, that is, *Officia*, duties perform'd to their Gods, or to some great persons dead; though some would have them called so, because the cost of presenting them was as a gift bestow'd by great Ones to please the People. But though we grant this for a truth, that they were grown into such corruptions, such pieces of flatteries; yet this reason seems too young for the Original of the name, the first being more ancient, then this corruption. Those that fought were call'd *Gladiatores*, and more particularly, if the Shews were for the dead, *busuarrii*: those that train'd-up such, were term'd *lanista*, and all the *Gladiatores* that belong'd to one *Lanista*, were call'd *Familia*, *Nero* made 400. *Senators* and 600. *Roman Knights* fight thus shamefully, *Domitian* made Women fight thus by night. But the bloody use of fighting at Sharp was prohibited by *M. Antoninus*; and the whole use of these Shews taken away by *Theodorick King* of the *Goths*.

14. A yellow veil hiding her sadder hair, — *nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero*. *Galerus* is by some taken here for a periwig, as in *Sueton's Nero*, *galericulo capiti propter raritatem capillorum adaptato* & annexo; so *Ptolemæus Flavius* in his *Conjectan.* c. 44. So likewise *Adrianus Junius* expounds it in his *Commentary de Coma*, cap. 1. As for the Colour of it *Servius* notes, that yellow was the colour of the harlot's hair, but black of *Matrones*: according to which rule, *Junius*, cap. 9. says that in *Terence* the name *Birria*, should be amended into *Pyrrbia*, from the yellowness or fiery colour of her hair. Which conjectures

conjectures we may grant to be witty : but there is no necessitie to take *galerus* for a periwig, nor yet for *pileus*, as *Lubin* renders it ; but in a more easy and general expression, for a veil : the *Pileus* being unproper for a Woman, and the periwig not necessary for this purpose, seeing that a veil would as easily serve the turn. And as for *Servius* his rule, though we admit it to be commonly true, yet *Prothemus Flavius* in the forecited place does a little weaken it, shewing that even *Ovid* a master in the art of beauties observ'd not that rule, speaking in his *Fasti* of *Lucretia*, *Forma placet, niveusque color flavique capilli* ; indeed in whom they were natural, it is not likely that they would veil them by arr.

15. Under *Lycisca's* name — *titulum mentita Lycisca*. The several Cells in those impure places

had the names of their hirelings inscrib'd over them, and *Messalina* took *Lycisca's* room. Where we may note that, for *Offenditque* in the next verse in *Juvenal*, *Barthius* reads *Offenditque*, which, for a Conjecture is apt, and noted by *Lipsius* also, in his *EleB.* p. 27.

16. With cheeks soil'd with Lamp-smoak. *Fumoque lucerna fada*. In the Stews they had Lamps hang'd-up, on the back part of which was express'd hieroglyphically, to whom they were dedicated. *Fortunatus Schacens* (in his *Myrobecium*, lib. 1. p. 55.) presents such a one, which in the Circle of it had a *Venus* : but not to trespass upon modestie, and yet to shew the state of those times in such furniture, I chose rather to present here, from the same author (cap. 7 p. 53.) another Lamp, *



Juv. Sat. VI. Illust. 16.

in the time of the Christians, dedicated to sacred uses, having in the slope-circle of it X P for our Saviour's name, as *Schacchus* expounds it. But these letters were us'd long before our Saviour's time, as *Longus* shews *de Annulis Signatoriis* (cap. 6. p. 42, 43.) and were express'd in coines of the *Heathen*, some taking it for a *Star*, a note of immortality ; others (to omit many other conjectures) thinking it to signifie *Christus*, *clemens*, *benignus*, implying the clemency of the Prince, whose coin it was : which might indeed be afterwards applied to our blessed Saviour, in the highest sense. Concerning which letters see also *Pignorum* his *Symbol*, *Epist.* 14. The two Lamps cited

here from *Schacens* were expressed from two brazen Lamps at *Rome*. A double light was hang'd-up with two chains, as in this pattern ; and Lamps were hang'd-up on beams, and to the roof of the Temples to illustrate the faces of their Idols. Such lights seem to be intended in the *Apocryphal* Epistle attributed to *Jeremie*, and written to those that were to be led captive unto *Babylon* ; it is the sixt chapter of the book of *Baruch*, where it is render'd verse, 19. *They light them candles, yea more then for themselves, whereof they cannot see one*. In the Greek it is, *ἀρχαὶς καίναι* ; and vers. 21. it is said, *Their faces are blacked, through the smoak that comes out of the Temple* ; or, *a fumo, qui ex domo*, as *Arianus*

Montanus from the Greek, — *ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑκατὸν* &c.

17. Shee brought her Thousand. *his quingenta dedit*, that is, *Sestertia vel talenta*, says *Britannicus*, and after him *Lubin*: which last exposition by *talentum* is without use or proof. But the first by *Sestertia* is allow'd; and by *Turnebus* (*lib. 18. cap. 30.*) express'd by *decies centena millia*, meaning *Sestertianum*, as it is in the genitive of *Sestertius*, and so is the same with *mille sestertia*. Of which, the *Sestertia*, *Joan. Baptista Suarez* in his *Antiquitates Gaditanas*, *lib. 1. cap. 16. pag. 131.* having occasion to speak, calls them *Sestercios mayores*, the greater *Sestercies*, discovering a like scarcitie in the Spanish to distinguish them from the *Sestertii*. The *Sestertium* then here understood being 71. 16s. 3d. arises, if multiplied by a thousand, to 7121. 10s. the portion, which *Cesennia* here brought to her Husband. See *Sat. 10. Illustrat. 41.* whereas then some here express *his quingenta* by ten thousand, it is not without mistake: for if they reckon by *Sestertii*, it should be render'd ten hundred thousand (or, a million); and if by *Sestertia*, it should be render'd only one thousand; which summes are the same (a thousand *Sestertia* being a million of *Sestertii*.)

18. May keep whole work-houses of slaves. *Pueros omnes, ergastula tota*; troops of servants, and whole work houses. It is almost superfluous to note, that servants were by the Ancients frequently call'd *pueri*, according to that of *St. Ambrose*, *lib. 1. de Abraham*, *cap. 9.* *Pueros dicimus cum servos significamus, non atatem exprimentes, sed conditionem.* *Ergastula* were properly not *Jails*, nor *Bridewells*, yet in somewhat like both, the slaves being fetter'd in them, and kept to hard labour. See of these more largely, *Sat. 14. Illustrat. 2.*

19. When in short days. *Mense quidem Bruma*; that is, in *December* the wanton dames of Rome would make their Husbands put to Sea to fetch rarities. *Disse Bruma*, says *Varro* (*de Lingua Latina lib. 5. cap. 45.*) *quod brevissimus dies est*; and *Macrobius* (*in his Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 21.*) according to the same sense derives it from *brevis* *Imago*. Yet some copies anciently had, *Mense quidem Numa*, meaning February instituted by *Numa*, as one *Manuscript* tells us in the margin; which being a less aggravation of the wives unreasonable insolence, (the first implying the depth of winter) is not methinks to be equall'd with the first. Besides, though the time of putting to Sea, be usually in the Spring, according to that of *Pliny*, *lib. 11. cap. 47.* *Ver aperit navigantibus maria*, and that of *Vegetius*, *lib. 4. cap. 39. ex die III. EID. NOVEMB. usque in diem VI. EID. MART. maria clauduntur*, as *Titius* notes, *Locut. controvers. lib. 10. cap. 6.* Yet in the Calendar set down by *Demphster* upon *Rosinus lib. 4. cap. 4.* on the first of the Ides of February, that is, the ninth day, it is said, *Veris initium*. The first and common Reading I think therefore to be both more effectual and safe. But it may be observ'd, that in after times it was expressly forbidden by the Emperours, *Gratian*, *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* to venter to Sea, from November till April; as also by the Kings of Scotland, from *St. Jude's* day till *Candlemas*; As *Wellwood* observes in his learned *Abridgment of Sea Laws*. *Tit. 7.*

20. Kings on their Sabbaths bare-foot go, &c. *Observant ubi festa mero pede Sabbata reges*, *Lilius Giraldus* (*Dialogism. 10.*) shews out of *Josephus*, *lib. 2. de Bello Judaico*, *cap. 15.* that it was among the Jews a custome for those that were Sick, or in other extremities, after their escape to pay their vow;

namely by praying certain days before they offer'd their sacrifice; by abstaining from wine, by shaving off their hair, and performing the sacred rites bare-footed, as *Berenice* King *Agrippa's* Sister did, when she came to Jerusalem. Which story seems to be here implied both by the word *reges* and the mention of *Agrippa* here. Yet it was a general rite among both the Greeks, the Romans and Barbarians, also to celebrate a feast call'd *γυμνοδία*, or *nudipedalia*, as *De la Cerda* in his *Adversar. cap. 57.* shews out of *Tertullian*, *Florus*, *Ovid*, and from this of *Juvenal*. *Demphster* on *Rosinus*, *lib. 5. cap. 36.* thinks these rites were instituted in time of a great drought to obtain rain; as may seem to be implied in that of *Tertullian*. *Apolog. cap. 40.* *Denique cum ab imbris aestiva, hiberna suspendunt, & annus in cura est, Aqualicia Jovi immolatis, nudipedalia populo denunciatis, celum apud Capitolium quarunt, nubila de laquearibus expectant, aversi ab ipso Deo & Calo.* Concerning this Feast the reader may see *Cerda* on *Virgil*, and *Scaliger de Emendar. Temp. lib. 3. pag. 223. de Anno Priscorum Hebræorum Abrahamæ*.

21. Spare Paan, Goddess spare, &c. *Parce precor Paan, & Tu depone sagitta, &c.* The Poet here inveighing against the pride of Women, and particularly of *Cornelia* the mother of the *Gracchi*, though otherwise a woman of excellent endowments, boasting of the Victories and Triumphs of her Ancestors, adds also the example of *Niobe* (the wife of *Amphion* the Theban): who being singularly fruitful (some saying, to omit other reports, that she had 14, others 21 sons and daughters) grew so proud, that as the Poets tell us, she reprehended the Theban women for offering sacrifice to *Latona*, though the Mother of *Apollo* and *Diana*, saying it was sifter they should offer it to her. For which contempt, as the fable has it, these Deities flew with darts all her children, as they were playing before the gate of Thebes: at which sight *Amphion* is here brought in by the Poet, crying out to *Apollo* and *Diana*, that they would spare his innocent children, and strike his wife, that had offended them; but, as the fable goes on, she was turn'd into a stone, and he died of grief. But for the farther aggravation of her pride, the Poet adds, that she scorn'd not only *Latona*, as less fruitful, but even the white Sow, *Candida Scrofa* made famous by *Virgil*; which at *Lavinium* brought a litter of 30. white Pigs, thereby portending to *Eneas*, that after 30. years, the *Lavinians* should build a town call'd *Alba*; which afterwards *Acanus* built, and call'd it *Alba longa*, propter colorem suis & loci naturam, says *Varro*, *de Ling. Lat. lib. 4.* These parcels of fable, though indifferently known, seem'd necessary to be touch'd, in respect of the less skillful reader. As for the word *Scrofa*, it is by many thought to be fictitious, form'd from the sound or note of Swine.

22. A meer She-Cecrops, *Mera Cecropis*. This also to the ordinary reader may seem a little dark, though otherwise clear enough, signifying here but a very *Arbenian*; from *Cecrops* King of *Arbenis*.

23. — *Ut tamen omnes subsident penna*; or *penna*, as some copies have it. This passage has much troubled the Interpreters (except some few that indeed ne're touch it) concerning which the *Scholast* being imperfect and somewhat unclear, I omit him. *Britannicus* points it thus (according to the *Paris Edition*) — *Digitos habet, ut tamen omnes subsident penna*; expounding it that such words were excessive tempraion; adding also, *Est autem metaphorica sumpta ab avibus, qua compositis alis & pennis sedent*: which intimation though obscure, may yet, as in the

conclusion may appear, give occasion of farther conjecture. But the ordinary pointing is this, *Digitos habet. Ut tamen omnes subsidant penna, dicas hac mollius Hamo, Quamquam & Carpopboro, facies tua comptas annos.* One Manuscript in the Margin expounds *subsidant penna* by *subiacent pili*, adding *culpat turpitudinem annuum, qua jam asperis & duris pilis adhuc pruriunt*, and two other Manuscripts likewise by *penna* understand *pili*. The Manuscript Commentary has, *licet pili laterent* (so it expounds *subsidant*) *facies tamen atatem proderet*. The one implies, that he should say, Though her aged hair were not grown brisly (according to that expression in the second Satyre, *Hispida membra quidem & dura per brachia feta*) the other, Though her aged or gray hair were not seen, yet her wrinkled face would betray her old age. This exposition were indifferent good, if the Poet did not imply by *subsidant penna* an excessive temptation, increas'd also in the next words, *Dicas hac mollius Hamo, &c.* which aggravation were lost, if the place were expounded thus, that only her hair was not yet grown brisly. Lubin says here, *Hac ita explico (nam interpretes vix Oedipus intellexerit.) Quamvis — omnes libidinis pruriges subsidant, & inferius — dilabuntur: — vel irrides irritum conatum vetularum, que ut vel maxime omnes ingenii nervos adhibeant & gracum sermonem mollissime pronunciant, &c.* In which words though he gives a double exposition of *subsidant penna* by *libidinis pruriges* and *ingenii nervos*; yet for farther satisfaction he adds, *Metaphora ab avibus, Ingenii nervi vel pinnae quasi ex superiori loco deorsum vocentur. Possimus etiam pinnas hoc loco intelligere in cacumine surrium rotundos apices. i.e. Quamvis illa que suprema sunt sermone tuo quasi deorsum voces, videtur esse proverbialis quadam figura.* Which last expositions seem more to need an Oedipus, then those which he rejects. With like liberty to add farther conjecture, Britannicus his words, *Est autem metaphora ab avibus, que compositis alis & pennis sedent*, may methinks yeild a sufficient and easy exposition. For though they are generally, and so somewhat obscurely, deliver'd, yet it may be remembred from the third Satyre, that our Poet uses there a metaphora from the noise of the Cock, *quo mardetur gallina marito* (vers. 91.) and here in like libertie he seems on the like occasion to borrow an expression from the nature of the hen, saying that though this old trot behaved her self as it were *subsidantibus pennis*, with sinking or yeilding wings, that is proportionally with aptest invitation, whereby she might seem young, yet her wrinkles betray her; yea though she should use all art of voice, like the most skilful and impure Mimicks *Hamus* and *Carpophorus*.

24. Why loose thy Feast and Wine-cakes, when thy friends half-cloy'd depart? — *Nec est, quare cenam & mustacea perdas, Labente officio, crudis donanda.* The Poet mentions here some less obvious rites at Marriages, as giving the guests Wine-cakes at their departure, and giving the bride golden coin in a charger; which he expresses by the Emperor Domitian's Inscriptions or Titles stamp'd upon it, for his victories over the *Dacians*, and *Germans*; the *Catti*, (now call'd the *Hossians*) mentioned by Sueton, in his Life, cap. 6. being *Germans*: And here we may not omit what Dempster on *Roginus*, lib. 5. cap. 39. observes out of Symmachus (lib. 4. epist. 4. and lib. 9. epist. 96.) *non eadem tamen facilitate purgabis, quod filii nostri Minervii nuptias aliorum potius colatu, quam literis tuis comperi? an veritus es ne de nimis a cusu desiderarem? potui iacturam sportula facere.* Whence he collects, that at Marriages they

made not only a Feast, but also bestow'd on the guests coins purposely stamp'd with the resemblances of the Bride-groom or Bride, or both; which he points out with this close, *Quid nescio an ex alio cuiusquam scriptoris loco probari possit.* But for the farther illustration of the Poet in this place we must add, that whereas some expound *labente officio* by *officio stomachi*, because here follows *crudis donanda*, (all which words some leave out unexpounded) it is quite beside the receiv'd use of the word *officium*, as may appear from *Britannicus*; who having expounded it *de officio amicorum* Shews the use of the word in this sense, for the attendance of friends at a wedding, from Sueton (in his *Caligula*, cap. 25.) saying, *Liviam Orestillam C. Pisoni nubentem, quam ad officium & ipse venisset, ad se deduci imperavit*; and from that of Juvenal, (Sat. 2.)

— *Officium erat*

Primo sole mihi peragendum in valle Quirini:

Qua causa officii? quid queris? nubit amicis.

25. Whom thy gate heretofore Knew bearded. — *Cujus barbam tua janua vidit*; that is, whom thou knew'st, when he was young; it being a custome of the Romans (excepting Philosophers, and others in time of mourning and in some like cases) to shave-off their beards (and as some more especially determine it) at one and twenty. Thus all the Roman Emperors were shav'd until *Adrian*, who brought-in the custome of wearing beards; as *Pancirollus* (lib. 1. de *Fibula*, tit. 44.) notes out of *Xiphiline* the Epitomizer of *Dion*. Of the custome of Shaving, *Agellius* makes mention, lib. 3. cap. 4. where having in this argument spoken of *Scipio*, that conquer'd *Carthage*, he adds, *Comperimus autem ceteros quoque in iisdem temporibus nobiles viros barbam in ejusmodi aetate rasavisse: idcircoque pleraque imagines veterum non admodum senum, sed in medio aetatis ita factas videmus.* Yet *Sat. 4. Illustrat. 17.* I having observ'd the contrary out of *Varro* (de *Re Rustica* lib. 2. cap. ult.) it will be needful here to allege his words. Speaking then of the year of Rome CCCCLIII. wherein Barbers were first brought to the City, he says, *Olim tonsures non fuisse adsignificat antiquorum statue, quod pleraque habent capillum & barbam magnam.* Which seeming contrarietie between them (the one saying that the statues of the ancients were without beards, the other denying it) being not taken notice of, by their refiners (*Scaliger* and *Stephanus*) seeing likewise that *Pancirollus*, *Salmuth* and *Dempster* deliver *Agellius* his observation for a truth without taking notice of *Varro's* different assertion, and lastly that *Agellius* his rule sorts best with this passage of *Juvenal*, it is but necessary to find a reconciliation. First then, though they seem contrary, I hold them both to be true; and that the truth of each appears from *Juvenal*; a passage in his 4. Sat. agreeing with *Varro*, and this with *Agellius*. Secondly they must be understood of sundry Ages of the Roman state; *Olim* in *Varro* must have reference to the times before the year of Rome, 454. in which Barbers were brought thither; and and not reach to the time wherein *Varro* himself flourish'd, who was Consul in the year of Rome 680. and so *Agellius* his assertion must take place after the year 454. and continue in statue and custome to his own time, that is, till the year of Rome, 864. in which he flourish'd; which year reaches within five years of *Adrian's* time. Yet this caution may be observ'd, that neither *Varro* nor *Agellius* make the wearing of beards, or Shaving to be Universal Customs; and therefore it is less warily said by *Pancirollus*,

Pancirollus, Romani Omnes radebantur. And this, methinks, appears from the word *pleraque* in *Varro* speaking of *stamina*, and likewise by *pleraque imagines* in *Agellius*. Which caution is necessary in respect of *Juvenal's* statue which is express'd with a beard: which though we might in part defend by his *Philosophical* life; yet seeing that he never assum'd that profession to himself, nay rather seems to decline it in his discourse to *Calvinus*, *Sat. 13. v. 121.* we may leave the cause of it to his *Liberty* & choice, or rather to his old age, which *Agellius* in some sort seems to exempt from the custom of *Shaving*, whiles he says, *non admodum senum.*

26. A Cross raise straight, &c. *Fone crucem servo.* These are the words of a cruel wife brought in here by the Poet speaking against a faulty servant, upon occasion of the power of life and death, which, among the *Romans*, masters had over their servants. Then follow the words of the husband mitigating the business; *Meruit quo crimine, &c.* The next is the reply of the wife, *O demens! Ita servus homo est?* Fool, is a slave a man? which interlocutory passage was somewhat needful to be pointed-out. In the matter it self two things may be observ'd; First her *Cruelty* in the punishment, which she calls for against the servant; namely *Extrem* and *Shameful*, the Cross, which strictly they were said *ponere*, to set, because the foot of it was fasten'd in the ground; the form of which punishment (commonly servile) needs no description, it being so commonly known, and purposely written-on by *Lipsius*, *Greiser* and *Bosius*; by whom the reader may be voluminously satisfied: Secondly her *Scorn* of her servant and husband; This being in her account but a *Mad-man*, and That not a *Man*, according to those words, *O demens! Ita servus homo est?* Fool, or Madman! Is a Slave a Man? strange contempt! Yet scarce more strange, then that of *Florus* (if we consider it deliver'd by such a writer) who in his *History*, *lib. 3. cap. 20.* speaking of Servants says, *nam & ipsi per fortunam in omnia obnoxii tamen secundum hominum genus sunt.* Yet less strange is this speech, then the *practices* of the Spaniards (as *Mr. Purchas* relates in his *Pilgrimage*, *lib. 8. cap. 15.* upon the testimonie of *Bartholomew de las Casas* a Spanish frier and afterwards a Bishop in America) who, if a *West-Indian* employ'd by them fainted under his burden, least they should loose time in opening the chain wherein he was tied, smote-off the head and so let the body fall-out; and sometimes layd wagers, who could with most dexteritie strike-off an *Indian's* head, or smite him a funder in the middle. But concerning the sweet moderation to be us'd towards Servants, see the excellent discourse of *Macrobius*, *Satur.* *lib. 1. cap. 11.* And here concerning the use of the word *Homo* it may be observ'd, that whereas in this place *servus* and *homo* seem to be us'd by way of opposition, *Homo* notwithstanding is sometimes us'd for *servus*, as *Pignorum*, *de servis*, p. 28. observes out of *Catullus*, *carm. 10. Ere comparati Ad Ictitica homines.* So *St. Austin*, *Epist. 56. homo tuus*, your *Man*, or *Servant*; so *Andronicus* was us'd by the later *Gracians*; see *De la Cerda* in his *Advers. Sacr. cap. 146. num. 12.* For other acceptions of the word *homo*; see *Sat. 2. Illustrat. 32.*

27. Shee eight husbands takes, &c. The Poet here implies the great abuse of divorces among the *Romans*, which were grown so common, that some wanton dames, as he says, were no sooner married, but straight, whiles yet the wedding ornaments did dress the house, they would leave their hus-

bands and take new, and thus in five years eight husbands, as he says. Which number he does not mention carelessly, but purposely, that being the bound of divorces permitted by Law. Beyond that number was accounted adultery, according to that of *Martial*, *lib. 6. epig. 7.*

*Aut minus, aut certe non plus, tricesima lux est,
Et nubit decimo jam Telesina viro.*

Qua nubit toties, non nubit: adultera lege est.

But *Lipsius* citing this passage upon *Seneca*, *de Benef. lib. 3. cap. 16. annot. 97.* makes it far more odious, reading the verse thus, (differently from the common copies) *Aut minus, aut certe non jam vigesima lux est.* *Seneca* in that place is very bitter, saying *Numquid jam ulla repudio erubescit, postquam illustres quadam ac nobiles famina non consulum numero, sed maritorum, annos suos computant?* Divorces indeed were somewhat restrain'd in *Augustus* his time, as *Sueton* notes: yet lust and licentiousness over-rul'd the Law, as may appear by that above cited from *Martial*. Now such a number of husbands, says *Juvenal* ironically, would be a fine Epitaph for a *Roman* dame, — *titulo res digna sepulchri*; implying a custom, as *Britannicus* notes, of writing upon the Wife's tombe the number of her husbands, according to that of *Martial*,

Inscriptis tumulo septem celebrata virorum,

Se fecisse Chloë, quid pote simplicius.

And here may be remembered what *Valla* (cited by *Lubin*) relates of a married couple in *Italy*, where-of the Man had buried 20. wives, and the Woman had buried 21. husbands; that the conclusion of the business and expectation was, that the Man at last buried the wife, and so became even with her.

28. —By meer skill

Or bribe, shee'll tame the keepers; and then call
Archigenes, though she be well, and all
The heavier bed-clothes cast aside—.

Decipit illa

Custodes, aut are domat: tunc corpore sano

Advocat Archigenam anerosaque pallia jactat.

The Interpreters differ in the exposition of this passage; which therefore it will be fit briefly to clear. The Poet sets-forth here the arts of one's wife's mother leudly for gain teaching her daughter to entertain adulterers; so that by *illa*, which is three several times us'd by the Poet in this place, must be understood *scelus*, the Wife's mother, who is here said, by art or bribe to master the keepers, which jealous husbands us'd to set over their wives. In which description, *Lubin* and some others would have those words *corpore sano* to be understood of the wife, and those *Advocat Archigenam anerosaque pallia jactat* to be understood of the mother; who fainign her daughter to be sick, would send for an *Archigenes* a Physician (one famous in *Dominian's* time) and subtilly remove the bedding from her faint daughter; but under this pretence instead of a Physician admit an adulterer. But I think the *Scholiast's* interpretation (follow'd also by *Britannicus*) to be better, who expounds it only of the wife's mother; and indeed the construction of the words does necessarily carry it. So that the sense cannot naturally be, *corpore sano* the daughter being well the mother sends for the Physician; but the mother her self being well pretends sickness, that so under a colour of a necessary attendance on the mother supposed to be ill, the daughter might subtilly meet with an adulterer under the shape of a Physician. Which sense, methinks, may not inconveniently seem to be intimated in the last

words *onerofaque pallia jactat*; not that the mother casts them off from the daughter, but from her self faignedly ill, being indeed *corpore sano*, as may appear from the weight of the cloths which were *onerofa*, and from her strength in tossing them aside, implied in the word *jactat*. It may be farther noted concerning the word *pallia*, that some take it here for *bed-cloths*, as I have shew'd, *Sat. 1. Illustrat. 2.* though properly it signifies *mantles*; and so *Britannicus* takes it for the many and thicker garments, which sick folk usually endure for fear of cold. In which smaller doubt, there being no necessary circumstance in the Poet to determine it, it may be indifferently here interpreted; though I choose the first acception, according to *Antonius Augustinus* and *Pasferatius*. And peradventure I may confirm my choice (and so their interpretation) from this conjecture, that (to me) it seems more satirical to apply it to the mother, implying her greater hypocrisie, that did not only feign her self sick, but even so sick, that she must take her bed.

29. —And the hollow wounds so true, with daily spears, made on a post. —*Aut quis non vidit vulnera pali, Quem cavat assiduus sudibim*, &c. The Poet having shew'd the impudence of Women in the person of one *Manilia*, in pleading of Causes, and in their undertaking to teach *Rhetoricians* themselves, even such as *Celsus*; likewise in the imitation of wrastlers, wearing, like them, rugs after their exercise for fear of catching cold (but purple ones in a wanton pride) in the next place shews their wanton impudence in practising the *Palatia*, an exercise used by the fouldiers at their Camp: which, besides the four ways that crossewise led into it, had a fifth (as *Pancirollus*, lib. 2. *Trinl. 21.* delivers it) which therefore was called *Quintana*, at which they practis'd the *Palatia*, and from whence that exercise was call'd the *Quintana*, in these times with difference corrupted into a sport. That exercise anciently was, a fencing at a stake or post fixt in the ground, but appearing above ground the height of a man, 6 foot, (as *Vegetius* describes it) at which they perform'd all the points of the fencer's art as with an enimie, by way of preparation to a true fight. Such Women then, says the Poet, as are before describ'd, are fitter to act in the *Floridian* sports; where harlots acted with naked impudence. Then sports he with the husband of such a wife, telling him, it would be a fine sight, to see all his wife's armour set forth to sale; among which he mentions *Cruris finistri dimidium segmen*: for, the left leg being in fight more set-forward, they wore harness upon it; yet he calls it but *dimidium segmen*, because it reach'd from the foot but to the mid-thigh, the upper part of the thigh being cover'd with the Shield. He farther jeers at him for his wife's greaves, or leg-harness (properly used by the *Retarii*, or Pursuers, as the *Scholias* notes) which when his puella, his damsel should set to sale, Were not he then (says the Poet) a happy man?

30. The band of her thick-volum'd coats! *Quam densa fascia libro!* I might render it, though not so literally, *The bundle of her thick-rowl'd coats!* He excellently expresses a *Roman virago* repining to have fail'd by receiving a stroak, which she had been taught to avoid: he describes the windings and bendings-back of her body upon her hamms to avoid it, and expresses what a rowle or bundle of coats she had behind her hamms, tied-up for her better activitie, with some ribband, or band, ac-

cording to that of *Martial*, *Harpago quoque subligata ludit*. In which expression he compares the bundle of her coats tied-up behind her, to a great book or volume; their books anciently being rowl'd-up, as one rowles-up a sheet of paper, beginning at one side or edge of it. Which fashion is to be seen in the copies in the *Vatican Library*; and is still the custome of the *Jews*, as *Schascus* lays in his *Myrothec. lib. 1. cap. 38.* —*ut ad hac usque tempora, sacram legem non nisi in volumine servant: atque non nisi explicato volumine legant*: though now they have manuscripts Bibles [for private use] and bound-up as our ordinary books; mov'd to such change, it seems, from the conveniency of the use. It may be farther remember'd for the help of the ordinary reader, that to one side of the roll was fastned a smooth and round peice of wood, horn, or bone (like a small staffe) about which the leaves were rowl'd; which being in the middle of the book, when rowl'd-up, was by similitude call'd *umbilicus*, or the Navel; the ends whereof were call'd *cornua*, or the horns. This may be seen also in our publick Library at *Oxford*; where there is the book of *Esther* so written in Hebrew in a roll consisting of eighteen pages in a *Quarto*-form, all set [like wainscot pannels] in a row, from the right hand to the left; and so the staffe is fastned to the edge on the left side, which is the end of the roll. There are also *Latin* rolls, but different from the former in this; that these begin and so are unroll'd downwards and in that manner are read, the staffe being fastned to the bottome-edge. Yet we may especially observe with the learned *Aldus Manutius*, [*de Quæsiis per Epist. lib. 2. Epist. De Epistola*, p. 237.] that *Letters* (Epistles) which sometimes consisted of one, sometimes more pages were foulded-up; whence they were said *involvere libros*, and *complicare Epistolas*; though when they would preserve or Lay-up letters, they rowl'd-up Them also. The greatest breadth of a page did not exceed 13. fingers in breadth, as *Pliny* notes, *lib. 13. cap. 13.* Whereas then, some conversant in Antiquities, think that the roll was sometimes 20. cubits long, and 10. broad [which would impie a proportional excess of every page] urging for it, *Zachary, 3. 2.* I think it to be a misinterpretation: that expression in the prophet being extraordinary, and so a figurative speech; 20. common cubits being ten yards in length, and so 10. cubits being 5 yards for the breadth, which dimensions figuratively imply the amplitude of the punishments due to the sins of *Jerusalem*, nay, of mankind, as *St. Jerom* enlarges it saying, *volumen autem volans ostenditur in quo omnium peccata descripta sunt: ut unusquisque recipiat secundum opera sua, sive bonum, sive malum*. To proceed then with our Author; after this description of an impudent dame the Poet jeers at her for using the *scaphium*: which impudence in a publick use of it, and at feasts, came from the infamous *Sybarites*, as *Isaac Casaubon* notes on *Athenam*, lib. 1. cap. 14. Then with exclamation he disdains that such things should be done by Women of good Rank, which even the wife of impudent *Astus* the Fencer would blush to do.

31. Fond Sparrow, that is, Hedge-sparrow. *Curruca*. He means, Fond cuckold; the *curruca*, *Curruca* (as *Aristotle* reports, lib. 6. de *Natura Animalium*.) being a bird in whose nest the cuckow lays eggs, which the silly *curruca* hatches. Upon which word *Lubin* rightly says, *similis ex avi curruca, quæ aliena cuculi ova pro propriis fovet & excludit, ita tu alienos liberos pro tuis*; yet in his annotation immediately

precedent,

precedent, on those words, *Tu tibi tunc curruca*, he says, *Tu O miserrime cucule gaudes & tibi places, quod uxorem consequutus sis, qua tanto tui amore teneatur.* In which words not without a mistake, because contrary to the intent of the Poet, he calls the husband, *cuculus*: when as *cuculus* implies the crafty bird, and so the adulterer, but *curruca* the silly bird, and so the abus'd husband.

32. I me Woman. *Homo sum.* Of this see largely, *Sat. 2. Illustrat. 32.* and on this *Satyre, Illustrat. 26.* See also *Cerda, Advers. Sacr. cap. 110. num. 6.* alleging *Gen. 1.* in the Latin, *creavit deus hominem, &c. Marem & feminam creavit eos*; according to which more general acception, *Homo sum* might be rendred, *I me flesh and blood*; but he seems rather to aim at the frailtie of the female sex, according to the purpose of the whole *Satyre*; and therefore here I choose to render it, *I me Woman.*

33. —Since to These Hills have flow'd, &c. *Hinc fluxit ad istos Et Sybaris colles: hinc & Rhodos & Miletos, &c.* I might render it more literally, *Hence to These Hills have flow'd, &c.* But because that way of expression is somewhat more ambiguous in the Latin, and that he speaks of Time in the immediately precedent words, —*Ex quo Paupertas Romana perit*, I rather render'd it by the Time. The intent of the Poet is to shew, that since the Roman Dames have been free from the fear of an Hannibal (at whose being within three miles of Rome, their husbands were fain to stand in arms on the Colline Hill for the defence of the City) Thrift has been expell'd, and all riot has broken in. Since, says he, or Hence, (that is, from Plenty and the expulsion of Thrift) the vices of the leud Sybarites, Miletians, Rhodians, Tarentines, and such like have followed to these hills, on which Rome is built. For this is the best Reading (as *Parthasius* has it) *Fluxit ad istos—colles*; not as some, *ad istos*, or as others, *ad Indos*, without any congruous sense, as the word *colles* may sufficiently implice. But I marvel that *Britannicus* chooses that Reading, *ad istos*; for he himself making the sense to be, that the vices of Rome had corrupted the *Istrians* (whereby he must implice the Romans to be the worse, as being the Corrupters of others) he does by his instance in this place prove the contrary; namely, that the *Istrians* corrupted the Romans. For he says, speaking upon the authoritie of *Festus Pompeius*, that from the *Histri*, Players were first call'd *Histriones* (though I know that some make *Hister* an old Tuscan word of the same sense) adding, *quod primum illinc venerint, ut inde appareat eos molliter vixisse.* So that this *mollities*, as He makes it, flow'd from the *Istrians* to the Romans; whereas the Poet's purpose (as he farther enlarges himself) was to shew, that though the Romans had overcome others by the sword, yet they themselves were overcome by the Vices of those, whom they had overcome; *Savior armis luxuria incubuit, vitiumque ulciscitur orbem*; that Riot did revenge the cause of the poor conquer'd world and now as fiercely wast'd the conquering Romans. And here the Reader may farther observe, to preserve himself from mistake, that *Miletos* here mention'd does not, as *Lubin* and after him some others tell us, signifie *Malta* an Island in the Sicilian Sea [call'd *Melire*, *Ant. 28. 1.*] but a City call'd *Miletus*, the Metropolis of *Caria* in *Asia* the less, as *Mercator*, and others better instruct us.

34. When *Falerne* Wine with Ointments dash'd does sweat Perfume. *Cam persusa viro sumant unguenta Falerno.* The Poet taxes here the excess of

his times, wherein they had not only plenty of wine and sweet ointments, but also a mixture; and so not only were anointed with such rich ointments, but also drank them, as *Pliny* (*lib. 31.*) observes with some indignation, saying, *At Hercules jam quidam etiam in potu addunt* (speaking of ointments) *tantique amaritudo est, ut odore prodigo fruantur ex utraque parte corporis exteriore scilicet & interiore.* Yet to speak strictly, the fault was rather in the abundance, then in the mixture; such kind of wine being allow'd by the compassion of the Law to such as were condemn'd to die, so to abate (as some think) the too accurate apprehension of death. And such, it is thought, was that wine, which was given to our Saviour at his Passion, and call'd by *St. Mark* (*cap. 15. vers. 23.*) *isopurn* *Cuivus* *isus*, *vinum myrrhatum*; whch as *De la Cerda* (in his *Adversar. cap. 177. num. 6.*) thinks was allowed also to the two thieves, that suffer'd with our Saviour. And though some have affirm'd that Wine mixt with myrrhe is unpleasant by reason of the bitterness; *Pliny* *lib. 14. cap. 13.* reckons it not only among Wines, but also among sweet Wines, and for the smell admirable. Indeed *Turnebus, Adversar. lib. 28. cap. 6.* notes that the *Gracians* *Nellar* was call'd *myrrhina potio*, and *myrrhiola*. *St. Jerom* also affirms that Wine mingled with Myrrhe was in it self excellent and comfortable, and so allow'd our Saviour according to the Custome; but that in a scornful malice and against the Custome, it was by his Enemies mixt with Vinegar and Gall. properly then not the mixture of Wine and Myrrhe, but the luxurious and common use of such a precious draught is the vice here chiefly aim'd at by our Poet.

35. —And rewards does winne. —*tollit pendenti pramia coxa.* The Poet having intimated the impurity of some Roman Dames under the names of *Tullia*, *Collatia* and *Maura*, in their secret vileness, yet also in their impudence in jeering at the Goddess *Chastitie* even as they pass'd by her Altar [whereas they should according to Custome on such occasion have put their hand to their lips by way of Adoration, as *Apuleius* implies in his *Apologie*, whiles he accuses *Emilianus* for the constant neglect of it] he enlarges the complaint by instancing in *Lausella* and *Medullina*: of the first of which he says, *tollit pendenti pramia coxa*, that she wonne in an impure contention the reward or prize of her Vice. But some expound *pendenti pramia coxa* by *perna pendenti in carnario*, citing for an inducement to this Exposition that in *Sat. 11.* *Sicci terga suis rara pendenti crate*; and so make the reward to be a Gammon of Bacon. But had that sense been intended by the Poet, he might with more clearness have said *perna*, rather than *coxa*. Besides, to omit other exceptions, though the Scholiast mentions that interpretation, yet as disesteeming it he puts it but in the second place; the more receiv'd and more natural expression being this which I use, though sparingly I render it, somewhat avoiding the other interpretation also of the Scholiast, it being enough to say, that she carried away the prize of her foully weakened, or disjointed hip. And here I cannot but leave my Author, about this place, to an overplus zeal of speech, choosing to contract some things, and leave out some; as particularly, after a few verses, that witty Irony in the word *Anticatones*, the formality of the wit being in the obscenity. Wherefore seeing that they would not be parted, I thought it best to part with them.

36. What Altar from a *Clodius* is now free? *Sed*

nunc ad quas non Clodius arat? An allusion to the story of Clodius [as, amongst others, Plutarch relates it in the life of Caesar] who for the love of Caesar's wife Pompeia, disguised himself like a woman, and so went to the *Sacra* or *Rites* of *Bona dea* [to which none might be admitted but women]: at which, though perform'd in Caesar's own house, [he being then *Summus Pontifex*] he venterously obtain'd his adulterous purpose.

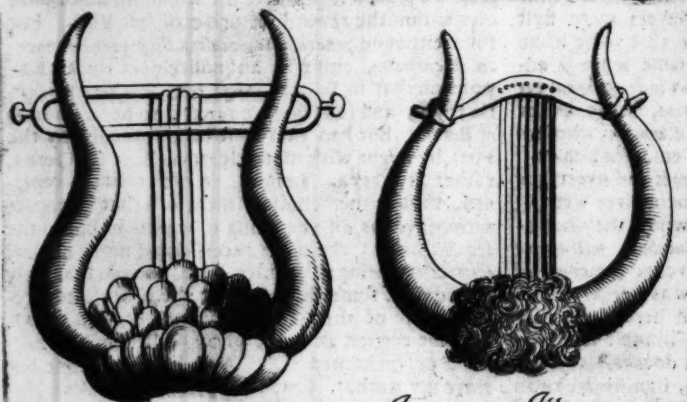
37. But who shall keep the Keepers? Eunuchs that attended on their Ladies chamber, called *Custodes*. Which kind of service intended for the preservation of the Wives chastity, did belong sometimes to the *Papæ*, who was the instructor of their children, as Pignorius observes, *de Servis*, pag. 188.

38. Some of more art have Eunuchs. Yet some even of the Heathen have been so chastly severe, as to teach that the society of man and woman should not be for pleasure but issue. So taught Ocellus Lucanus the Scholar of Pythagoras, in his Book *Dei & de moribus hominum*, xiv. 8. publish'd with Annotations by Nogarola. Some verses following I omit, so might my Author: but the boldness of their Vice added boldness to his Indignation.

39. His burton will not hold. *Nullius fibula durat Vocem vendentis Prætoribus*. See the 11th Illustrat. of this Satyre.

40. For a base Harper to be veil'd. *Pro Cithara velare caput*. The Poet here sets forth the singular impudence of some Roman Ladies, that sham'd not to consult the Gods and solemnly perform all the Rites requisite in such cases, for a base paramour, even a Harper; for so is *Cithara* here taken for *Citharæus*, the instrument for the Person. Concerning the Instrument it self it may be observ'd, that *Ḳinnor* in the Hebrew, Gen. 4. 21. as also *Psal.* 150. 3. Is in the Latin Bible render'd by *Cithara* (or, as Arias Montanus, 1 Sam. 16. 16. has it, by *Cinnara*) and in the English by a *Harp*. which I urge not only for the justifying of the translation; but also occasionally to shew, that the Instrument, which we commonly call a *Citherne*, is most probably, a little before, call'd *testudo*, (though I render it according to the vulgar acception, a Lute) in that passage of our Author, — *densi radiant testudine tota Sardonyches*—. Which name *testudo* us'd most commonly, yet but figuratively, for the Lute, from

the arch'd form of it like a *Tortoise-shell*, is indeed applicable to any such vaulted instrument, and by some I find it expressly render'd, a *Cithernæ*, which acception, as in this Author it is express'd, may seem according to the Musick of these times, most aptly to claim this translation, it being said of the *testudo*, — *Crispo numerantur pelline chordæ*, and afterwards, *grato plestro*: the *plestrum* (whether made of a quill, or hair, as some tell us) seeming not so convenient, as the fingers themselves, for the playing upon an instrument of so many strings as the Lute has, in respect of the Expedition of the Touch and the Distinction of the strings, with which endeavor of preventing ambiguity in this argument we may the rather rest satisfied; there being in the distinction of the ancient Musical instruments, even amongst the most inquisitive Antiquaries, great perplexity. In the form of the Harp, it may be farther observ'd, that there was diversitie; some saying that it was anciently of a triangular fashion, like the Greek letter Δ, as St. Jeron testifies, *Epist.* 28. (if that Epistle be his) an inverted Δ being indeed somewhat like the modern Harp; Others affirming that it resembled the head of a Goat, the two sides being like the horns, & the bottome like the head it self, with a flat basis on which conveniently it might be set. Towards the upper part of the horns there passed from the one to the other a peice of wood, which they call'd *jugum*, unto which the stringes were fastned. This form of the Harp does appear in some of the Coins publish'd by Goltzius; and these Harps had at the first but four strings, though afterwards seven or eight, but not above, in the ancient coins of Nero and others. According to which paucity of strings that of Ovid speaking of a woman (*De Arte Amandi*, lib. 3.) *Nec plestrum dextra, citharam tenuisse sinistra Nesciat*, may be conveniently understood, implying the manner of playing upon the Harp with a quill. But at last the Harp had sometimes 24 strings, or more, which is more suitable to our modern harps. Besides, some mention it as a thing not material, whether the strings were of wier or not; for so indifferently speaks *Mersennus* (in *Genes. Quest.* 56, column. 1524.) of the *Cithara*; *Suppono 24 chordis, five aneis, five alterius materia parum refert, instrumentum fuisse*; where he expresses in picture both the ancient flat-bottom'd Harp, and



Juv. Sat. VI. Illustr. 40.

tion. The *aruspex* also that made enquiry for them did stand: whereupon the Poet pleasantly says, that if so many of them trouble him, they will surely make him crook-legg'd, that is, with too much

standing. They repeated also certain words after the *Aruspex*: and by the way we may take notice of Juvenal's estimation of the *Ethnick* Deities, whilst he says, *Te Gods for ought I see just nothing do*.

41. The

also the modern, Column. 1527. To omit the fashion of the modern Harp as sufficiently known, I have here represented the ancient fashion as it is in Pignorius (*de Servis*, pag. 86.) and likewise with small difference, in *Titus* his Assertion, lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 10. * See also *Persius*, Sat. 6. Illustrat. 1. That which is farther implied by our Author in the words *velare caput*, is from the custome of the Ancients in their consulting their Gods; before whom they stood veil'd, as the Poet here says: of which custome see *Alexander Neapol.* lib. 2. cap. 22. and lib. 4. c. 17. and *Dempster* on *Rosinus*, lib. 3. c. 33. who, concerning their standing, shews in some case an excep-

41. The Comet that did bring Fear to the Armenian and the Parthian King; that is, to the enemies of the Roman Empire, says *Britannicus* rightly, yet but generally. *Lubin* refers it more particularly to the reign of *Trajan*, who undertook an expedition against the Armenians and Parthians: yet this his opinion may seem less probable, because *Juvenal* was about the sixtieth year of his age in the beginning of *Trajan's* reign; but the vigour of this Satyre seems more agreeable to the younger vigour of his life and wit. Secondly, though such a War was in *Trajan's* time, yet there is no Comet then pointed at. Wherefore it may most conveniently be referred to a Comet in *Vespasian's* time: of which, when it was shew'd to him, he jestingly said, *This prodigy belongs to the Parthian, that wears long hair*; but *Vespasian* died shortly after. The Poet here farther inveighs against some Roman dames, that were impudent News-makers, as he implies in the word *facit* in that passage, — *quosdam facit esse Niphatem in populos* — (one saigns, that the great Armenian River *Niphates* has rush'd upon or overwhelm'd much people); adding that their Phansie and Tongue committed more such outrage of News.

42. By night. *Balnea nocte subit*. In the description of a rich disorderly woman, the Poet implies divers Roman Customs and their Order; as, their repairing to the Bath before Supper (but by this Dame desert'd till late in the night, as he intimates by the Guests staying for her return, till they were as much oppress'd with sleep, as with hunger); Then their exercising themselves there with an heavy mass of lead in their hands, to procure sweating (such weights they call'd *strepus* from *strepere*, because they used them in leaping; *Seneca* mentions them, *Epist. 37.*) Next, their being anointed, (as this dame was here, but by a Male attendant; in which passage I a little veil'd my Authour); After which preparations, the Use of the Bath it self; and lastly (after their Bathing and before Supper) their emptying of their stomachs. Which last custom was call'd *emesis* being a foul practice of pouring down liquor without breathing, and then vomiting it up again; a thing hurtful to the eyes, and making the body costive; and justly here reprehended in the Roman dames; as *Parthianus* notes, *Epist. 26.* Yet whereas the Poet says, that this dame had an *aspirer*, or an unpointed which was a man; this was the vileness but of some few: this office being performed to modest matrons by maidens.

44. Which being wash'd, the draught Returnis; and on the floor is dash'd. *Dum redit, ex loto terram ferit intestino*. The Poet expressing that this ruddy Dame thirsted for a flaggon full of Wine (*anophorum*, as it is commonly expounded) and drank before Supper, for the cleansing of her stomach, a double draught of Wine, each (*senarius*) about a pint and a half, prosecutes it saying, the draught through offense of stomach returned, or was cast up againe, and wash'd the marble pavement; thus aggravating the excess, (as some heighten it) as if she had cast up not only the Wine, with such fierce provocation. But whereas *Britannicus* observes from the words *admodum pedibus*, that it was bad Wine, and so such as she intended to vomit, because it was set at her foot; it seems rather to have been placed so only in a scornful state, (as the quantity of the Vessel implies, it being an Urn of Wine, four gallons and an half;) and such a luxurious Dame no doubt disdain'd to drink bad Wine, especially the loving Wine, (as the Poet expresses it) as eagerly as the Serpent is said to do.

43. To raise fierce stomach. *Rabidam fasturus orexin*. Such a greedy appetite, as the Cretians are taxed for; according to some, in that of their Country-man *Epimenides* cited by *St. Paul*, (*Tit. 1. 12.*) *ορεξιν εχοντες, και διαβουλα, κατιστασιν αγγραια*. Which last words though they are commonly render'd, *slow bellies*, and though *αγγραια* often signifies *ignavus* and *albus*, yet as *Gulielmus Canterus* (*Novar. Lectio. lib. 1. cap. 15.*) observes, it signifies also not seldom, *velox* and *avidus*, implying such an *orexin* as is here mentioned. And so *αγγραια* in the Poets, as he notes, may signifie not white dogs, but eager and swift, as *αδραγειν*, sodainly or quickly forgetful. Thus in this of *St. Paul* (according to him) it shall signifie eager and devouring bellies, which otherwise are called *μαργα*. And therefore *Canterus* thinks, that *Epimenides* used the word *αγγραια* instead of *μαργα*, only for the necessity of his verse; and *Phavorinus* interpreting this verse, expounds *κατιστασιν αγγραια*, (for so he reads it, and more strictly, not *αγγραια*, but *αγγραια*) by *καταειμαρτυρε*. *Canterus* the rather dislikes the common exposition, there being no great reprehension, as he says, in the term *slow bellies*; but when the belly, says he, is taken in an ill sense, nothing that is disgraceful is usually added to it. Yet then by his leave, what needed *Epimenides* to have added *αγγραια* or *μαργα*? or else his expression is unusual.

45. And in the other *Homer* weigh. *Argue alia parte in trutinâ suspendis Homerum*. Some think that in *Juvenal's* judgment *Homer* was esteem'd the lighter, because of the word *suspendis*, as implying, that *Homer* hang'd in the Scale, and so that the other, as more weighty, sunk. Which, though it has been granted by some eminent Criticks, and happily is not disagreeable from our Poets judgment, yet I think it not sufficiently prov'd from the word *suspendis* here used: seeing that in a double testimony of *Persius*, it is used in so different a sense, that not only it does not, but in those places it can not signify so; as namely in that of *Sat. 4.* — *gemina suspendere lance ancipiti libra* —. And in that of *Sat. 5.* *Aequali suspendis rempora libra*; where *ancipiti* and *Aequali* utterly make void any such acception of the word *suspendis* in these places. But as for the controversy, it has indeed more generally been carried for *Maro*; though if the question be respectively propos'd for the age in which they writ, the glory may be *Homer's*, who was not only without peer, but without pattern. And though some have pointed out some blemishes in his work, are they more visible, then *Virgil's* anachronism in laying together the stories of *Aeneas* and *Dido*; whereas he came into Italy, according to the best Chronologers, above three hundred years before *Carthage* was built? But *Juvenal* seems, as some understand him, to flout at them both in diverse passages of his Satyres; as at *Homer*, *Sat. 13. vers. 112.* and 113. in those words, — *Ut Steniora vincere possis, vel potius quantum Gradivus Homericus*; because *Homer Iliad. 5.* makes *Stenor* to out-try 30. men; and *Mars* being wounded to roar louder then 9. or 10. thousand; In like manner at *Maro*, *Sat. 9. vers. 63.* and 64. in those words, — *sed appellat puer anicis, ut Polybemi East acies, per quam solers evasit Ulysses*; as if the *Graius* eye, had been so broad, that *Ulysses* had scap'd through it; but of this in its place. But apparently and vehemently he inveighs in his first Satyre against all writers of elegant and unprofitable fictions.

46. All stand mute. *Omnis turba silet. Totum convivium*, says *Lubin*, *illa loquente silet*. It may more gene-

generally be understood of any company met together, and rather by chance, than as at a Feast, to which the word *turba* seems not so well to agree. Nor yet may we think, that it ought to be strain'd to signify a rout or uproar, as if he would imply, that she outshouted them; for this were not suitable to the degrees of aggravation which follow, when he says by way of increase, that neither Lawyer, Crier, nor another woman out-spake her. More generally therefore it may be render'd, of many met together, *All stand mute.*

47. So many bells. *Tot tintinnabula. Pancirollus, lib. 2. tit. 9.* refers the invention of Bells to Paulinus Bishop of Nola, about the year of Christ, 400; but He rather changed the use of them to religious purposes. For, their great Antiquity is well shew'd by Adrian Junius in his *Adversus. lib. 3. cap. 11.* who shews out of the ancient Scholiast upon Theocritus, that they used to be rung when men died. Strabo likewise (*lib. 15.*) says, that the Persians did call an assembly before day-light by the sound of a bell, *ἡμετέραν καὶ τῶν ἑσπερίων.* We may remember also Aaron's bells, and see farther in *Cel. Rhodigin. Lection. Antiquar. lib. 19. cap. 11.* at large; and in *Salmuth, on Pancirollus.* Concerning the Matter or Substance of which they were made, we may take notice, that *Durantis (de Ritib. Eccles. Cathol. lib. 1. cap. 22.)* says of the Citizens of Casarea, that upon an occasion of joy, they went *ligna sacra pulsantes*, whereby he means, that they had some hollow vessels of wood, which they used instead of bells; for upon this occasion *Durantis* mentions them. *Salmuth* amongst others, tells us that in *Prefter Jobn's* Country they use bells of stone.

48. This can alone the lab'ring Moon restore. *Una laboranti poterit succurrere Luna;* that is, with her greater noise. The vain Heathen had an opinion, that the Moon, when she was eclips'd, did labour, as if in an agonie, and suffer a kind of death by the Incantations of witches; of which opinion even *Stesichorus* and *Pindarus* were, as *Pliny* relates, *lib. 2. cap. 12.* Besides, it was generally believ'd, that by such means the Moon might be brought down from Heaven, and so at such times they fear'd the loss of that heavenly light: which yet they thought might be prevented by making a loud and Panick noise with brasen Vessels, as pans, kettles, bells and the like, that the Moon might not hear the Incantments, and so not suffer any hurt. *Liv. 7. decad. 3.* speaks of it, as of an Ordinary custome, in those words, — *qualis in defectu Luna silentii nocte fieri solet, edidit clamorem*, which absurdity was so inbred in the Heathen, that after that diverse of them were become Christians, it was not quite expelled, it being reprehended in them by some of the Fathers, as by *St. Ambrose*, and by *Maximus* in a *Homily De defectu Lune.* Of the suppos'd fainting of the Moon, *Wowerus* also makes mention in his *Pegnton de Umbrâ, cap. 8.* towards the end. But we may farther observe, that the *Arabians* did believe the Moon to be in such an agonie, when she eclips'd the Sun, as may appear from their custome at their New Moon. For they keeping the day of their *Neomenia*, or New Moon, Holy, and counting it unlucky to have the Moon suffer any hurt on that day, did use, because on that day she might eclipse the Sun (the Solar eclipse being in *Novilunio*) to deter the celebration of their *Neomenia* till the next day, at least for 16. hours, till the Sun were past the Eclipse. And hence it is that the Astronomers do distinguish the *Arabian's Neomenia* into *Celestis*, which was the

first and natural time, and *Civilis*, which was not the true time, but the next day, celebrated to avoid the ill luck, which their superstition fear'd. See *Nicolaus Mulerius* in his *Diaribe de Anno Arabico*, in the Explication of the *Arabian Epicha* or *Hegyra*; it is inserted by *Ubbô Emmius* in his *Chronologie*, between his fourth and fifth books.

49. In just Acts too, New Aim she gives: For she That pretends Art & Tongue, should coated be But to th' Mid-Leg; should to *Sylvanus* slay A Hog, and at the Baths the farthing pay.

Imponit finem sapiens & rebus honestis.

Nam qua docta nimis capis & facunda videri,

Crure tenui medio tunicas succingere debet,

Cadere Sylvano porcum, quadrante lavari.

The Poet Satyrically describing his Learned Dame, says that she has her proper opinion of *Summo Bono*, which is the End or Aim of virtuous Actions, Then adds he, *Nam qua docta nimis capis & facunda videri, &c.* Which Reason of the former speech seems not so fully cleared by the Interpreters. But I conceive the mind of the Poet in this place to be briefly this; It needs not seem strange, that she has also her several opinion of the *Summum Bonum*; for she that so mainly pretends to Learning and Eloquence, should not only, as a Leader of a Sect, have This Novelty; but should do many things besides, as Philosophers do, namely, have her coat descend but to the mid-leg, Sacrifice to *Sylvanus*, and pay the farthing for the Bath-fee; implying, that these things she did not, either through shame or pride, as may appear from the more particular view of the three things he mentions. For first, she was asham'd to wear her coat like the Philosophers, Orators and such learned men; whose fashion is described, as *Britannicus* rightly notes, in that of *Quintilian*, *Tunica prioribus oris infra genua paulum, posterioribus ad medios popliteos usque perveniens. Nam infra mulierum est, supra centurionum.* Which teaches us that the coat of the Orator, and such as profess'd learning, as *Britannicus* implies, reached on the fore-edge a little below the knee; on the hinder-edge to the middle of the hamme; that Lower was the wear of Women, Higher of Centurions. In which passage I render *Crus*, the *Leg* (not the thigh), anatomie giving us the libertie; which gives that name to that whole part of the body, from the heel to the hip, as *Bartholinus* tells us. *Anat. lib. 4. cap. 10.* according to which acception *Juvenal* and *Quintilian* will agree in their expressions. But from this fashion, though of the Learned, this Dame was deterred by shame; as likewise from the second, which was the sacrificing to *Sylvanus*; it being unlawful for Women; and more affected by Learned men, as the Scholiast tells us: Which in part is prov'd by *Joseph Scaliger*; who on *Vatro, de lingua Latina, lib. 4. p. 48.* cites that of *Cato* speaking of the Rites of *Sylvanus*; *Mulier ad eam rem divinam ne adsit, nive videat, quomodo fiat;* and afterwards *Scaliger* cites this of our Poet. The latter part also may likewise appear by what *Britannicus* says from the Authority of *Cato, de re Rustica*; so wit, the Poets and learned men (the patterns of this learned Dame) who for study often resorted to the delight of groves, did use to sacrifice there to *Mars Sylvanus*. Yet we may observe, that *Scaliger* in the place alleged says, that the Rites to *Sylvanus* were perform'd by some Country-man, whether he were Ingenuous, or a Servant. Which difference may probably be reconciled, by allowing the Ordinary performance of that sacrifice to have been the business of the Husbandman,

Husbandman; and the Learned to have been afterwards Voluntary and Superadded Sacrificers. Besides, it may be here observ'd, that when it is said of this dame by the Poet, that she should sacrifice a hog to *Syloanus*, the Novelty was not in the kind of the sacrifice, but of the person, a Woman. For though at first they offer'd milk unto him, yet afterwards a hog; which was a sacrifice also to *Tellus*, (as *Horus* testifies in his Epistles,) and to many other Deities, as to *Ceres*, the *Lares*, and *Venus*, as *Marcellus Donatus* observes in his Dilucidations of *Lucretius*, lib. 1. part. 4. The third thing which our Poet says this Dame should do, whereby to shew her self like a Philosopher, is the payment of the mean and usual Bath-fee (strictly not a farthing, but q. c. as appears, *Sat. 1. Illust. 36.*) But here we may ask, though the Interpreters press not the business to this doubt, how the payment of the usual Bath-fee could make her like a Philosopher, when as it was not proper to Them, but the Common-fee; which is therefore by *Seneca*, *Epist. 86.* call'd *res quadrantaria*. In answer to this doubt (which I but justly raise) I might allege what I find in the Manuscript Commentary, which on this passage has this note, *Pro balneis nihil solvebant mulieres*: which, if admitted, would partly clear the business; but that I find this assertion only in this Commentary; and cannot but allege those words of *Tullius*, *pro Caelio* (cited here by *Curio*, though not to this purpose) *Nisi forte mulier potens quadrantaria illa permutatione familiaris facta fuit Balneatori*; which seems to imply, that Women also paid the Bath-fee. To express then mine own opinion, I think, that the Ironie here used against this learned dame, which could not be in reference to her sex, was in respect of her Wealth and Pride, which made her like the Philosophers rather in their vanitie, then in their seeming humilitie of conversation. Like them she would seem to be in the invention of a new opinion, rather then in a homely life; that she thought glorious, this contemptible. She seems to be such a one for Plenty, as that other proud and dissolute Dame mention'd before (*Illust. 42. and 43.*) that scorn'd the common and petty provisions of the Baths; but to these also, she should descend, as with the people even Philosophers likewise did.

50. — That in *Palamon's* Art is quick. — *Quæ repetit voluitque Palamonis artem.* The Poet inveighing against such Women as studied the exactness of Grammar-art taught by *Remmius Palamon* (*Quin-*

tilian's master) whose life is written by *Sueton. de Illustribus Grammaticis*, cap. 23. says, that they had their Laws of speech, or spoke by rule, *servata lege loquendi*. Upon which words *Lucretius* says, *Idem nostro tempore curiosi quidam sciolli in Cicerone fecerunt, ut Longolius, Sadoletus, Bombus, Sigonius.* It is a large instance, and makes me remember this *Palamon* (who disesteem'd the learned *Varro*, terming him a Hog) and the School-master *Raffus* (mention'd *Sat. 7.*) that call'd *Tully* a fellow of *Allobrogian*, or ruder, Eloquence; and lastly such another Hypercritick, *Nogarola*, a learned Italian, who in an Epistle at the End of *Ocellus Lucanus* (whom he publish'd) does in the conclusion of it, p. 48. censure at once the whole Italian tongue, even the *Tuscan* puritie, terming it but *peregrinitas Latini sermonis, & verborum colluvies*; and as for the three most famous of the ancient poetick wits in that language, *Dante*, *Petrarch* and *Boccaccio*, he requires in the first, more elegant words; in the second, matter and Sentences for his words; and in the third; Discretion (very magisterially). But setting aside these Censurers, our Poet does here a little farther reprehend his learned Dame, for affecting, as he says, to be *Antiquaria*; the acceptions whereof, *Marcellus Donatus* notes, on *Sueton's Augustus*, cap. 88. as first, that it signifies one that does refine, or preserve, ancient books from corruption: secondly, one studious of the old Poets and Historians: thirdly, one that studies ancient Coins, statues and inscrib'd stones: fourthly, such as use obsolete and antiquated words. All which though they might be counted an overplus and curiosity in a Woman, yet only the last is absolutely a fault: and though in this Dame he expressly reprehends partly the second, yet chiefly the last, as a mere fault intended in those words, *Opica castigat amica verba*: concerning the sense of the first of which words, see at large, *Sat. 3. Illust. 31.*

51. When great Eye-checking pearls stretch her soft ears. — *Et cum Auribus extensis magnos commisit Elenchos*; upon which says the Scholiast, *uniones, margaritas oblongas*; and — *Elenchos, quos & Titulatos appellant*: because they were (as *Pignori*, de *Servis* says, pag. 207.) somewhat like the *Tutulus Pontificalis* (the High-Priests Cap) *qui fuit metali figura*, as *Festus* speaks; seeming to imply them to be somewhat like the form of the *Mita* in the Circus. But the fashion of that Cap is more clearly thus expressed * by *Du Choul de la Religion des Anciens Romains*, pag. 243. And to prevent mistake, we



the High Priests Capp



the High Priests Capp

may take farther notice of the form of *Jupiter's* Priests Cap, call'd *Albogalerus*, figur'd with wing'd thunder, and of a rounder form, as *du Choul*, p. 239. represents it, from an ancient Marble at Rome: without which Cap the *Flamen Dialis* might not go out of his house. *Pliny* describing these jewels, [*lib. 9. cap. 35.*] says, that they did descend in a fuller bottome, which is agreeable to *Festus* his description, who say'd they sharpen'd towards the top; and so the *Scholias*t calls them *tutulus*; *tutulus*, besides that it signifies the High-Priests Cap, signifying also sometimes a top of haire laced up on the Crown of the head of the High-Priests wife, for distinction and Honour. When *Lubin* then had call'd these jewels *tutulus* (though as the *Scholias*t does) he less warily adds, *Cylindros alios appellamus*; the Cylinder being of an equal compass from top to bottome; and calling them presently *margaritas oblongas*, he ventrally adds, *ovali magnitudine*; for though we should in a possibility admit the size in respect of the Pearl, we may scarce admit the weight in respect of the ear; yet, in that they were worn, as the Poet says; and though he says, *auribus extensis*, he intends not that they were *tersa*, though stretch'd. But now, though the Interpreters tell us, that *Elenchi* signifie such Jewels, yet they do not so much as intimate, why they were call'd so; no, nor the more curious *Cerde*, though in his *Adversar.* [*cap. 175. num. 2.*] he purposely describes them. Two of the Manuscripts indeed would have us believe that *Elenchus* is properly *titulus libri*; they might rather have said, *Index libri*. They would have it come from *ἐλεγχω*, the Sun; because, say they, the title does illustrate the Book: and so, say they, the jewels call'd *Elenchi*, were conspicuously plac'd, that all might see them. But we need not go farther for a derivation, then to *ἐλεγχω*, and then it will signifie a reprehension and conviction: in which sense, the name is aptly applicable to such jewels, which figuratively may be said to reprehend, or check the infirmity of the eye in beholding them, and to convince it to an acknowledgment of their lustre. So that in accurate form of speech, *Elenchi* might be render'd, *Convictions*: but respecting the conveniency of the expression, with a little addition I render it, *Eye-checking Pearls*.

52. Her face swells with paste, or of Poppaean Ointments smells. — *pane tumet facies, aut pinguis poppaeana spirat*. — *Sueton* and *Juvenal* [*Sat. 2.*] relate in part the like of *Otho*. The Poet here shews the art of Womens paint, in steeping white-bread-crumbs in Asses milk, to preserve the face from wrinkles; and in the use of Poppaean Ointments, anciently held singular for the beautifying and smoothing of the face, and call'd so from Poppaea, the Wife of Nero, who invented, or chiefly us'd them. Some yet think them to be of no very good smell, but rather a medicine: which we may partly admit for truth; because the Poet having said, that she uses these for her Husband, whom she did disrespect, adds, that she prepares leaf-ointments, which were excellent for her Adulterer. Indeed these *foliata* were ointments made of *Nard*-leaf; so *Marital*, *Tinge caput Nardi folio, cervical olebit*; and such was that precious ointment, which *Mary* used on our Saviours feet, as *Fortunatus Schacvus* thinks, in his *Myrobecium*, *lib. 1. cap. 22.* And here to imitate the zeal of our Satyrists, I may but necessarily condemn the painting of the Face: which is so common, that a witty Painter being asked, whether it were harder to paint by a pattern, or by the life, answer'd, He knew not; and being moved to shew

his reason, replied, he thought he had scarce ever drawn any by the Life, because he never came time enough, but that some other Painter had been upon the face before he came at it. Yet were it but vain to send self-Painters to the Divine, his advice being more offensive, then their paint should be. But we may charitably present to them the more powerful motives from the Physician: who will assure them, that their paint is the Enemy of their Life; nay, of their Beauty. *Sublimate* makes black the teeth; *Cerusse* makes gray the hair. *Plume-Alume* burns the skin: *Lemon-juice* dissolves the hardest stones. *Oile of Tartar* takes stains out of cloib, and scorches flesh. *Rock-Alume* dissolves metals, shrivels the skin, loosens the teeth. *Salnitrum* morifies the natural moisture; spoils the bearing, the complexion, and the stomach. *Camphire* vehemently scalds the face, and stupifies the brain, who then will choose to be so stupid, as to bestow Life and Soul upon a Face? But to proceed with our Author, one doubt may here arise; that seeing these Poppaean were us'd by an Empress, how may we conveniently suppose, that they were not excellent? In which point we may believe, at least guess from the ingredients mention'd, that they had not in them the mineral danger of new inventions; yet were effectual for the beautifying and smoothing of the face, though of a less pleasant smell; which was no great inconvenience in Poppa's use of them; she cleansing her face from the grossness of them, before she went unto the Emperour: but the leud Dames here intended by our Poet, let them discourteously stick on (as preparatives) at home, and wash'd them off only when they went to their paramours. Where we may further observe, that Poppa had 50. she-Asses, for such purpose, as *Pliny* relates (*lib. 2. cap. 4.*) and carried to many with her, when she was banish'd; and the same *Pliny* (*lib. 28.*) reports that some kept 700. for the like use. Yet says the Poet, *Tandem aperit vultum, et testoria prima reponit, incipit agnoscere, atque illo lacte fruetur*, &c. which, methinks, is a passage of some difficulty; especially as it is expounded by *Lubin*; who alone insists upon it; saying, *quid tandem, postquam multum diuque faciem illeverunt, vultum aperit, suum remouet, agnoscit incipit, quod prior vetula sit deformis*. But to what season of her behaviour shall this *tandem* be applied? For if she appear'd with her own face, that is with her wrinkled face, after that she was wash'd; why does he then say, or how with reason can he say, that she went to her Adulterer, *lora cute*, after that she was *multum diuque* very much or thoroughly wash'd? for that had been to go to him with her deformity discover'd. Or if it be not meant, at least in part of the washing of her face, then must it follow, that she went to her Adulterer, with her plastring not wash'd off, and so as courtesly to Him, as to her Husband. Again, whereas, he says, upon the word *Testoria*, *ubi prima operimenta et incrustationes panis et lactis asinini a facie remover*, after that she has taken off the Plastring of steeped bread and Asses milk; how can it agree with the Poet, who says, *Testoria prima reponit, incipit agnoscere, atque illo lacte fruetur*, &c. That after she had laid aside her daubings, and that again her own face appear'd, she yet us'd Asses milk? These things then seeming inconsistent, I think the place may with best convenience, be order'd thus. First he says, that she us'd bread steep'd in Asses milk, or else poppaeon ointments, which she suffer'd to stick rudely upon her face, till she went abroad to her Adulterer; but that then wash'd off all the unde-

indecentcy of them, that is, all but what necessarily fill'd the wrinkles; yet that she singularly supplied all defects with advantage, by her leaf-ointments. Then, says he, *Tandem apprit, &c.* After she is return'd, and has been a little while at home, she wears again her own face, lays aside her paintings, and appears aged. Yet, that she may not be stark ugly, though she uses not her plaisterings, she uses Asses milk; and this is the best face, which she bestows upon her Husband, though rather for shame, than Love; but at her times of preparing for out-a-dores visits, he is glad to be content again with her plaister'd face.

53. Wo to the Wool-weigh-maide. *Perit libraría.* Here the Poet enters on the description of a cruel mistress; in which arises a doubt first from the sense of the word *Libraría*, which does sometimes (from *Liber*) signify a woman-amanuensis, or writer out of Books. For, that anciently they had persons of either sex for such employment, it is manifest by *Vespasian*, who had *Antonia* a freed-woman, who usually writ for him, and whom he extremely loved, as *Sueton* relates of him, cap. 3. *Eusebius* likewise (in his *Hist. lib. 6. cap. 17.*) makes mention of *Origen* in this kind, saying, that he had not only men for the writing out of Books, but also maids, which writ very neatly: Upon which proof, *Pignarius, de Servis, pag. 120.* disesteems the exposition of *Libraría* here for a Spinster, or literally a weigher of what was to be spun, as vain. Yet it is as known, that the word may intimately and conveniently be taken in this latter sense; and is by the *Scholias*t expounded so, by *Lani-pendia* (a wool-weigher); which was the chief Maid-servant, that weigh'd out the several tasks to others; and peradventure thus more properly. For though, I grant, the Poet did before describe a learned Dame, one studious of ancient Books; yet now he is upon the description of another, and as I conceive of another temper, namely one employed in Cruelty and Lust. And though she were indeed wastful and destructive, as the Poet says afterwards; yet we may observe in her some pretended and dissembled house-wifery, not only in this particular of punishing her spinning Maid, but afterwards in viewing of embroydered works, and the accounts of the day, *transacta diei*, or as some have it, *transversa*; implying that the accounts were so long, that they were written even thwart the Paper (as for want of room) or on the other side, which was upon extremity. Wherefore, though I deny not the use of the word *Libraría* in *Pignarius* his sense; yet upon these convenient inducements (though not touch'd by the *Scholias*t) I incline to the *Scholias*t's opinion, and accordingly render it. The Poet Proceeds, *Ponunt cosmética tunicos*, her tiring-Maids, (those that dress her) are fain to undress themselves to receive punishment; in the liberty of interpretation I express it, *The Chamber-maid is stripp'd.* So, *Tardè venisse Liburnus Dicitur*—(Her *Liburnian* is accus'd to her of laziness in not coming speedily) I render, *Her Litterman too long has stay'd.* The Poet names him from his Country, *Liburnia*, whence they had tall and lusty slaves, whom they employed like our Sedan men, in carrying of them in their Litters: but the more strict expression being insolent to an English ear, I choose to render it, by implying his office, *Her Litter-man, &c.* The Poet then jeers at her cruelty, saying, that at last with a pretended dislike, she loudly bids the Tormentor *Be gone*; but not till she has been as cruel, as the *Sicilian Phalaris*, or the *Dionysii*. Whereby we may observe

the severity of that age, wherein they used *Lorarii*, which were sometimes of the number of their Servants, sometimes hired occasionally for the punishing of them; the whips they used for such purposes, being usually sold in the *Suburra*, as *Martial* implies; *Tonstrix Suburrae faucibus sedes primis, Cruenta pendens qua flagra tortorum.*

54. The haunted Brothel-shrine of Isis. *Aut apud Isiacæ potius sacraria lena;* A strange, and yet a common place for opportunity of Adulterers. But a larger accusation is that, *Sat. 9.*—*In quo non prostat famina templo?* Yet such impurity was amongst the Grecians too, as *Rhodigin* observes, (*lib. 13. Antiq. Lætion. cap. 24.* out of *Pausanias* in his *Achaica*). Near the Temple of Isis were also publick Gardens, which occasions the *Scholias*t to say, *In hortis templorum adulteria committuntur* upon the precedent words of the Poet, —*janque expectatur in hortis.* I may lightly touch a story in *Josephus* (*Antiquit. lib. 18. cap. 4.*) of *Mundus* a young Roman (and whom *Britannicus* thinks to be here intended; for he alledges the story to this purpose) who extremely loving one *Paulina* a matron of especial birth and modesty, corrupted the Priests of Isis; who under a pretence of Religion called the woman into the Temple, telling her, that *Osiris* had by night talk'd with them, and perswaded her that their God was in love with her; by which means *Mundus*, even in the Temple, had his desire; for which fact the Priests were crucified and *Mundus* banish'd; *Tiberius* (in whose reign it was) using Him so gently, because forsooth it was done in the impatience of Love! A gentle name, and a false one, for Adultery!

55. *Why stands this Curle so high?* With thong she's paid straight—*Altius hic quare cincinnus? taurea punit continuè.* The first are the words of the curious Mistress reprehending her poor Chamber-maid *Pleca*, ironically here so called; it being a name in *Ovid*, given to an attendant of *Diana*. The Poet adds, that she was punish'd with the *taurea*, which *Britannicus* mistakes for the name of a Matron, so called (if we may thence frame a harsh Epithet) from her tauntine fierceness. *Johannes Baptista Pius*, (in his *Annotat. Posterior. cap. 124.*) erroneously thinks it to be *Vincula*, a kind of fetters. Indeed they are names sometimes found together, as particularly in *Entropius*, but signifying different things, and invented by *Tarquin* the proud; and therefore by *Curio* and others, it is rather taken for a thong of a Bulls hide (to silence a lels seemly expression of some) wherewith condemn'd persons were punish'd. So it is used a *Maccab. 7. 1.* where the Author describes the seven brethren, and the Mother to have been *flagris et taureis cruciatis*; where the word for *taureis* is in the Greek *vopās*, whips, as the English modestly choses to render it, rather according to the Latin, then the strict sense of the Greek.

56. Yet once cunning at the Crisping pin. *Emerita qua cessat acu.* Some understand this of one past needle-work, through an aged and weak sight; but the *Scholias*t, of one that had formerly been expert at the curling of the hair with the crissping pin; for so he upon the word *emerita*; *Qua non ornatrix est, sed jam quasi emerita cessat*; her Hand being past the work, but not her Judgment.

57. Like tall *Andromathe*. The Poet expresses the height of this proud dame, by her dress, and by comparison. It was anciently the custome of Marrons to form their hair into a high rowle towards the crown of the head; which rowles were call'd *tutuli*, as *Vatro* says, whether it were *tutendi capilli*

capilli ransa, or that they call'd that *ruissimum*, which in a City is *altissimum*, that is, *Arx*, as *Janus Parrhasius* questions it, *Epist.* 38. *Statius* has an expression of such a dress, in those words, — *Celsa procul aspice frontis Suggestumque coma*—. The height of this dame is next set-out by comparing her with *Andromache* *Hector's* wife, whom *Dares Phrygius* and *Ovid* relate to have been very tall: Wherefore I marvel, that so eminent a mark in her stature is omitted in her description by *Isaacus Porphyrogenius* in his *Characters of the Greeks and Romans* which were at *Troy*. In which, (publish'd by *Rutgersius* in his *Var. L&H. lib. 5. cap. 20.*) he calls *Andromache*, *μακροειρητος*, long visag'd, but says nothing of her stature; only he says, she was *λαττα*, slender; but so she might be, and yet not tall. Besides, in his character of *Polyxena*, though he call her *λαττοειρητος*, slender-faced, yet when he describes her to be tall, he calls her not *λαττα*, but *μακρη*. As for the latter part of the Poet's expression of this dame, he says, that behind she was shorter then a *Pygmie*, speaking so according to the receiv'd fable (of which see more conveniently, *Sat. 12. Illust. 10.* on those words, *Pygmæus bellator*) but implies that her true stature was more easily and rightly discern'd behind, then before: her hair before seeming a continuation of stature, but behind rather a distinct superaddition.

58. —Whom th' admire As less obscene—. —*Obsecro facies reverenda minori*. I choose to vary a little from the strict sense of these words, in which he expresses the Eunuch-priest with his inferior attendants, Eunuchs also (who therefore are here called, *tauca cohors*) beating their drummes according to their custome, their chief Priest attir'd with a *Phrygian tiara*, which was a silken cap, much like a *calot*, but fasten'd behind with broad ribbands coming down by the jawes, and so tied under the chin; and therefore he says, —*Et phrygia vestitur bucca tiara*. See the fashion of it in picture, *Sat. 3. Illust. 8.* see also *Sat. 10. Illust. 38.*

59. —And then Give him their old cloathes brown like vine-leaves when Th' are dried—. —*Et xerampelinas veteres donaverit ipsi*. In the farther description of these Priests the Poet shews their cunning and superstition; partly in this, that against *September* these artists would threaten silly superstitious women, that they should be struck in that month by the Southern winds (which usually then blow) with Agues and other diseases, unless they purified themselves according to Their prescription, which was with brimstone, eggs, and a lighted taper or torch made of the unctuous Pine-tree; as *Britannicus* shews partly out of *Ovid*, fully out of *Apuleius* (*lib. 11. de Asin. aur.*) which Iustration the Greeks call'd *καθαρισμος*. See *Cal. Rhodigin.* and *Sat. 2. Illust. 30.* Besides, the cunning Priests told such Women, that they must give unto Them their old cloathes; which were to be hang'd-up, till the Iustration were ended: perswading them then that all misfortunes went into the coats, and that thereby they themselves were for that year safe. They hung-up also at their *Compitalia* (which were feasts celebrated in cross-ways unto the *Lares*, who were *viarum praesides*, or, as some, *viales Dii*) woollen Images of men and Women, that the *Mones* might be satisfied by Them, and spare the persons, as *Labin* in part observes. But the effect of this direction was, that the purification being ended, the Priests should have the benefit of the garments; which here the Poet calls *xerampelinas*, from *ξηρος*, aridum, and *ἐμ-*

πυλον, a vine, they being of the colour of a dried vine-leaf, that is, of a sad russet; which, as the *Scholias* informs us, was the usual colour of Matrons garments. *Britannicus* adds, that it may be read *Xylampelinas*, from *Xylon*, cotton, and so signifie russet cotton garments; but this is not only without warrant of copie, but also beyond the force of the word, which can but signifie a garment of cotton like a vine-leaf; which without *ξηρος* must be understood according to *propretie*, and to *green*, not *russet*. Now to affirm that *green* was the colour of the Matrons garments is not only without proof, but also probabilitic: and though I believe, he intended not this, yet it would follow from his assertion, to omit one inconvenience more, which he himself conceals not, namely that the first syllable of *Xylampelinas* is short, and so not agreeable here to the nature of the verse. It may be here farther observ'd, that some read *vestes* for *veteres*; but that is implied in this, and this is the more expressive, as signifying, that at once they conveniently parted with their old cloathes and their old faults, being thus quitted from the punishment due unto them.

60. And from hot *Meroë* thec'll water fetch to sprinkle *Isis* Temple—. —*A Meroë portabat aqua, ut spargat in Aede Isidis*—. After a clear recital of divers severe follies, which superstitious dames undertook on the direction of the Priests, he mentions their more irksome voyages even to the utmost confines of *Egypt*, to fetch water to sprinkle in *Isis* Temple, which stood by the old *Sheepfold*. Which things that they may be more sensibly lay'd together, it may be observed that *Tiber* was on the west-side of *Campus Martius*, the place wherein the Martial exercises were perform'd. Besides, there was the Temple of *Isis* and the old *sheep-fold*; a place so call'd, says *Britannicus*, because *Tamque* flocks were kept there; or as the *Scholias* lays, because *Romulus* and the old *sheep-herds* kept their flocks there. Yet *Servius* on *Virgil* (*Ecl. 1.*) taking it for the *septa*, a place inclos'd in the *Campus Martius*, in which the Roman people stood and gave their voices, adds, —*sed quoniam hac septa familia sunt ovilibus, duo hac invicem profe ponuntur*: so that he thinks it to be call'd a *sheepfold*, from the figure and similitude of it. But the chief difficulty here is, that these superstitious dames should make such strange voyages, as beyond the utmost parts of *Egypt*, if commanded by *Isis*, worshipp'd as a Deity by the name of *Isis*. *Britannicus* therefore to help the matter, says that he speaks here hyperbolically, the water of *Nilus* being said to be sprinkled, *quomodo simulata foret. Nam que exhiberi non poterant simulabantur, et habebantur pro veris*; unde *Virgil*. *Spargerat et latices simulatos fontis Averni*, *Erodaus* (in his *Miscellan. lib. 4. cap. 2.*) shews the same out of *Servius*, and that they form'd such living creatures, as were hard to be gotten, in dough or wax. *Fortunius Licetus*, an Italian Critick, does likewise shew the same at large (in his *Encyclopædia ad Aram Nonarum Terrigena, cap. 9. pag. 100. &c.*) partly from *Gyraldus*, in his *Deorum Syntagm.* 17. and partly from his own observations; and more particularly this custome, or ordinary supplie of the water of *Nilus* thus offer'd to *Isis*. The generalitie of which custome, to offer a feigned sacrifice for a true one, is by him made clear by sundry instances, amongst others by that of the *Cyzicens*, who by custome were to offer yearly a black Cow: but being once at the set time of the sacrifice besieg'd, and so not able to provide one, they made

made one in dough, and with that perform'd the sacrifice. Farther he relates (p. 102. out of *Julius Pollux* his *Onomasticon*, cap. 1.) that about *Boetia* they offer'd unto *Hercules* *μῆλα*, not sheep but apples (for the word signifies both) on this occasion. The custome was to offer a *ramme*, and the time of the solemnity of the sacrifice being come, they that were to bring it were against their wills delay'd, the river *Asopus* having sodainly overflow'd its banks, so that they could not pass. Whereupon, the young men, that were at the place of the sacrifice, did by way of sport perform it, by taking a ripe apple, undersetting it with four sticks instead of feet, and adding a couple more instead of horns, which fictitious ramme was then offer'd, and being not an unacceptable sacrifice, afterwards this Rite continued amongst them. Yet *Bradam* (in the fore-cited place) though he touches upon another kind of exposition (as I shew'd) thinks that this water was by Merchants brought in ships to Rome, and so sold to superstitious Women. Which last we may probably admit for a truth, though we have no proof alleged for it; but the first indeed is proved truth. Yet with leave of them all, I think it not the truth here intended; nay, that it cannot be here intended: first in respect of the expresse testimonie of the Poet, who more especially says, *Ibit* and *aquas portabit*; so that he plainly says, that she her self did thus. And though he adds, *si jussisset*, If *Isis* bids, yet the form of the speech implies, that she did sometimes bid so. Secondly and more pressingly, (as I think) because of the absurd consequence, if this were not the sense: for what great matter had it been worthy to be inveighed against by a *Satyr*ist, if their superstition had been to wise and Lazy, as either to offer a feigned sacrifice, or a true one so easily provided? And how had this been futable to have been join'd with the other cruel follies before recited, which their superstitious fear imposed upon themselves? Which necessarie considerations those learned Criticks might have used. Wherefore, to speak clearly, I think, that, according to *Bradam* (if his opinion be proved true) these worshippers might sometimes offer such water: secondly, that according to *Servius*, sometimes they did offer *simulata pro veris*; and that sometimes they did, as our Poet here with indignation wonders-at, fetch it themselves from the confines of *Aegypt*; even from *Meroë* in *Aethiopia*, sub *Aegypto* (as the Geographers call it) an Island in *Nilus* (now called *Gueguere*) and in which was a City of the same name (*Meroë*); the most Northern part of which Island being about 16. degrees of North-latitude, well might the Poet say, that the waters of it were hot.

61. That acts *Anubis*, &c. *Qui-plangens populi currit derisor Anubis*. *Anubis* was the Son of *Osiris* and *Isis*: all which were by the *Egyptians*, whom they taught such useful knowledge, worshipped as Deities; *Osiris* (under the name of *Apis* and *Serapis*) in the form of an Ox with some special marks; but by custome drowning the beast after a certain number of years, in a sacred fountain (as the fable has it) they went howling about, till they found another, crying-out in their joy as mad as their sorrow, *ἐὺφραδης, εὐφραδην*, to which the Poet alludes, *Sat. 8.* in those words, *Exclamare libet populus quod clamat Osiri Inventa*. Now at these fooleries the Priest did carry about the Image of *Anubis*, whom they worshipp'd in the form of a Dog, because as *Dionysius Siculus* says, the gave the Dog for his Arms: which *Anubis*, (as the

Poet adds) or the Priest that carried him, did but jeer at the people, which went about with him. So that I take *derisor Anubis*, not as *Antimachus* does, saying *derisor Anubis, quia irridet deum*, so making *Anubis* the genitive case; as if the Priest did jeer at the God; but by an Apposition I take *derisor Anubis* for the same person. And this is clear from the other words, *populi plangens*; so that the order is, *Anubis derisor populi plangens*. Where likewise I cannot approve *Britannicus* expounding *populi plangens*, thus, *id est, religiosorum sacerdotum*, as if the chief Priest floured at the inferior priests; it being likely that they understood the profitable imposture, as well as himself. But the most easie sense, as I conceive it, is that the Priest, which carried the god (amongst the other shaved Priests in linnen-dress) jeer'd at the people. And here I may mention *Pignorus* his conceit, who (in his *Mensa Isiaca* expos.) Thinks that it were far more happy, if the old Copies had it so, to read *derisor*, instead of *derisor*; for so in another place he is call'd *Zairator Anubis*, alluding to the form in which he was worshipp'd: Which for a phansie (being without copie) seems very pretty; though if admited without the courtesy of a figure, and that he were indeed, *populi derisor*, the people might well howle, but rather for themselves, then for *Osiris*. But to check this phansie in earnest, *Anubis* was not represented as a dog for any qualitie of biting the people, but from his supposed vigilance; more particularly in guarding the bodies of *Osiris* and *Isis*. Retaining then the copies, which have *derisor*, amongst the causes of such derision, that which follows, is by some reckon'd for one; that the Priests perswaded these dames, they had need of a pardon, if during the feast of *Isis*, which lasted nine days (as *Britannicus* notes out of *Propertius*) they abstain'd not even from the Marriage-Right.

62. When th' injur'd bed. *Violato Caduceo*. Some copies have *Caduceo*, and so understand it of *Mercury*, the same with *Anubis* and here supposed to be offended; thus (with others) *Isidorus Pontanus* on *Macrobius* his *Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 20.* upon this passage of *Juvenal*. Yet this reading is against the generalitie of Copies, and the nature of the word *Caduceus*, the first syllable whereof is long; and so not futable in this place, as *Britannicus* heretofore observ'd. Besides, the word *caduceus* is not only in this place used by *Juvenal*, but also in the next *Satyre*, in that verie, *Insuper biberne tegitis niveique caducei*; and (to omit some unclean interpretations) signifies a tent, and as some have it, a bedstead, as others the covering, in effect the bed, but figuratively the persons, that are said to prophane it, and which therefore fear'd punishment; and therefore does most aptly in this sense follow the precedent verse. The word it self, *caduceus*, is thought to come from *Cadurci*, a people in France, where *Cahors* now is, and where anciently they made the finest and whitest bed-ticks.

63. Gently the Silver-Serpent seems to nod. *Et mouisse caput uisa est argentea serpens*. In the Temple of *Isis* there was placed a Silver-Serpent, as *Pignorus* (in his *Mensa Isiaca* Expos. fol. 14.) and others observe. Concerning which point of *Egyptian* Theologie, *Macrobius* (*Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 20.*) says, that in the Temple of *Serapis* there was an Image with three heads, the middlemost like a Lion, the right-side head like a sawning dog, and the left-side head like a ravenous Wolf, about all which a Serpent wrapt himself, bringing his head

under the right hand of the god. By which three heads, says he, *Time* was signified; by the Middlemost like a *Lion Time Present*; as being full of vigour and business; by the left-side head, the devouring *wolf*, *Time Past*, in which the remembrance of things is swallow'd-up; by the right-side head like a fawning *Dog Time to come*, which flatters us with Hope. To which pleasing exposition unhappily he adds nothing concerning the *Serpent*, though mention'd by himself; only in general he says, *Tempora autem cui nisi proprio famularentur auctori?* which may be applicable to the *Serpent*, which by his incompassing of all times, may signify *Eternity*, compared with which, *Time* is but as a short parenthesis in a long line. Or we may not unfitly understand *Providence* by it, which with a quick and strong eye beholds all times, past, present and to come; which is but suitable to the proverbial excellency of the *Serpent's* sight; *ὄφρας ὀφθαλμοῦ* (the *Serpent's* eye) being a receiv'd expression of a Man of clear understanding. Lastly the *Serpent's* Laying of his head under the right hand of the god may not unfitly imply the sublimity and truth of its guid. Concerning *movisse caput*, some expound it, as if it implied the *Anger* of the god, as that he shook his head at their offences, in a sense not unlike that in the second Satyre, where it is said to *Mars*, *Nec galeam quassas?* But methinks there needs no such fierceness here in the word *movisse*; only it shews the power in the *success* of the Priest: who for offences, though great, according to their belief, did notwithstanding procure the deity to give a sign of reconciliation. So that the brief contexture is, *Ille petit veniam, Et movisse caput visa est serpens*; He asks pardon, and the deity signifies it granted. The Cause of which *success* he presses farther in the verses following, saying *Illius lachryma meditataque murmura prastant*, &c. that the Priests tears with the goose and cake, bribe *Osiris* (as the Poet flouts) *ut veniam culpa non abnuat*, to nod a pardon; which does in part expound and confirm the exposition of *movisse caput*.

64. —Leaving elsewhere Her hay and basker, &c. —*Cophino senuque relictis, arcanam Judaea tremens mendicat in aurem*. The Scholiast says here, speaking of their *cophini*, or baskets, *Huius pulmentaria sua Et calidam aquam die Sabbati servare consueverunt*; and *Britannicus* adds, *Judaei ergo ut mendici Et pauperes cophinum gestabant, quo stipem reliquaue Corrogata exciperent, eodem modo Et fanum, ubi cubitarent*. But about *Cophinus* and *fanum*, see at large, *Sat. 3. Illustrat. 3.* The Poet here farther implies, that the needy *Jews*, who had poor and hired habitations in groves and such solitary places, repair'd to the City; but leaving their ensigns, we may say, their hay and basker, at home, that they might not be known (as seems most probable) being expell'd Rome by *Domitian*, begg'd not as others publicly, but softly and in the ear of such Women, as they suspected to be (superstitiously) devout, and if opportunely served them; instilled their religion into them. For many Roman Women and Men did secretly imbrace the Jewish religion, by which means the *Jews* began to grow rich: yet such gifts were secret for fear of punishment; the *Jews* being generally hated by the Romans, as *Parrhasius* notes, *Epist. 18.*

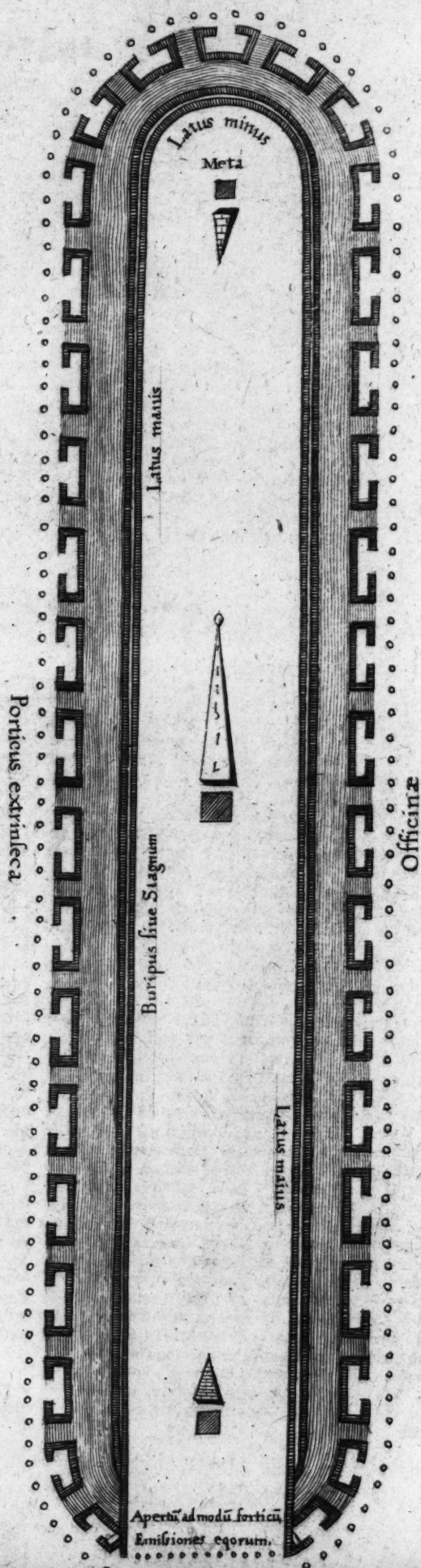
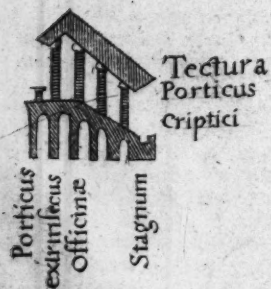
65. Is in some Grove Chief Priest. —*Ægna Sacerdos arboris*. For this Heathenish Custom the *Jews* are often taxed by the Prophets, as some of the Manuscripts note in the Margin; and the Poet more particularly here intends the Grove of Oaks by *Dodona* in *Chaonia*, which was consecrated to *Jupiter*, and in which he had a Temple. That *arbor* may signify *nemus*, see *Sat. 1. Illustrat. 52.* And thus in a jeer the Poet calls such a Woman, though a *Jew*, the Priest of *Jupiter*, then adding, *Implet Et illa manum*, that the superstitious Dame gives somewhat to the *Shee-Jew* also, though of a different Religion. For, with some, to interpret, *Et illa* of the *Jewesse*, seems not so agreeable to the word *Parcius*, which rather expresses the quality of a distributor, then of a receiver. So that the parts of the sentence, methinks, thus answer one the other; *Judea mendicat*. — *Et illa, Romana, implet manum*; the *Jewesse* begs, and the Roman Dame gives, though sparingly.

66. His crimes then on another thrust. *Facies quod deferat ipse*, He speaks here historically, intending one *Egnatius*, a Philosopher (as the Scholiast tells us) who first perwaded the daughter of one *Bareth Silanus* to the practice of Magick, and then accused her for it unto *Nero*; by whose command both the Father and the Daughter were put to Death. He touched upon this argument before, *Sat. 3.* in that verse, *Stoicus occidit Baream*.

67. By whose kind Scheme worth all price, a high stiled Citizen sell. — *Cujus amicitia conducendaque tabella magnus civis obit*. Here also a story is intimated (and to be briefly touch'd) of one *Seleucus* a famous *Astrologer*, by whose instigation and prediction *Osio* (with whom he was intimate) failing to be adopted by *Galba* (*Piso* being preferred) caused *Galba* to be killed. The time of which Fact sooner intended was by the special appointment of this man deferred: In which expression there is nothing of any difficulty, but *conducenda tabella*, which briefly, was the Table or Scheme of the Heavens, which the *Astrologer* drew by his art, and which the Poet ironically says, was well worth the hiring or procuring; implying rather that it was to be condemn'd; and that the pernicious fellow had been often banish'd. Where by the way we may observe, that *Juvenal* calls *Galba*, *magnus Civis*; dealing more respectfully with him, then the souldier did, who, finding his dead body, cut-off the head, which being bald, and so not yielding the advantage of hair to carry it by, thrust his thumb into the mouth of it, and so contemptuously carried it to *Osio*; as *Sueton* in his *Galba*, cap. 20.

68. When their Armes sound with chains. — *Sonnit si dextera ferro Lavaque*. Such dangerous and cunning men (as they call them) which foretold things in a time of War, they carried as Prisoners with them in the Camp, in expectation of the event: in which condition they had a Souldier to keep them, and for more surety they were tied together with a chain of some length for conveniency; the one end whereof was fast'n'd to the Souldiers left arm, the other to the Prisoners right arm. But if such a Prisoner were thought to be over-dangerous, then (as *Seneca* shews, *de Tranquillitate*, lib. 1. cap. 10.) he was double guarded and chain'd; as we read of *St. Paul*, *Act. 12.* who

sleep,



slept between two Souldiers, bound with two chains. The Prisoner chain'd was usually call'd, *Custodia*; So Seneca speaks, *Epist. 5.* So *Opera* is taken for *operarius*. See *Lippius* on *Tacit. Annal. lib. 3.* The Poet then says, that such Artists were of no account, whiles they were esteem'd worthy of pardon, by being call'd back from Banishment, or whiles they were but condemned into Banishment (into the *Cyclades*) as if now one should say, that a cunning man has no skill, till he is ready to be hang'd. But such men of Art, says the Poet to his friend *Ursidius*, thy *Tanaquil* [jeeringly] that is, thy modest and chaste Wife, such a one as *Tanaquil* the Wife of *Tarquin* the proud was, does consult with concerning thy death. So *Britannicus*; and indeed her honesty and housewifery are much praised by the Ancient. Yet the *Scholiast* says, that she was very cunning in the *Astrological* Art, and that she foretold her Husband, that he should be King; as *Livy* relates, *Decad. 1. lib. 1.* But this difference I think may be easily compos'd, by observing that the Poet picks out such a comparison for *Ursidius* his Wife, that should be artificially applyable both for the truth and the jeer, for her skill in Housewifery and the Stars.

69. With what Star, &c. *Quo lata Venus se proferat astro.* If *Venus* were in Conjunction with the Moon at the birth of a Child, they held that the Child should be singularly belov'd; as *Tully* notes, *lib. 1. de Divinatione.*

70. When she is carried but a Mile, &c. *Ad primum lapidem veltari cum pla-et, &c. C. Gracchus* (as *Plutarch* says in his life) did in the publick ways from Rome, at every miles end erect a pillar of Stone for the direction of Travellers, and likewise many other on the sides of the way at less distance, serving for steps for the help of Horsemen; the use of Stirrups being then unknown, as *Salmuth* notes on *Pancirollus*, *lib. 2. Tir. 16. pag. 276.* The Poet here points out the singular superstition of these Dames: who if they went but to take the aire, or for so trifling a cause, consulted with some great Artist, such as was *Thrasyllus* in the time of *Tiberius*; or as *Petofrus* a famous *Egyptian* Astrologer mention'd by *Pliny*, *lib. 7.* and so if but her eye did itch, she would not use the help of Physick, without the view of the Scheme of her Nativity.

71. She'l at the Race-bounds stand, &c. *Spacium iustabit utrinque Metarum, &c.* It will be useful here to express divers obscurities concerning the *Circus Maximus*, which is in this place intended, there being many others. It was then a large plat of ground, about three furlongs in length, and one in breadth, according to *Pliny*, *lib. 36.* capable of many thousands of persons; some mention 1500000, some 2600000, who might there behold Races perform'd with Horses and Chariots, as also other stately Shows. The whole Plot of ground being in a vally, and ne'er a River between the *Palatine* and *Aventine* Mounts, was compass'd with high buildings, and on the two larger sides, and on one of the less, was an *Euripus*, a Moat or Trench for the receit of water, ten foot deep, and as many in breadth, for the occasional presenting of a *Naumachia*, or Sea-fight, the protectress of which water was *Magna Mater*, (that is, *Cybele*) as *Tertullian* says, *De Spectaculis*, which *Euripus* in the ordinary descriptions of the *Circus* being not mention'd, may from *Marlian's* accurate description be thus presented. * In the high buildings the people sat to view the shews;

and through them, as *Pancirollus* shews, there were twelve Gates. Under these buildings were Cells, where Harlots found employments. One eminent part of which structures was call'd *Phala*, a *phalando*; says *Festus*; the word in the *Hetrurian* tongue signifying Heaven. These, says *Notius*, were wooden Towers for the Spectators, and from their height call'd *Phala*: their form was *Oval* (whence they were call'd *οὐαὶ δὲ φαιαζήματα*) in honour of *Castor* and *Pollux*, as *Partholus* notes, *Epist. 28.* They were erected not only for the Spectators, but also for the better direction of the Chariotiers in making their turn about the *Meta*, with least error; to prevent also any mistake (as *Lubin* notes) in *peragendis Missilibus*, in distributing or scattering of gifts, which by way of bounty and honour the *Consuls*, and afterwards the *Emperours* bestow'd upon the people; and likewise to know how often one had perform'd the course about the *Circus*, by compassing the *Meta*. Here were also stately pillars, upon which were express'd Dolphins in statue: whence they were usually call'd the Dolphins pillars, erected for ornament by *Agrippa*. Some finding in the twelfth region of the City mention of *Signum Delphini*, note it on this place: but I think it not here applicable; because the *Circus Maximus*, where these are said to have been erected, was in the eleventh Region. *Britannicus* places those Dolphins pillars in *Circus Flaminius*, where indeed were the watry Deities, as *Neptune*, *Thetis*, and the *Nereides* placed on Dolphins in statue: but *Circus Flaminius* was in the ninth Region; these erected by *Agrippa* being in the *Circus Maximus*, and so in the eleventh Region, and were placed here in honour of *Neptune*, who according to some had here an Altar. Here were also the *carceres* (or Barriers) a place of stately arch'd work, whence they begun the course, call'd so, as *Varro* says, (*de Ling. Lat. lib. 4.*) *a currendo*; because the horses were stay'd there, till the Magistrate gave the sign of leave to run: which at the first was by the voice of a Crier, as *Dempster* notes on *Rosinus* (*l. 3. c. 5.*) but afterwards by the sound of a Trumpet; as the *Scholiast* observes. The *Carceres* are by the Greeks call'd *ἀγῶνας, ἑστῆρας, γερῆμα* and *ἀκάλει*; the *Meta* (mark) or place whither they did run, the end of the course, they call'd *ῥίξ, ῥίπτα* & *ἄρτης*. The custome was to run seven Courses, but reduced by *Domitian* to five, fetching a compass about the *Meta*. Near the *Circus*, says *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, was an Altar under ground, dedicated to *Confus*, the God of Counsel, whom some make the same with *Neptune*: but *Tertullian* (*de Spectaculis*) does with a little difference place this Altar within the *Circus* (under ground) at the *Meta*, saying, *Confus apud metas sub terra delitescit*. About the *Meta* was carried at shews the *Pompa Circensis*, which was the Images of their Gods, and of Noble persons. The *Circus* was in some respect intended as a representation of Heaven; the 12 Gates being conveniently answerable to the twelve Signs of the Zodiac; a huge Obelisk rising in the middle of the *Circus*, in honour of the Sun; and, towards the ends, fix radii, as some term them, intimating the number of the other Planets. Now to the *Circus*, as to places of such concourse, there did resort Astrologers, Cheaters, Fortune-tellers, and such fellows; which there before the *Phala* and the Dolphins pillars, as the Poet says, did practise their Arts. There likewise the People drew their *lari*; the manner being for the Mountebanks to put into

some

some vessel, or between his hands closed, either writings, or stones, or straws; and to let the people draw them thence. *Britannicus* instances in one way more, out of *Plautus*: which was to cast wooden lots into a Pitcher fill'd with water, and to account him to win, whose lot sunk to the bottom. The Fortune-tellers likewise undertook to satisfy all demands of the people: as whether such a petty Dame (for in such a one the Poet ironically instances) should be divorced from her present Husband, an Inne-keeper, and marry a cloak seller (properly one that sold Souldiers cloaks) whom she more affected. The *Sagum* was the cloak or garment, which occasionally the Souldiers wore upon their armour. Moreover, when such couzeners told the poorer sort of superstitious Women their fortune, they used to crave of them (as the Poet speaks) *crebrum poppysina*; which needs not be interpreted, as by some it is, in an unclean sense (by the abuse of the women) the word being form'd only from the sound of the action, which it signified, namely a hollow clap with the hand. For so it express'd the noise or clap, which at Baths the *Alipies* (he that anointed them that were bath'd) made with the palm of the hand, wherewith he clapp'd the shoulder or other part of the person, whom he anointed. Thus likewise I think it here to signify, that when the Fortune-teller was to look upon the Woman's brow or hand, he would often view them; and craving a review of the hand, under a pretence of giving a surer judgment, wantonly please to clap it with his hand. No worse a construction needs be made of it: and so *Britannicus* expounds *manu pettrare*, yet not beyond the wantonness mention'd. The Poet then says, that the wealthy Dame has her special Artist, who comes to her house; but the poor House-wife is fain to go to the *Circus* to a poor knave: where, says he, *Spatium lustrabit utrinque Metarum*, which words the *Schooliast* understands of such *circulatores*, as chose two places, as he says, which they did *lustrare*, that is, *circuire*, compass about, and so purify, casting lots there, and thence telling the people their fortune. But this seeming doubtful; it may more easily be understood, not of a cheater, but of a woman; since he says in a continued speech (as of the same person) *si mediocris erit* (if she be a mean Dame) *spatium lustrabit utrinque Metarum*. Wherefore I think *lustrare* does here signify to view, as it does *Sat. 2.* in that passage, *Lustravitque fugâ mediam gladiator arenam*; he ran about the *Amphitheater* (to save his life) he took a reasonable view of it. Thus may it likewise here signify, that a poor Dame gads about the *Circus*, viewing it from the one end to the other, and at the *Meta*, or *radii*, which were towards the ends (though strictly that was termed *Meta*, which was farthest from the barriers) she deals with Astrologers. For that such persons haunted the *Circus*, *Hieronymus Columna* notes on that of *Ennius* (in his *Fragments*, pag. 350.) *Non de Circo Astrologos*; *Pignorum* also on the same words, in his *Symbol. Epist. 31.* According to which sense, the Poet adds, *Plebeum in Circo positum est*, &c. in *Aggere fatum*; the Rout must be content to have their fortunes told them, in the *Circus*, and at the *Agger*, or Mount. In which publick places, says the Poet, she asks her fortune, *Qua nudis longum ostendit cervicibus aurum*, as the common Copies have it, expounding it by such a one, as being poor, yet impudent and proud, dresses her self beyond her ability with jewels, though borrow'd,

or gotten by some worse practice, as by adultery; then with as shameless vanity, wears them upon her naked neck and shoulders. But some, as the learned *Salmasius* (in his *Plinian Exercitationes*) more happily reads, *Qua nullis longum, &c.* meaning a poor one, that wears no jewels about her neck, (as indeed having none). In which passage to take *longum aurum*, as some do, for a chain of gold, seems but an odd expression; and may more reasonably imply some broach, or the like ornament. But if we shall go by guess, I would read, *Qua nullum ostendit longis cervicibus aurum*; and so imply, that though she had a long and slender neck, which gave advantage to the displaying of rich dress, yet she had nothing to adorn it with; And this helps the manner of the expression. For, that he means here some poor Dame, it appears from the following words, *Consulit ante Phalar*; which was the place at the *Circus* for such poor ones. And here I choose to expound *consulit*, by the *Askes* advice, rather than by the *Gives* advice, [though *Lubin* takes it otherwise] because the Poet does not here make the Fortune-tellers to be the Women, but says, that they were haunted by the Women. Besides, whereas *Lubin* expounds *Qua nudis longum, &c.* by *meretrix*, I think, he mistakes; the Poet seeming to speak not of Harlots [if we take the word for single persons, though unchast] but of Dames or Wives [though peradventure Adulteresses] because straight-ways he adds, *Ha tamen & parvis subeant discrimen*: shewing plainly, that though he reprehends them for superstition and pride, yet he acknowledges, that they did usually with more honesty than the rich ones, endure the pains of Child-birth, without seeking any leud means to hinder it. Which degree of commendations is not applicable to common Harlots, whose continual excess does usually without drenches disabie, and so disappoint nature of the trouble of Child-birth: but the wealthy ones (as our Poet says) wanted not their *Shee-Druggist*; *artes hujus* — *Qua steriles facit* [her skill that makes barren] *atque homines in ventre necandos conducit* — [and undertakes, for a reward, so grand a villany] speaking in the like manner here, as in that passage of *Satyre 3.* *Conducunt foricas* —; or if they used not execrable prevention, the births they had, were like their Servants, of an ominous Visage, *Aethiopians* or *Black-Moors*; whom they abhor'd, as ill luck, to see in a morning. One thing more here mention'd by the Poet concerning the *Circus*, as some would have it, is the *Agger* or Mount, concerning which *Lubin* uses these words, — *Quo se Plebeia ad divinatores suos se conferunt*, farther adding, *Qui erat ad Circum, ubi prostabant meretrices, qua responsa dabant*. The parts of which exposition are inconsistent; for whereas he says, that this Mount was at the place in the *Circus*, where the meaner sort consulted with Diviners, it should follow that it was at the *Phala*; for there were the Diviners, as the Poet himself says, *ante Phalar*, and so in the publick view: but *Lubin* adds, *Ubi prostabant meretrices*; which was (as it is generally acknowledg'd) under ground (in Vaults). Besides, what he adds of the *meretrices*, saying, *qua responsa dabant*, it is without warrant of the Poet: who makes not the Harlots, but the Astrologers to give the Answers. But *Britannicus* understands here by *Agger*, *Agger Tarquinii*, of which see *Sat. 4. Illust. 17.* and so implies that thither also resorted Fortune-tellers and other base people: which exposition seems agreeable to *Juvenal's* expression,

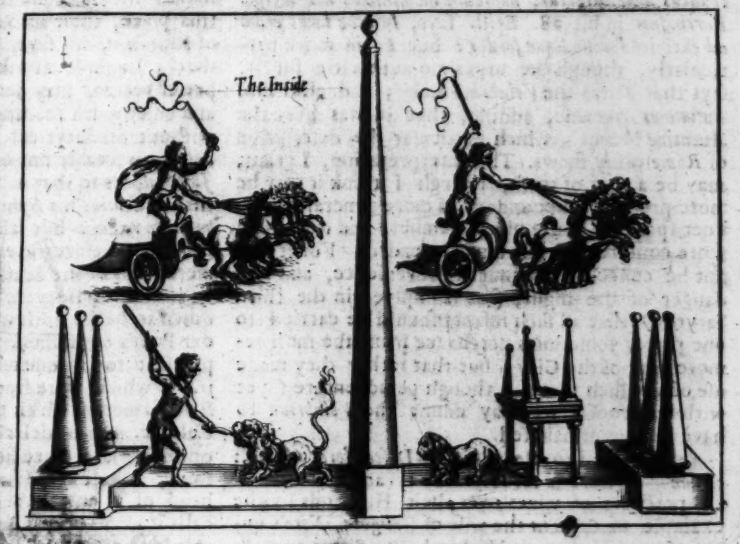
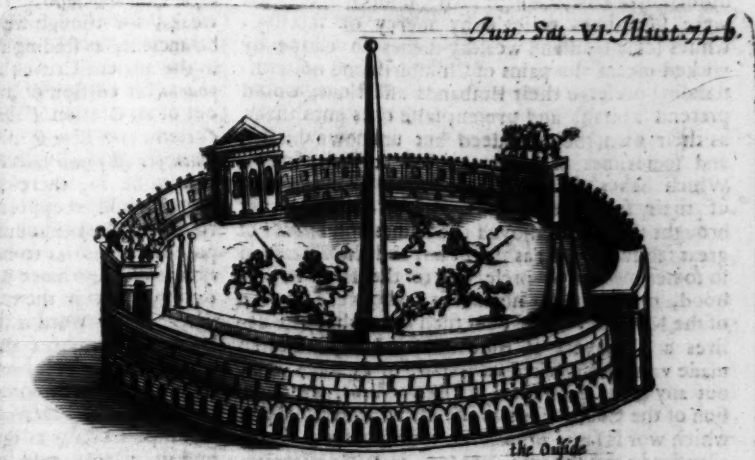
In Circo — & in aggere, as if he spake of distinct places; though this resort was chiefly at the Circus; which he therefore prosecutes in the words following, *Consulit ante Phalar.* A description of *Agger Tarquinii*, see in *Juvenal*, Sat. 5. *Illust.* 17. according to *Astorian*; and behold here the form of the Circus, both outside and inside, as it is expressed by *Gabriel Simeoni* a Florentine, in his *Illustratione de gli Epiraffi Antichi*, p. 148. as also in *Claude Guichard de Funerailles* (lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 199. and 200.) in which much of the former description may be seen presented.

* See also other observations concerning the Circus, upon farther occasion, Sat. 11. *Illust.* 16.

72. Whose Art does publick lightnings expiate. *Qui publica fulgura condit.* Amongst the Romans, if any place or person were struck with Lightning, they were presently expiated by a Priest in this manner; If a place were struck, the Priest was said, *dispersos ignes in unum colligere & condere*: which was, as may be conjectur'd, to gather what was scorcht by the lightning, and with a low voice praying, to bury it in the Earth. If a Man were struck, omitting the custome of burning the body, he was buried in the same place: then was the place mounded-in, an Altar also was erected in it, and expiatory sacrifices offered by a Priest. Yet some persons so struck were not buried, but only covered with a White garment, both because they might be gaz'd at by the People (yet at distance, none being to come within the bounds but the Priest) and because they believ'd, that such bodies did not putrefie; and as foolishly thought such persons to be honour'd by *Jupiter*. And these *fulgura* or Lightnings, they did, according to the Masters in that Discipline, distinguish into Publick and Private: vvhich division, I suppose, vvas taken from the things vvhich vvere struck; some Places and Persons being Publick, as Temples, Magistrates, and the like; other Private. Concerning the parts of vvhich distinction they had different rules; holding that private lightnings did fore-bode things but for ten years to come, except they happen'd on one's Birth-day or Marriage-day; but publick lightnings for 30 years, and no more, unless they fell at the rending up of a Town. See for the sundry parcels of these Antiquities, *Sen. Nat. Quæst.* lib. 2. cap. 48. &c. *Plin.* lib. 2. cap. 54. *Plutarch.* *Sympos. Probl.* 2. lib. 4. *Artemidorus*, lib. 2. cap. 8. *Britannicus* also on this place; *Alexand. ab Alexandro*, *Gen. Die.* lib. 5. cap. 13. at large, vwith *Tiracquel*; and *Theodorus Marcellinus* on that of *Persim*,

triste bidental; Sat. 2. and vvhich I have noted there. *Illust.* 2.

73. — And at the Bastard's pooles, vain pray'rs. — *Voraque sæpe Adspurios (al. spurcos) decepta lacus.* The Poet here vehemently flouts at the Great ones in his times; shewing that their true parentage was but uncertain; it being very likely, that even the best of them were but of unknown patents. This he endeavours to make probable from the inhuman custome, which they had in Rome: it being an usual practice of leud Women, as also of Parents if poor, or if their Children were born deform'd, to carry them secretly (by night) to Lakes or pooles, (of which there was a very great number in the City, as may be seen in the description of the severall regions of it) and there by the banks inhumanly leave the Infants. This was called the *Exposing of Infants*: after which manner *Romulus* and *Remus* are said to have been expos'd by the banks of *Tiber*, and thus in part, if we look upon the



the action, nor the cause, *Moses* in the sacred story. Which custome was so frequent amongst the *Romans*, though it were barbarous, that *exponere* in the Civil Law is taken for *necare*. See *Dempster* on *Rofinus*, lib. 1. cap. 1. Yet it was sometimes forbidden by a Law, though such Children so exposed were sometimes reliev'd by mercy or subtilty: whiles some leud and wealthy dames to escape by wicked means the pains of Childbirth and notwithstanding preserve their Husbands affections, would pretend a birth, and present false ones unto them, as their own, being indeed but unknown births, and sometimes bastards exposed at such Lakes. Which babes afterwards, according to the Degree of their supposed parents, the Great ones that brought them up, enjoyed the names and estates of great families, such as the *Scamvi* and the like: and so sometimes were preferred to the High-Priesthood, or to be *Mars* his Priests, who were always of the Nobility. The Poet then says, that the desires and prayers of Husbands for issue, are often made vain and mocked *ad spurios*, or as some without any great difference, *ad spurcos lacus*, by occasion of the Counterfeits at the filthy Lakes. Upon which words says *Britannicus* ingenuously, *Locum esse ostendit poeta in urbe, ubi pueri incertis nati parentibus exponerentur. Ubi autem fuerint, & quare spurci lacus appellarentur, nusquam meminimus nos legisse.* *Parrhasius* in his 28. *Epist.* says, *In urbe lacus erant ad excipiendos undique sordes*: but *Lubin* more particularly, though he urges no authority for it, says that it was the *Velabrian* Lake; and after him *Autumnus* likewise, adding, that it was nere the *Aventine Mount*; which particular the description of Rome easily shews. This interpretation, I grant, may be a part of truth, though I think it may be more probably expounded, if more generally, the Poet speaking in the plural number, and it seeming more consonant to the sense intended. For it cannot be conceiv'd without inconvenience, and the danger of the night, (as is implied in the third Satyre) that all such infants should be carried to one place, sometimes perchance from the most remote part of the City: but that rather they made use of any such places; though peradventure (yet without proof) we may admit the *Velabrian* to have been most haunted.

74. Descend to Heaven. — *Descendere jussit In cælum*. Here is set forth the tyrannie and wicked practices of wives over their Husbands by the example of *Casopia* the wife of *Caligula*, *Nero's* uncle (*Agrippina* *Nero's* Mother being Sister to *Caligula*) whom she drench'd with the Love-cup made of the *Hippomanes*, a tender peice of flesh taken from the brow of a young foal, which is said to have driven him even to a madness of Love; like the outrageous love of *Jupiter* to *Juno*, effected by the *castus*, or girdle of *Venus*, as it is in *Homer. Iliad.* 18. Besides, *Casopia* by *Caligula's* madness did far more mischief in the destruction of many, then *Agrippina* by poisoning *Claudius*, who perish'd alone; or as the Poet ironically says, whose shaking head descended to Heaven; though some misapplies this infirmity and story to *Caligula*, who is not here intended in the latter part of this speech, which concerns *Agrippina*. But *Hieronymus Grossetius* on this passage (in an Epistle to *Jacobus Lethius*, the 88th. of the Philological Epistles publish'd by *Goldastus*) though he confesses, that all Manuscripts and printed Copies have *descendere*, yet avouches that it should be *ascendere* (a word anciently used for *ascendere*) and laughs at other interpreters as

absurd; saying that the *Librarian* (or transcriber of the Copie) was afraid to write *ascendere*, for the infolency of the word; and likewise that being ignorant of the *Casura*, thought that the verse would have been false, had it been — *tremulumque caput ascendere jussit*. But these exceptions are but weak; for though we grant the word *ascendere* to be ancient, as finding it (to omit other proofs) in the ancient Critick *Agellius* (according to *Stephanus* his edition of him) citing it, lib. 2. cap. 7. out of an Oration (but now not extant) of *Tully* (*contra concionem Q. Metelli*) *Escendi in concionem, concursus est populi factus*: yet to argue, that because it may be so, therefore it must be so, is no right Logic: and to oppose all Manuscripts, is rather to make, then expound books. Likewise, to suppose the *Librarian* to be afraid to write the word *ascendere*, is no more just an exception here, then to suppose it in the transcription of other books, wherem the word is still remaining; seeing that, by the like reason (the fear of the transcriber) it should have been left-out of all books, and so there should be no testimonie left of such a word. Again, to imagine the *Librarian* ignorant of a *casura*, were to suppose others as ignorant of it in other places; and so, where possibly they might be avoided, we should have no example of them. Besides, why should the Poet use the word *ascendere*, rather in this place, then in *Sat.* 1. v. 82. where speaking of *Deucalion*, he says, *Navigio montem ascendit*? so that a laughter at others interpretations, for no better reason, may deserve a laughter. But lastly and chiefly his reading, *Escendere in cælum*, were without all Satyirical wit: whereas *descendere in cælum*, is futable not only to the like expressions in *Juvenal*, as to that in *Sat.* 2. *Socratio cinados*, and that in *Statius* his *Sylv.* *Nondum stelligerum senior demissus in axem*: but also to the supposed fable of *Claudius*; before *Juvenal's* time. For *Seneca* in his merriment of the death of *Claudius*, saigns him first to ascend to Heaven, and afterwards to be thrust down to hell: both which are wittily included in our Poet's expression. And here it will not be unpleasant to say somewhat about Love-cups (*philtira*) which were frequently used by the *Thebans*, amongst which the *Hippomanes* was an especial one. It is describ'd (to omit some unclean opinions) to have been a peice of flesh, or, as some, a little skin like a cap, taken from the forehead of a colt new foal'd (*Juvenal* afterwards calls it *partus equæ*) said to be of strange power in this kind. But to say that this or any other can procure Love, is a mere vanity. The old saying was plain and true, *ἐν τῷ ἵπῳ γίνεσθαι τὸ ἱπῶν*, Love is begotten by Sight; neither is affection won by Physick. True it is that potions may inflame the body, and so consequently the mind, to outrageous Lusts, but cannot Determine the Affections to a particular person; though it may be granted, that the person, which would be Loved, may by the continual importunities of wanton conversation accidentally so determine them; when the person wrought-upon is violently and sometimes madly inflam'd. Which may be seen in the story of *Casopia* and *Caligula*, who was sometimes so mad in Love with her (who was *luxuria ac lascivia perdita*) that as *Sueton* says (in his *Calig.* cap. 25.) he would sometimes shew her to his Souldiers dressed like a Souldier, — *amicis verò etiam nudam*; like the *Ly-dian* wittol, King *Candaules*. And that this is the judgment of the wisest Physicians, I refer the reader to the testimonie only of *Sennertus*; who in his

Instit.

Institut. Medicin. (lib. 2. part. 3. Sect. 2. cap. 4.) judiciously adds, that the devil is sometimes farther permitted in such leud persons to immix himself in such actions, by corrupting their impure imaginations and insiring their desires. And here likewise we may take notice of one inference, which the Poet uses in those words, *Tanti partus equa? Quanti una venefica constat?* For that is the best pointing of them, and yeilds the best sense (to avoid farther dispute) implying, that if one drench could do so much harm; how much more could a Sorcerer's do, which both unhappily *Taught This* and had store of as bad.

75. Thy Guid's trembling lip. — *Timidus prægustet pocula papas.* *Eunuchus Pædagogus.* *Isidor.* *Papas, pædagogus qui sequitur studentes;* as *Pignorius, de Servis*, p. 188. observes. Sometimes it is taken for a Father, as *Cædæ* shews, *Adversar. cap. 146. num. 7.* which is indeed the true Signification of it, as he likewise shews, *cap. 72. num. 5.* where he adds, that it was at first a name given to all Clergy-men; afterwards to Bishops only, and at last only to the Pope, in the time of Gregory the 7th. who forbade any other to be call'd by that name. Amongst the Bythinians it was the surname of Jupiter, who was call'd *Jupiter Papas*, that is, *pater*. The word is from the Hebrew, *AN*; and thence came the word *Abbat*, an Abbat; a title sometime given to *Hugh Capet* afterwards King of France: nay the Nobles of France (as *Paradinus* testifies of his own view, in his *Annal. Burgund. lib. 2. sub anno. 1103.*) are in many ancient writings frequently call'd, *Dux & Abbat*, *Comes & Abbas*; either from the Honourable sense of the word, or peradventure because many of them were maintain'd with the revenues of Abbies. But some would here understand by *timidus Papas*, the Child; so that he should tast of it, but with fear and wariness. But this seems not so well to agree with the word *prægustet*: which being here applied to *Papas*, cannot yield any just sense, unless *papas* be taken for the guide, who should tast first. But *Britannicus*, though he rightly expounds the word *Pappas* (as he reads it) for the Overseer; yet he adds, that it may be taken also for the meat, which the child shall eat: and so thinks, that *pocula papas* may signifie his drink and meat. But if he would here take it for *pappe*, the food of babes, (as by his proof from those words of *Persius*, *pappare minutum*, he implies) he must grant, that the Poet writes these monitions to babes incapable of them. For of such tender young ones *Persius* speaks, whiles he flouts at one of riper age, — *pappare minutum pocis, & iratus mamma lallare recusat?* and so *Britannicus* himself expounds that place of *Persius*, saying — *ut sit pappare minutum, id est, cibum minutum & confractum, qualem pueri pocunt.* Besides, what he there adds, makes it more forcible against himself, whiles he says, *Nec illis assentio, qui minuat hoc loco pro minutum legunt.* Nam is cibus infantibus haudquaquam convenit; and the reason was good, because such meat requir'd chewing. Wherefore upon examination, such uncertainty and licence of Interpretation is not to be admitted.

76. — But *Pontia* cries Guilty. — *Sed pontia clamat Feci.* — Some understand this of *Pontia* the daughter of *Publius Petronius* and wife (as they say) of *Vestius Bolanus* mention'd by *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola*: which *Pontia* is said, for the love of an adulterer, to have poisoned two Sons, which she had by *Bolanus*, and to have been punish'd for it. See *Statius* in his *Sylv. lib. 5.* in his *Protrepticon ad Crispinum*. *Parthasius, Epist. 8.* seems to make it

but an intent in her; and *Lubin* says — *suos duos filios veneno absumere voluisse confiteretur*, yet streight he adds, *Quæ itidem, quod defuncto marito filios duos, ut adultero nuberet & obsequeretur, veneno Necavit, & convulsa, cum largis se epulis onerasset, sumpto veneno & venis incisus saltans expiravit*; he speaks in part out of the Old Scholiast. Yet afterwards upon the words, *facinus peregi*, he says, *ad Voluntatem refer;* which is, methinks, a strange expression of *peregi*. Besides, the place of the Scholiast is not well recited by him; it being not so likely, that she did both, namely drink poison and cut her veins. *Pithæus* here out of *Valla* reads it thus, — *cum largis se epulis onerasset, & vino* (the ordinary copies of the Scholiast have *& veneno*, yet not as *Lubin*, *sumpto veneno*, which is farther from being mended) *venis incisus saltans, quo maxime studio oblectabatur, extincta est.* But *Pithæus*, in his Notes on the Scholiast, recites this most apposite Inscription on an ancient Roman Stone,

PONTIA TITI PONTII FILIA HIC SITA
SUM QUÆ DUOBUS NATIS A ME VENENO
CONSUMPTIS AVARITIÆ OPUS MISERÆ.
MORTEM. MIHI CONSCIVI. TU QUISQUIS
ES QUI HAC TRANSIS, SI PIUS ES, QUÆSO
A ME OCULOS AVERTE.

This instance of *Pontia* the daughter of *Titus Pontius*, not of *Publius Petronius*, *Pithæus* prefers for the illustration of this place; and surely it is the more certain story, and singularly here applicable. Yet because he gives no reason of his choice, and that the other example has been generally receiv'd, as the story here intended, and that I also notwithstanding prefer his instance, I think it necessary to shew mine own reason, for the confirmation of his and mine own choice. The Poet then speaking of *Pontia* aggravates her crime beyond those of *Medea* and *Phæne*: theirs being facts of revengeful passions, but not of covetousness; for so the Poet expresses it, — *Sed non propter avaritiam*. According to which diversity of cause, if we examine this instance, we shall find, that *Pontia* (the Daughter of *Petronius* and wife of *Bolanus*) mention'd by the Scholiast, offended as he says, *ut adultero nuberet*, and so in a Lustful passion: but the offence of this *Pontia* (the daughter of *Pontius*) in the Inscription, is term'd *Avaritia opus*; and therefore I judge this to be the Person here intended, and farther describ'd by the Poet (as one offending rather in the sobriety of covetousness, than in the rage of Lust) whiles afterwards he says of her, — *quæ computat & Scelus ingens Sana facit*; the judgment being to be made not from the similitude of their facts, but from the dissimilitude of the motives. And here the ordinary reader may note, that after the words here spoken by *Pontia*, the Poet speaks the next, *Worst viper! at one supper didst kill Two?* *Pontia* then again adding the next, — *Tea Scav'n, if it had been Scav'n, had seem'd Few.*

77. Like Stones cleft from a rock, &c.

Præcipites, ut saxa jugis abrupta, quibus mons Subtrahitur, clivoque latius pendente recedit.

This passage, if consider'd, has a little difficulty; some taking *clivus* for *pars radice montis*: but that cannot agree with *clivo pendente*; seeing that it will appear to be, not the bottome, but rather the top of the Mountain. *Lubin* well expounds *mons subtrahitur*, by *inferior, cui saxa incumbant*; not the lowest or bottome-part of the hill, (for that could not fall a way) yet a low part, a part toward the bottome;

bottom; low, and so a *basis* to upper parts; yet not so low, but that it self might fall. To make all then a little clearer, *Juga* must here signifie the rockie Mountain with a long ridge and a promontory: *Mons* must expresse a Lower part, not the lowest, toward the outside (whole falling away causes the rest of the ruin); *Latus* is the upper-part (yet not the uppermost) of the main-side; which rested upon the lower, *Mons: saxa abrupta* are a part of the *latus*, some parcels of stones usually breaking from the main lump that falls; and *clivus* must signifie the uppermost part of all, or the over-hanging peak, the under-parts being gone. Thus then the Poet says that Lustful Women are as furiously head-long, as loose stones that fall from a Rock whose out-side underpart (*Mons*) being sunk away (*subtrahitur*) the main side (*latus*) falls after; leaving only an overshooting peak (*clivus*) ready also to fall. According to which examination I render it, as nearly as the sense and words seem to admit.


Like stones cleft from a rock; when th' under-part Sinks, and the side from th' hanging brow does start.
78. Which the thrice-conquer'd Pontick King did make. — *Si praeputaret Atides Pontica ter vixit cantus medicamina regis.* The Poet here declares, that Women had good patterns presented to them oftentimes upon the stage; such as was the example of *Alceste*; who when the Oracle had answer'd, that her sick Husband *Admetus* (King of *Theſſalie*) should presently die, if he was not redeem'd, by the death of some of his friends, when all others refused, voluntarily (as the fable has it) died in his stead: yet the Poet avouches that Women were not amended by such brave example. Nay, says he, one may every where find amongst them, such as were the *Belides* (the neices of *Belus*) the Daughters of *Danaus*; who being fifty in all, and all married to so many Sons of their Uncle *Egyptus*, did all except two (*Hypermeſtra* and *Bebrice*) murder their husbands, by their Fathers appointment, upon the Marriage-night. Or we may find, says the Poet, such as was *Eriphyle*, who for a bracelet of gold betray'd her husband *Amphiaraus*, causing him against his will to go to the *Theban* war, where he fore-knew that he should die, as, according to the story, he did. The *Scholias*t mentions such another kind story of another *Eriphyle*; both which may be here aim'd-at by the Poet, for he speaks in the plural number, *Occurrent multa tibi Belides atque Eriphyle.* Then goes he on saying, that one may meet betimes with a *Tyndaris*, a *Clitemnestra* (the daughter of *Tyndarus*) who by the help of her paramour *Egyſtus*, slew her husband *Atreides* (*Agamemnon*, the Son of *Atreus*) at a feast, after his return from *Troy*: though, says he, they are now indeed grown more cunning, performing such deeds with more art, by poison. Yet he adds, that they would fall to rude work and the very axe, that is, more grossly and surely dispatch them, if their husbands should against their poisons use but the *Antidote* of *Mithridates* the Pontick King, who was thrice overthrown, namely by *Sylla*, *Lucullus* and *Pompey*. For he indeed had an admirable receipt

against all poisons; of which *Pliny* (*lib. 23. cap. 9.*) says, that when *Pompey* overthrew him, he found in his cabinet, the composition of this *Antidote*, written with his own hand; the Ingredients whereof were Two dried naves, as many figs, and twenty leaves of rue bruised all together with one grain of salt; which if taken fasting, was a protection from all poison. Yet *Leneas Pompey's* freed-man (as *Agellius* tells us, *lib. 17. cap. 16.*) says, that *Mithridates* mix'd with other medicines against poison the blood (*anatis pontica*) of a Pontick duck which fed upon poison, as some tell us; imo, & ejusdem remedio [says *Britannicus* after the recital of these things] nomen dedit, ut appelleretur *Mithridaticum*. Upon which words *Celsus Secundus Curio* by way of correction adds, *Antidotum Mithridatis quid sit & quomodo conficiatur, praestat Galenum & Cornelium Celsum consulere, qui aliquanto melius rem totam explicant, & aliter quam hic fiat.* Yet if we follow his advice and see *Galen*, who writes of it, in his first book, *de Antidotis, cap. 1. & 2.* [it is in the fifth Classis of his works] as also *Celsus*, *lib. 5. cap. 23.* We shall find them to differ not a little; as is observed by the learned Physician, *Baldvinus Ronsseus* in his *Enarrations*, on the book and chapter of *Celsus* now cited; where he says, *Multum differt hac Mithridatis antidotus, ab ea quam descripsit Galenus libro de Antidotis: cujus descriptionem si quis desideret, aut Galenum (citato loco) aut Scribonium Largum. §. 170. consular.* By the way we may note, that as some mention among the ingredients, the Pontick Duck, [as was said before] so in *Celsus* there is also mention'd, *radix pontica*. But some acknowledge a singular power in the more plain receipt mention'd by *Pliny*; although, I grant, that the knowledge of that inquisitive King *Mithridates*, was of a larger circuit, then to be bounded within so narrow a search. For, being a man singularly skill'd in Nature, he gather'd his *Antipharma* from the varietie of flowers, seeds, herbs, roots, gums and other things, whence arose his great Composition call'd *Mithridaticum*. This in after-time was corrected and amended, and one ingredient more, namely *Vipers*, added by an exquisite Greek Physician *Andromachus* the Elder, (for he had a Son, famous also in the same profession) Physician unto *Nero*; to whom he made a description of his Composition, in Greek verse, extant in the force-cited book of *Galen. cap. 6.* as in the 7. chapter there is extant the younger *Andromachus* his *Theriaca descriptio*, in Prose. The Father's composition was call'd *ῥαυνὴ*, that is, *Tranquilla* (because it brought ease unto the Patient) not *Galen*; *Galen* not being the Inventor of it, though afterwards he in part did alter and perfect it. Yet it is still call'd *Theriaca magna Andromachi*, and by that name is Commented-on, and the several Ingredients (which are above threescore) that have any difficulty, expounded in a set tract by the Learned *Rondeletius*, and revised by the accurate *Lobelius*: wherein are set down also all the *ἀντισπασμωδικὰ*, or *Succedanea*, to be used instead of such ingredients, as are either not at all, or hardly in these parts to be procured; to which treatise I refer the more inquisitive reader.

SATYRE. VII.

ARGUMENT.

*Cæsar on Poets much bestows :
 Cæsar to Poets his Fame Owes.
 From other Rich ones comes no Guist :
 Poets by Wit, not Bounty, shift.
 Historians too, that take great Pains,
 No Story tell of their small Gains.
 Lawyers, that vaunt most, much do get :
 Yet some by vaunting run in debt.
 Your Rhetoricians Tongues more Free,
 Then ever his Reward will be.
 Vain Parents think no Cost a wast,
 But what is Best, on Tutors, plac'd.
 Grammarians Pay is made so Vile,
 'Tis the worst Plague in all their Toile.
 Wonder, how Wit in Rome could flourish,
 When Rome brave Wits no more did nourish !*


 He Hope and Motive now of Studies rest
 Only in (1) *Cæsar*, who the late distress'd
Muses releiv'd, when some brave Poets sought
 To rent (2) at *Gabii* a small Bath, or thought
 To take at *Rome* some Bake-house ; nay, not base
 They held it, to turn Criers ; since no Grace
 From *Aganippe's* Vallies came, but poor (3)
Clio crept for releif to a Rich door.
 For if there's not in thy *Pierian* Chest
 One farthing, thou maist well, methinks, digest (4) of
Machara's Name and Trade, and to the Rout
 Sell what th' Intrusted (5) publick sale sets out,
 Pots, Trivets, Presses, Chests, *Bacchus* his true
Halcyon, *Faustus* his *Thebes*, and *Terens* too.
 'Tis better, then to Swear, I saw't, when no
 Such thing thou saw'st. Let *Asian* Knights do so ;
 Your *Cappadocian* and *Bythinian* Knight,
 From (6) poor *Galatia* brought in bare-foot plight.
 But no man shall hereafter be compell'd
 To servile task, if that he e're excell'd
 For smooth composure of sweet-Number'd *Layes*,
 And bit *Apollo's* Verse-infusing *bayes*.

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

Ply it brave Sparks, th' Imperial bounty fits
 Looking about t' Invite and Crown your Wits.
 But if from any else for help thou'dst look,
 And therefore fill'st thy (7) Saffron-Vestumn-Book;
 Get fuel quickly, and the work th' hast writ,
 To *Vulcan*, *Telephus*, straight commit:
 Else clos'd lay't up, and to the Moath allow't;
 Break thy vain Quil, thy labour'd lines blot-out;
 VVho wouldst in thy small Cell by lofty strain
 An Ivy-Crown and a lean Image gain.
 That's all thy Hope: Rich Niggards have learn'd how
 Only t' Admire and Praise brave Poets now,
 As Boys the Peacock. But thus fails thy strength
 Fit for Seas, Helmet, Plow; till tir'd at length
 Thy Eloquent and Naked Age does see
 And Hate it self and its *Terpsicore*.
 Know now thy Patton's Arts to save his Coin:
 Leaving the Muses and *Apollo's* Shrine,
 Verses He writes, and would sleight *Homers* Art,
 But that a Thousand years have got the start.
 But, for sweet Fame, if Verse and Voice thou'dst spend,
 Rich *Maculonus* then his house will lend;
 His strong-barr'd House on thy Command shall wait,
 Whose Door is like a City's watchful Gate.
 He'l place his Freed-men in the farthest part,
 And rank his loud-voic'd Clients with much art.
 No Patron does (8) the Seats or Stairs bestow,
 That hang at the hir'd Scaffold-beam; or know
 What the *Orchestra* cost, rais'd for chief friends,
 And Chairs recarried when the Reading ends.
 Yet this we do, though vainly do no more,
 Then Furrow-up the Dust, and Plow the Shoar.
 For, though thou leav'st, yet this ambitious Ill,
 By Custom now grown strong halters thee still.
 The desp'rate *Scribbling* *Sickness* fast does hold
 Many, and does in their Sick breast grow old.
 But an Egregious Poet, whose rare vein
 Scornes to bring forth an obvious vulgar strain,
 Whose Verse bears not one trivial stamp like coin,
 One, whom I cannot shew, but do Designe
 In purer Fancie, He must have a mind
 Not vext, or by low'r thoughts of Thrift confin'd;
 Your Groves he Loves, Drinks of th' *Aonian* springs,
 For in *Pierian* Caves He never sings,
 Nor with an Iyy-dart divinely raves,
 Whose sober poverty night and day craves
 For mony, which the Bodies wants supplies:
Horace (9) is full, when once he *Obe* cries.
 VVho displays Wit, whom ought but verse perplexes?
 When *Bacchus* *Cyrrha's* Lord our full breasts vexes;

When *Nysa's* Lord *Apollo* drives o'th' *VV*it,
*VV*hich never can at once two *Cares* admit.
 'Tis for an *Ample* Mind, not one half-dead
*VV*ith *Care* to get a blanket to his bed,
 To fancy *Chariots*, *Horfes*, the *Gods* faire
Shapes, and the dire *Erynnis*, that did stare
 On the amaz'd *Rutilian* King. For grant
 That *Virgil* does a needful *Servant* want,
 And a convenient *Lodging*, quickly all
 The *Snakes* from his *Aleho's* *Curles* would fall:
 Dull would his *Trumpet* sound without all *State*
 Of *Greif*. *VV*e'd have (10) *Rubrenus* *Lappa's* *Fate*
 Be like his *Muse*; The *Ancient* *Buskin* he
 Shall match; though his small *dishes* and *Cloak* be
 At pawn, to *Atreus*. *Numitor* the wretch
 For's *Friend* has nothing: but a *Guist* hee'l fetch
 For his *Quintilla*; and without all need
 Bought a tam'd *Lion*, which on *Flesh* does feed.
 The *Beast's* kept *Cheaper*, sure: I, that's it; *Pie* on's!
 A *Poets* guts will hold more: then a *Lyon*!
Lucan may in his *Marble* *Gardens* lie
 Content with *Fame*: but how will this supplie
Sarranus and *Saleius's* wants? what's *Fame*?
*VV*hat's *Glory*, if 'tis but an *Emptie* *Name*?
 They run with joy to the sweet voice and verse
 Of *Thebaus*, when *Statius* does rehearse,
 And sets a *Day*; they're caught with such delight;
 The *People* hear with such an *Appetite*.
 But (11) when his verse has crack'd the *Seats*, he may
 Be starv'd, if *Paris* buy not his new *Play*,
Agave. *Military* *Honours* He
 Gives: He (12) *Knights* *Poets*, whom adorn'd we see
*VV*ith their *Gold*-half-years-rings for witness; So
*VV*hat *Lords* give not, a *Player* does bestow,
 Yet dost still after *Camerinus* run,
 And *Bareas*? Dost not your *Lords* *Porches* shun?
 A *Pelopea* 'tis can *Prasæus* make:
 Some *Tribunes* are for *Philomela's* sake.
 Yet *Envy* not the *Poet*, that (13) is fed
 By his *Stage* *Labours*. For, should'st thou want bread,
*VV*ho's a *Mecænas* Now; A *Fabius*,
 A *Procleius*, *Cotta*, *Lentulus*?
*VV*it then had just reward: Now some must pine,
 Look pale, and all *December* know no wine.
 But now, *Historians*, your more fruitful task
 A great deal more of *Time* and *Oile* does ask.
 For, beyond mean, the *Thousandth* *Page* does rise;
 It grows with loss of *Paper*: yet such size
 Numbers of *Facts*, and *Laws* of *Story* yield.
*VV*hat's yet the *Crop*, the *Fruits* of this *Plow'd* field?

Does

Does not a Notary gain more by's trade ?
 They're Sluggs, you'll say, and love the Roof and shade.
 Shew then, that *Lawyers* Pleadings be less vain,
 And whar the bundled Books they bring, do gain.
 They Mouth it much: but chiefly when they see
 The Creditor they Plead for; or when He,
 VVhom fear makes fiercer, jogs them, so (14) to get
 By proof from his Great Book a doubtful Debt.
 Their hollow bellows then vast Lies do blow:
 Their breasts bespaul'd! But if their Crop you'd know,
 An Hundred *Lawyers* equal scarce by weight
 The (15) Red-coat Chariotier *Lacerta's* state.
 The Leaders sit: pale *Ajax* thou dost rise
 To save one's Question'd state: Thy (16) Judge is wise
Bubulcus. Fool, thy entrals crack, that Tir d,
 Green (17) *Palmes* may make thy stairs, and thee admir'd.
 What's thy Tongues Hire? Some shrunk Gammon, a Dish
 Of Tunnies, or your (18) Moor's state Monthly-Fish;
 Or Wine brought down by *Tiber*: Thou shalt have
 Five Flaggons for four Pleadings; and that's Brave.
 But if some Gold thou get'st for some hard Cause,
 By compact hee'l have part, that shew'd the Laws.
 They'l give *Æmilius* what he'l aske; yet we
 Plead better: but in his large Porch they see
 A brazen Chariot, four brave Horses, and
 Himself on a fierce Warlike Steed, his hand
 With bended Spear threatening aloft doth fright:
 His one eyed Statue Meditates a Fight.
 Thus (19) *Pedo* breaks, *Matho*, *Tongillus* too;
 That makes with his great Oil-horn much a do,
 Vexing the Baths with his dagg'd rout: and oft
 His long-pol'd Litter *Mælian* slaves aloft
 Bear through the *Forum*. You would think he'd buy
 Boys, Plate, Myrrhe-vessels, *Farmes*: The Purple die
 Of his broad-studded Coat and *Tyrian* thread
 Promise no less. Yet many a crafty head
 Gains thus. Your Purple and Violet be
 Colours of Art: They Mount your *Lawyers* Fee.
 Yet, they must Ruffle 't, and more wealth pretend:
 But *Rome* to such expence Now sets no End.
 Liv'd th' Ancients Now, *Cicero* (20) ne're should see
 Two hundred *Sesterces* for his best Fee,
 Wore he not a huge glist'ring Ring. Who will
 Go Now to Law, makes This his first Note still;
 If thou hast eight Litter-men, half a score
 Foll'wers, a Chair behind, (21) Gown'd Friends before.
Paulus did therefore still plead with a hir'd
Sardonix: got more, 'cause thus admir'd,
 Then *Cossus* could, or *Basilus*. 'Tis Rare,
 If Eloquence be found in Gown thread-bare.
 When brings in *Basilus* a weeping Mother?
 VVho'll hear him plead, though well? Seek then some other

Law-Courts, in *France*, or *Africa* the Nurse
 Of Lawyers; Tongue-work there may fill thy purse.
 Thou, Iron-breasted *Vestius*, teachest Boys
 How to Declame: (22) though their full Forms with noise
 Have kill'd fierce Tyrants. For, what on his Seat
 He read ev'n now, standing he does repeat,
 Tuning the same things in the same words still:
 Such oft-dress'd (23) Colewort does poor Masters kill.
 The Reasons of a Cause, the kind, the main
 Point, and what Darts may be return'd again,
 All fain would learn; Reward none does bestow:
 Reward? says one; why, pray y', what do I know?
 The Masters blam'd, when in a heart unfit
 Th' *Arcadian* block-head has no spark of wit.
 Each (24) Sixth day his dire *Hannibal* my pate
 Does fill, in doubt from *Canna* to march straight
 To *Rome*, or after storms and thunder stay,
 And lead his well-wash'd Troops some other way.
 Ile give straight what thou'lt ask, if thou canst make
 A Father hear his Son so oft. Some take
 A better course yet: for, some six or more
Sophisters in the Courts with like throat roar;
 They plead True Causes, and leave-off to speak
 Of Poisons, Feign'd Rapes, Husbands that break
 Their Vow, and Mortars, that strange Medicines hold
 Temper'd by Art to Cure the Blind, though old.
 The Rod of Freedom then he should bestow
 Upon Himself, could I prevaile, and go
 In a New way of Life, who should descend
 From *Rhetrick* Shade to Law-fight; least he spend
 His little Coine, which must get him a small
 Corn-mark; That's his Best pay. Learn, what is All
Chrysogonus and *Pollio* get, t' impart
 To Great mens sons neat *Theodorus*'s Art
 Their (25) Baths shall cost six Hundred; their walks more:
 Where they may ride when't rains: should they indure
 Till the Skie's fair, or soil their Mules so fine?
 Heer rather: here their neat Mule's hoof may Shine.
 Yonder (26) a Feasting-room shall mount on high
Numidian Pillars, breasting th' Eastern Skie,
 VVhats'ere This costs, a Carver shall beside
 Order each Dish; a Cook rare sauce provide.
 Amidst which wafts, *Quintilian* they'll allow
 Hardly two Sesterces. A Son is now
 His Fathers least Expence. How (27) then abounds
Quintilian with such Forrests and large grounds?
 Examples here of such New Fates omit:
 He that has Luck is Fair, and of sharp wit;
 He that has Luck is wise and High-born too;
 And wears (28) the bright Half-moon on his black Shoe.
 He that has Luck Figures and Reasons flings,
 And, though with cold he's Hoarse, right sweetly sings.

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

Oh, there's strange difference, what Stars guard thy head,
 VVhen first thou criest, and from fresh birth look'st Red.
 Poor *Rhetoricians* Fortune can make strange
Consuls; or These to *Rhetoricians* change!
 VVhat was *Ventidius*, what was *Tullies* State
 But Stars, and the strange Pow'r of hidden Fate?
 The Fates Crown Slaves; on Captives Triumphs throw.
 He's Lucky, yet more Rare, then a white Crow.
 Many for Greif have left the barren Chair:
Thrasymachus prov'd This by his Despair.
 Poor *Secundus Carinas Athens* taught;
 VVhich ne're durst give, save a cold Hemlock-draught.
 May the Ancients Ghosts under soft Earth find rest:
 VVith flow'rs and Endless Spring be their Urnes blest.
 A Tutor, as a Parent, They esteem'd:
 The Rod t' *Achilles* grown-big Awe-full seem'd,
 VVhiles on his Country Hills he sung; Although (29)
 His Masters Tail might make one Laugh, ye know.
Ruffus his Boys now beat; *Ruffus*; who oft
 At *Tullie's Allobrogian Rhetrick* scott.
 VVho brings t' *Enceladus* his Lap, or learn'd
Palamons, what their Grammer-toil has earn'd?
 Of This yet (less then *Rhetoricians* pay)
Acænitus the Lad's Guide Bites-away
 Part, part the Steward breaks off too: Yet 'bate
Palemon, somewhat of the utmost rate;
 As they that thick Blankets and white Ticks sell:
 So that thy Mid-night-rising, to teach well,
 Thou loose not quite. VVhat Smith then toils so hard?
 Or who, that wool with snag-tooth'd wire does card?
 So some gain comes from th' Oile, whose stink annoys,
 Of so many rank Lamps, as there stood boys;
 VVhen all their *Horace* was quite soil'd; when thick,
 VVhen fat smoak did to their daub'd *Virgil* stick.
 Yet, (30) without suit before the *Tribune*, pay
 They seldom do; but see, dire Laws ye lay
 Upon the Master. He each Rule must shew,
 Each word; read stories, and all Authors know,
 As his own Nails and Fingers. As (31) he goes
 To the Hot Baths or *Phæbus* his, propose
 your doubts; who was *Anchises's* Nurse; The Name
 And Country of *Archemorus's* step-dame;
 How long *Acestes* lived; with what store
 Of wine the *Phrygians* left *Sicilia's* shoar;
 He straight must tell. Make him with thumb, that lacks
 No skill, shape soft youths like a face in wax.
 Make him the Father of his School, and sure
 To watch, least they be mutually impure.
 Not easie 'tis to note so many hands
 And leudly trembling eies. Tend these commands;
 Says he. At (32) th' years end, so much gold thoult have,
 As for a Conquerer at the Shews, They crave.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Seventh Satyre.

A Doubt about the Emperour here prais'd as the Patron of Learning, discuss'd. Conducere furnos, not us'd in This place Proverbially; against Curio. Turnebus his Exposition of Migrare in atria not admitted. Machærophori. Ausio. The Reading and Exposition of traducit Gallica talo, examin'd. Auditors anciently invited to hear Poems. Coena disertæ, and Comites; why so call'd. Ferrarius his Exposition of Ohe, not here applicable. Autumnus his interpretation of Hydri and Atreus; likewise Britannicus and Pulmannus his Exposition of pignorat Atreus. Fregit subscellia, how expounded by Scaliger, the Scholiast, Lubin, and some others; best by Britannicus. Aurum Semestre, differently expounded from the Scholiast. Autumnus his Exposition of vinum nescire Decembri. Plays anciently sold, for the use of the Stage. The Price of Terence's Eunuchus at the second presenting. Pragmaticus. Dubium Nomen. Codex, expounded against Beroaldus. Britannicus his Exposition and others, of Russati pone Lacertæ, not admitted; the Scholiasts and Marcellus Donatus his, approved. Different acceptions of Bubulco Judice. Salarum palmæ, ill expounded by Britannicus and Lubin; rightly by Brodæus, Casaubon and Dempster. The Custome of fixing Palm-boughs to the doors of Lawyers, which obtain'd the Victory in a Cause. Epimenta, Bulbi. The mistakes of some about Vinum Tiberi devesctum. Conturbare. The low rate of Lawyers Fees. Antepedes and Circumpedes how distinguish'd by Agrætius. Mothers and Kinsfolk brought weeping before the Judges, by Lawyers, to move compassion towards their offending Children and Kinsfolk. Crambe; the fancies of Scoppa, Pulmannus, Ponticus Virunnius, the Scholiast, and partly of Pithæus and some others about it, propos'd; Politian's approv'd. Balnea sexcentis, rightly interpreted by Britannicus; ill, by Lubin. The vast expence on Baths; Their Magnificence and Form shew'd from Du Choul; with the Furnace and distinct vessels for variety of waters. Popma's error about Cænatio. ~~æææ~~ Outward Darkness; according to Maldonate and Pignorius. The Antiquity of Forrests. Quintilians wealth and supposed Honor. Palæmon the Grammarians yearly Revenue. The Figure of the Moon worn on the shoe of the Roman Nobility; and by some amongst the Jews. The Reason of the Roman Custome best express'd by Isidore. Some differences about the Place and Matter of it; whether it be rightly termed fibula by Rhodigin. Britannicus his error about the Office of Tribuni Plebis, learnedly observed by Alexander ab Alexandro. Tribuni æarii; their inferior form of Iudicature. Thermæ; Phæbi Balnea; Daphnes. Balineum Daphnidis; the great price of it. Bayes usually planted at the Baths. The Reward of the Conquerer at the Shew.

ONly in *Casare tantum*. It is a great doubt here amongst the Interpreters, which of the *Casars* is here intended. The Scholiast takes it for *Nero*; but without proof or probability, as may appear from the confirmation of a better opinion. Some

understand it of *Nerva*; some of *Trajan*; who, as *Britannicus* shews out of *Pliny*, and *Autumnus* out of *Tacitus*, was a favourer of Learning. But there being in this Satyre, mention of *Statius* Contemporary with our Poet, as of a person then flourishing, and likewise of *Paris* the Pantomime potent at the time,

time, wherein our Poet writ this Satyre, and who was also put to death by Domitian, these praises cannot extend to *Trajan's* time. *Lubin* therefore understands it of *Domitian*; saying, that though he were a cruel Tyrant, yet in the beginning of his reign he had some shew of Vertue, particularly of bounty, alleading *Sueton* for it, but chiefly that of *Quintilian* (in *Prolog. lib. 4.*) saying of *Domitian*, — *quo nec presentius aliquid, nec studiis magis propitium nomen est.* Yet *Lubin* observing *Juvenal* to inveigh here against the avarice of Great men neglecting the wretched estate of learned men in those times, confesses him to be in this Satyre very inconstant: and some have thought this written only to move *Domitian* to be such a Patron, as he is here described to be, rather then to Testify, that he was such a one. Others suppose, that seeing he writ so fiercely against *Domitian* in the fourth Satyre, he writes here only ironically: which reason I think not sufficient, though there be some truth in it; it being evident to the observing Reader, that *Juvenal's* Satyres were not written according to the order, in which they now are placed; this seventh Satyre (for instance) being written in the life time of *Domitian*, but the fourth after his death, which is mention'd in the end of that Satyre. Wherefore amongst these diversities, I think these praises to be here ascribed to *Domitian*, not for a general patronage shew'd towards learned men, as may plainly appear from the whole course of this Satyre (except in the beginning) in the misery of learn'd men of diverse professions; yet for the special favour towards some eminent wits in his Reign, as *Valerius Flaccus*, *Statius*, *Martial*, and *Quintilian*, who egregiously magnified even *Domitian*. Here then may be observ'd *Juvenal's* reasons, both for the praise and dispraise of the same person; likewise his Satyirical wit, implying the sorry condition, which some of these might have fallen into, had they not been sustain'd by special favour; and lastly our Poets ingenuity, that conceal'd not the Best of a Bad man.

2. To rent at *Gabii* a small Bath, or thought to take at *Rome* some Bake-house. *Balneolum Gabii's, Roma conducere furnis Tentarent.* — *Calius Secundus* Curio on this place thinks that it was an ancient proverb against poor men, which quak'd with cold, that they must think of taking upon a rent a Bath or a Bake-house, alleading that of *Horace*, *Qui frigus collegit, furnos & balnea laudat.* Which witty conjecture, I grant, may be admitted by way of allusion: but to speak in the strict fidelity of an Interpreter, I think the Poet to speak here rather historically: which is the more probable, because he adds such things, as were not suitable with that proverb, as that some Poets became *Criers*: in which employment, according to the season of the year, whiles in open places they waited for Chapmen, they might quake through cold, as well by their Office, as by their Poverty. I retain therefore the ordinary exposition of *Britannicus* and others.

3. — But poor *Clio* crept for relief to a Rich door. *Esuriens migraret in atria Clio.* Some expound this of some Poets, who, as they think, became Porters to Great men; others more tolerably think, that they went as mean Clients to Rich mens doors for the *Sportula*, or *Basket-dogal*. The learned *Turnebus* thinks, because there is immediately before, mention of *pracones*, that therefore by *atria* are here understood *atria Licinia* (and such like) in which large and publick places, publick sales of goods were usually made. That there were such places,

I acknowledge for a truth, yet I think them not to be here intended by the Poet: who being to give a reason, why some Poets turn'd *Criers*, says, *Cum esuriens migraret in atria*, *Clio* that is, as I think, turn *Parasites* to Great men. Which exposition I may strengthen from these two reasons, the one drawn from a like expression in another place of this same Satyre, where he says, — *tu Nobilium magna atria curas?* when as thou art neglected by the great ones, wilt thou yet be so base, as to haunt their Porches, and continue their Parasite? The other from the coherence of this place; where the Poet says, that some thought it not vile to become *Criers*, when as they saw others become *Parasites*; this condition being simply base, but that, though mean, being yet honest. But if it were expounded according to *Turnebus*, that some turn'd *Criers*, when they saw others do so, that is, when they saw others go into the places of publick sales, it were, methinks, a very weak expression; whereas the other is very Satyirical, and suitable to what immediately follows, *Nam si, &c.* for well might they, says he, turn *Criers*, like *Machara*, when they had not a farthing in purse. Thus then *Pracones fieri* and *migrare in atria*, is not the same; the latter signifying, to turn *Parasite*. Where by the way the Poets Satyirical wit may be observed, who in the recital of the wares set to publick sale, claps in amongst Cup-boards, Chests, and such trumpery, the Poems of some Silly Artists in his time, such as were *Bacchus* (or as others read it, *Paccius*) and *Faustus*; whose fabulous compositions he names and flouts at.

4. *Machara's* name and trade. Some think that *Machara* here signifies a foot-man with a weapon by his side, (meaning that needy Poets might become such) many such usually in travail attending their Lord. But, to call such a one by the name *Machara*, is harsh, they being commonly and rightly called *Macherophori*; see *Tully ad Q. Fratrem, lib. 2. epist. 8.* This exposition then favouring of affectation, I take *Machara*, as most Interpreters do, for a proper name.

5. Sell what the intrusted publick sale sets-out. *Et vendas potius commissa quod auctio vendit.* I render *Auctio*, by a publick Sale committed to the criers diligence and art; though strictly the word *auctio* might be rendered, the *Raise-price*, it being an increasing of the price according to the offers of several Chapmen.

6. From poor *Galatia* brought in bare-foot plight. *Altera quos nudo traduxit Gallia talo.* I might literally have render'd *altera Gallia*, the other *France*; but commonly it is call'd *Gallo-gracia* or *Galatia*, a Country in *Asia* the less: divers of which Country coming poor, and even bare-footed to *Rome*, were started up to Knight-hood. And here, whiles the Poet says, — *quos traduxit*, brought over Sea from *Asia* to *Rome*, some understand a scoff in the word *traduxit*, as if he said, whom I traduc'd or jeer'd-over hither, because they came barefooted: which sense, I grant, the word bears, and may be here so understood; yet only in a second place, not necessarily, the word often signifying in a more simple sense. *Rigaltius* reads, — *traducit gallica talo*, adding, *Gloves veteres Gallicula*, *Texedus*. I suppose his learned diligence rather cites it, then approves it for an Exposition. *Gallicula*, (which some make the same with *Caligula*) was the Gaulish shoe worn by Souldiers, and so it should signifie, according to this Exposition, they came rude to *Rome* with their Gaulish shoes; which sense, that they came with their *gallicula*, and yet *nudo talo*, seems a little incongruous;

congruous; the *gallicula* being though a patten, a sole without an upper leather, yet so much shoe as came above the *talus* or ankle. See *Sat.* 16. *Illust.* 3. Besides, in what sense *altera* shall be here applied to *Gallicula*, I discern not.

7. Saffron-Vellume-Book. *Crocea membrana tabella*. The Poet calls it so from the colour of it, which was yellow, or like Saffron. *Persius*, *Sat.* 3. calls it *bicolor membrana*; the hairy side being of one colour, the other side of another.

8. No Patrone does the Seats or Stairs bestow, That hang at the hir'd Scaffold-beam; or know What the *Orchestra* cost, rais'd for chief friends, And Chairs recarried, when the Reading-ends. *Nemo dabit regum, quanti subsellia consistunt, Et qua conducto pendet anabathra sigillo, Quaque reportandis posita est Orchestra castris.*

The Poet here expresses the custome of the Roman Poets, who, when for glory they would read their compositions, usually borrow'd some Great Mans house; erected about the room (*subsellia*) Seats for the Spectators [that is, Scaffolds for the meaner Auditors] at the supporting Timbers, or Beam (*sigillum*) of which seats, hung (*anabathra*) stairs. They prepar'd one special place, the *Orchestra*, which they furnish'd with hir'd Chairs, and there placed their chiefest friends. Besides, some most wretchedly hir'd applauders, whom they cunningly dispersed amongst the other auditors, to raise the rest to applause by their applause; and the rich man, who lent his house, would sometimes place his own freed-men to the like purpose; thus affording praise, but no money. See *Marcellus Donatus* on *Sueton's Nero*, cap. 17. pag. 706. to which we may adde that of the Author *de Claris Oratoribus* (vulgarly taken to be *Tacitus*) spoken of Poets; *Nam & domum mutuatur, & auditorium exstruit, & subsellia conducit, & libellos dispergit*. See also *Sat.* 1. *Illust.* 5. Moreover the manner was to invite their auditors and applauders sometimes a day, sometimes a month before; sometimes by going in person to every one's house, sometimes by messenger, sometimes by letter. These *Libelli* or *Condicilli*, *Ferrarius*, *lib.* 3. cap. 3. de *Acclam.* Vet. thinks to have been *vel argumenta vel exemplaria*, either the arguments or copies of their Poems. *Pliny*, *lib.* 3. *Epist.* 18. mentions them; a way more troublesome then the passing up of bills. Nay, they intreated men to hear them, as *Arrian* tells us in the Commentary on *Epictetus*, l. 3. c. 23. and some of more wealth Poetically given, bribed them with Suppers, or money [*sportula*] in stead of it. So *Horace* *lib.* 1. *Ep.* 19. *Non ego ventosa plebis suffragia venor Impensis Canarum*; and *Persius*, *Sat.* 1. *Calidum scis ponere sumen*; and *Juvenal* touches the other, *Sat.* 13. in those words, *Fessidium laudat vocalis agentem sportulas*, according to which sense it is call'd by *Martial*, *lib.* 6. *epig.* 48. *diserta cana*. Sometimes they gave their poorer auditors a cast cloak, as *Persius* says, *Sat.* 1. *Scis comitem horridulum trita donare lacerna*; or forgave them a debt, or gave their words for them. Some kept men in their houses for this purpose, and had them to attend upon them to the Reading-place; for which they were call'd *Comites*. See *Ferrarius*, *lib.* 3. cap. 5. 6, 7, 8. and of the bringing of seats to such places, see cap. 9.

9. *Horace* is full, when once he *Obe* cries. *Satur est cum dicit Horatius, Obe*. *Ferrarius* (*de Acclam. Ver. lib.* 3. cap. 18.) says, that *Obe* is a note of satiety or weariness in hearing; an assertion in this place not applicable; *Juvenal* not speaking here of a Poet fill'd with applause at the recitation of his Poems,

but rather with Wine and plenty before he writ. Some with a little variation read *Euhoe*; It seems to be an allusion to that of *Horace*. *Carm. lib.* 2. *Od.* 19. upon *Bacchus*,

*Euhoe, recenti mens trepidat metu,
Plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
Latatur. Euhoe, parce Liber,
Parce gravi meruende Thyrsu.*

10. — We'd have *Rubrenus Lappa's* Fate Be like his Muse; The Ancient *Buskin* he Should march; though his small dishes and cloak be At pawn to *Atrous*.

— *poscimus, ut sit
Non minor antiquo Rubrenus Lappa colubus,
Cujus & alveolos & lanam pignorat Atrous.*

The Poet shews, that singular Poverty and singular Poetry are commonly inconsistent; and that therefore when *Horace* call'd upon *Bacchus*, (*as 2 Carm. Od.* 19.) he was full of him; and that on the contrary, had *Virgil* been extream poor, he could not have made his stately descriptions of *Furies*, such as *Eleto* with her *Curies* of *Snakes* about her ears, instead of *hair*, as the Poets usually feign. Then he instances in *Rubrenus Lappa*, an excellent Poet at that time, who had he had a Patron to have encouraged him, would have equall'd *Sophocles*, and some few such like; but his wit was obscur'd by his poverty, which made him pawn his platters, though small ones, and his cloak to *Atrous* the Usurer. And here I may note two passages of *Autumnus*; who upon those words spoken of *Virgil*, *Caderem omnes à crinibus hydri*, understands figuratively by *hydri*, his *Bucoliques*, in quibus, says he, *agit de hydri Serpenibus, noxiis herbis, & animalibus nocentibus frugibus*: so that according to him, the meaning should be, that had *Virgil* been poor, he could never have written his *Bucolicks*; when as the Interpreters commonly understand it rather (and, I think, better) of his *Aeneids*; in which *lib.* 7. he himself says, — *for Erynnis sibilat hydri*, which is apparently more suitable to the meaning of *Juvenal*; that in extream poverty *Virgil* himself could never have written his *lofty Aeneids*. Again, *Autumnus* takes *Atrous* here not for a Usurer, as most Interpreters do; but for a poor Tragick Poet; who as he says, *alveolos and lanam* (for so he reads, not *lanam*) *pignorat*, lays to pawn, not as the most here take it, takes to pawn. But the construction of this place does not conveniently admit this exposition: for, to omit the petty vanities of reading, *alveolos*, as some, (taking it for the Poets Table-book; a sorry pawn for a Usurer) or *alveolos*, as the most (and understanding it of the Poets poor householdstuff, his small platters, as *Turnebus* takes it, and as it is used in the fifth Satyre, in those words, *illud enim vestris datur alveolis*) *Atrous* cannot here signify one that lays these things to pawn, seeing that it is the poverty of *Lappa*, which is here described; and the things, which are said to be pawn'd being His, as is clear by the relative *cujus*, it stands with reason, to conceive Him, to be the person, that pawns the Goods. Yet *Britannicus* thinking it neither sense, nor Latin, to expound *pignorate* to take to pawn, takes *Atrous* here, not as *Autumnus*, for the name of a Tragick Poet, but of a Tragedy written by *Lappa*. Which exposition pleases *Pulmannus* also on this place: and so the sense, which they conceive, must be this, that *Lappa's* Tragedy of *Atrous* made him pawn his small goods: they mean, by neglecting his time, whilst he intended his Play. But methinks, this is but a weak exposition: for, having imploy'd himself always in such studies, he would probably have

been baffled, if not thus, as unprofitably. Besides, if his wit were so good, as Juvenal implies, his Poem would rather have been some help unto him, as *Agave* was to *Statius*, as is testified in this Satyre. Lastly the Latin acception of *pignorari* and *pignorare* to take, as well as to give a pledge, is sufficiently known; as from that of Tully, *Mars ipse ex acie fortissimum quemque pignorari solet*; where it signifies clearly, to take to himself.

11. But when his verse has crack'd the seats, he may Be starv'd; if *Paris* buy not his new Play

Agave. — *Sed, cum fregit subsellia versu, Esurit, &c.* Joseph Scaliger (in his *Ausonian Lectiōs*, lib. 1. cap. 10.) discoursing of this passage of our Author, thinks that here is an intended reference to the *Agones Capitolini*, which were games first instituted by *Domitian* in imitation of the *Olympick Games*, in which, amongst other Artists, Poets also contended for the victory; and that in such trials, *Statius*, after the incredible expectation of the whole City, did recite his *Thebais*, but pleas'd not, whereby others obtain'd the garland against him. Of this, says Scaliger, he complains in his *Sylva*, especially in the *Epicede* on his Father: for which cause Scaliger reprehends the ordinary exposition of this place, saying, that *fregit subsellia* is as much as *recitans non stetit, sed excidit, hoc est, non placuit*; in brief, that he was overcome. Which Censure of Scaliger is recited by *Rosinus*, lib. 5. cap. 18. and by *Salmuth* on *Panciroli*, lib. 1. Tit. 42. and Scaliger himself falling upon the same argument again in his *Emendation of Times* (p. 483, 484.) shews from *Statius* himself, how that he griev'd, that he could not add the *Capitolian Oaken garland* to the *Alban Olive garland*, but that he was overcome by ancient Poets, who had formerly overcome. But the ancient and common exposition of this place is, that *Statius* in the reciting of his *Thebais* did singularly please: and therefore some expound *fregit subsellia*, of the loud and wonderful applause, which was bestow'd upon him. In this vast distance of Opinions, there is room to stand between them: and therefore to interpose mine own opinion, I think thus; first, with Scaliger, that *Statius* had the worst in reciting his *Thebais* at the *Capitolian Agones*; as is unanswerable clear from Scaliger's allegations; Secondly and differently from Scaliger, that in this place our Poet intends not that overthrow of *Statius* in these famous games; but only his recital of some part of his *Thebais*, in some Great man's house (according to the fashion mention'd in the 8th. Illustration of this Satyre); and that in such recital (probably after his overthrow) he recover'd his credit, admirably pleas'd, and thereby was encourag'd to publish his Poeme. For, that he thus pleas'd, it is invincibly evident from the whole scope of this place: wherein our Poet expresses, that though he so singularly pleas'd, yet if he had not sold a new play of *Agave* to *Paris* the famous Actor, he might have been starv'd; Thirdly, that *fregit subsellia*, as it cannot be here expounded, with Scaliger, of his Overthrow, so neither, with the Scholiast and some others, be understood of the Applause; though I acknowledge that custom and the marvellous excess of it. But I think that it ought to be more plainly understood of his own laborious and exalted recital, or pronunciation; and therefore *Britannicus* expounds *versu* by *recitatione versuum*; according to his exposition of that in the first Satyre — *assiduo rupta lectore columna*; where he likewise adds, *assiduo lectoris & recitatoris clamore*; and *columna rupta* he ex-

presses by this *fregit subsellia*; but first by that of *Virgils* *Et caniu querula rumpunt arbuta cicada*: where *rumpunt* cannot be applied to any return'd applause, but to the insensive noise of the grasshoppers themselves. And in a like, but a worse sense, the Poet in the beginning of the first Satyre calls *Codrus* for his tedious recitation, *rancens*. *Lubin* does not mention Scaliger's opinion, perchance to conceal his dislike: but understands *fregit subsellia* of the wondrous multitude of Auditors, which by occasion of *Statius* his Reading, flocking thither break the seats. Yet he presently adds, *vel potius est hyperbolica locutio de ipso Statio recitante*, who with the vehemency of his recitation might be said to break the seats. It may by the way be farther observed, that *Juvenal* in speaking of the great concourse to hear *Statius*, says, *tantaque libidine vulgi*; where he may seem to discover some frailty of emulation; *libido* implying an excess to what it is applied, and *vulgi* diminishing the glory of the Poet, by the mean quality of the Auditory. In which point, it being not necessary for me to undertake an absolute defence of our Poet, I may considerably allege; first that our Poet generally in his first Satyre does in some degree jeer at all Heroical Poems, as at unprofitable fictions: Secondly, that *Statius* his work, by the swelling of proper names of Persons and places, is somewhat unhappily darken'd; though it cannot be denied to be a Composition full of delight, and for height of wit Admirable.

12. — He Knights Poets, whom adorn'd we see With their gold-half year's Rings. — *Ille & militia multis largitur honorem, Semestri vatum digitos circumligat auro*. The Poet speaking, here against the undeserv'd favour of *Paris* a Player, says that he was so potent with the Emperor, that he bestow'd Knighthood, military honours and the like, upon Poets: which he expresses by saying, that he adorn'd their fingers *auro semestri*, that is, with the gold ring. But why *Semestre* should make *aurum* signifie a ring, different reasons are given. The Scholiast on these words, *Semestri vatum digitos*, says, *Id est, in modum luna plena, equitum de numero, id est, annulo Semestri aut luna dicitur, cum mensis medium permensa est spatium, aut Xymam dicit, hoc est, cui ut plena sit, parum admodum deest; cum velut anulus in orbem collecta est*. In which passage we may correct those words, *aut Xymam dicit*, as *Kuigelius* aptly does (in his *Var. Lectiōs*, lib. 6. cap. 18.) and read *aut Xutam*, (that is, *decimam quintam*) *dicit*. The meaning then will be, that the Moon at a fortnight old, (or, at the 15th day) is at the full, and may be call'd *Semestris Luna* (as it is by *Apuleius* in his *Asin*.) an half-month Moon; at which age she being round like a ring, *aurum semestre* may signifie circular gold, or like the Moon at the full, and so a ring; but this methinks seems far fetch'd. Others without such affectation take the word *semestre* not for the space of half a month, but of six months (for the word will bear either sense) and so they conveniently think, that the Poet here speaks of such rings, as he does in the first Satyre, where he speaks of their six-months rings, namely heavy winter-rings, and lighter summer-rings: so that the Poet means, that even *Paris*, though a Player, did if he pleas'd, so enrich Poets, that like Knights and other wealthy ones, they could at pleasure wear their variety of gold-rings. And this exposition is very warrantable; only in a farther and more especial sense this may be added, that he at his pleasure gave them military honours, making

making whom he pleas'd, *Præfests*, and *Military Tribunes*, Officers that continued for six months: whence *Pliny* in an Epistle *pro Calvisio* calls it *Semestris Tribunatus*, and by their place wear gold-rings, as *Appian. Alexandrinus* testifies, *lib. de Bello Lybico*, cap. 11. and *Pliny*, *lib. 33.* which sense is very suitable both to the precedent verse, *Ille & militia multis largitur honorem*, and to the third verse following, *Præfello Pelopæa facit, Philomela Tribunos*; meaning that Tragedies of such Persons and Arguments, as *Pelopæa* and *Philomela*, caused Poets to be advanced to Military honours. And this jeering verse, as the *Scholast* tells us, cost *Juvenal* a banishment.

13. —That is fed By his Stage labours. —*Quem pulpa pascunt.* *Autumnus* expounds it of his recitations of his Poëms: but it is apparent, that by that means he could get nothing, except praise; but by providing stage-ware he got indifferent maintenance; whereas commonly Poets were so poor, that they were fain to want wine even all *December* (as the Poet speaks) though that were a time, which might most require it, both for the extremity of the weather, and the common jollity of the season, being the Month in which were kept their *Saturnals*, wherein even Servants triumph'd in wine and licentiousness. *Autumnus* on the word *Decembri*, gives here this note, *Quo mense solet lugubri & abstineri a commestationibus & comotationibus*: but how can this sense be agreeable to this of our Author! for then, what greater misery had this been to Poets, then to others? Of the custom of Poets selling their Playes for the use of the Stage, see *Brodeus* in his *Miscellan. lib. 9. cap. 17.* shewing it out of *Terence*: who had for his *Eunuchus*, when it was presented the second time, *octo millia sestertium* (he speaks of *Sestertii*) that is 8 *sestertia*; which reduced make 621. 108. *Donatus* tells us the same; that he sold it *octo millibus sestertiis*.

14. —So to get By proof from his great book a Doubtful Debt. *Qui venit ad dubium grandi cum codice nomen.* The Poet speaking here of the vehemency of Lawyers in their pleadings, says that they plead hard, when the Creditor hears them, but especially when they are jogg'd by one more eager, then an ordinary Creditor, *acrior illo*: which more fierce plaintive he farther describes by saying, *Qui venit, &c.* Who comes with his great book *ad dubium nomen*, to prove a doubtful debt. But some understand by —*acrior illo, Qui venit*— the Debter's Proctour, or else his *Pragmaticus*, he that, according to the custom of these times, turned the books for him; and by *Codice*, the book of the Laws, or as others, the book of the Debter's Receipts and Expences; or, as some, the book or bundle of papers containing the whole proceedings of the cause; and so they expound *ad dubium nomen*, that he came on the debter's behalf to disprove the debt, by shewing it to be Doubtful. Yet these expositions, if consider'd, will not stand. For, (to refute it by parts) to understand it of the Debter's Proctour striving to deny and disprove the debt, is not so congruous; since the Poet might then more clearly have express'd it, by saying *In dubium nomen*, rather than *ad dubium*; the first signifying rather to disprove, the latter to prove the debt. Besides, to take *Codex* as *Philip Beroald* does (in his *Annotat. p. 208.*) for the Debter's book of reckonings is most improbable; for of what force should that be, to avoid the Creditor? Wherefore it is most probable, that by *acrior* here is understood the Creditor himself, as most solici-

tious in his own business; yet not every Creditor, but such a one, as in some especial case, wanting unhappily so full a proof of his debt, as he could wish, strives to make-up the sufficiency of his witness, by his book of reckonings and the Clamour of his Lawier. And so *Codex* may be understood of the Creditor's Debt-book alleg'd happily *ad dubium nomen*, for the proof of a question'd debt, according to which sense and choice I render it.

15. The Red-coat Chariotier *Lacerta*'s state. —*Russati pone Lacerta.* I may not omit, for the singularity, the various readings of this place. *Philip Beroald* reads, *Sisapone Lacerta* (as some in the like sense, *Saisipone*) *Sisapone* being a Town in Spain mention'd by *Pliny lib. 33.* where the Romans had their *miniaria*, mines of red lead; and thus the Poet should mean, that a little land though a great way off, and so the less worth, was yet more then the estate of a hundred Lawiers; *rus Lacerta* signifying a little land, according to that of the Poet before, *unius sese dominum fuisse lacerta*, to be master of as much land, as a Lizard can turn himself in; though to speak strictly, this were rather false, then witty. Others read, *rus Sati Lacerta*, making *Satus Lacerta* a rich Roman, whose One estate exceeded the estates of a hundred Lawiers. *Marcellus Donatus* on *Julius Capitolinus* (in *Clodio Albino*) upon occasion of this place says, *Apud Plinium mentio est Russæ, seu Russata auriga. De quo forte Juvenalis, Sat. 7. & non de milite, ut alii credidere: forte alia solum Russati pone Lacerta*: wherein he rejects (and rightly) the exposition of *Britannicus*, who interprets it of some Souldier, the colour of whose garments, as he alleges, was reddish, to dissemble the colour of his blood, when shed. But *M. Donatus* his exposition is better, being in effect the most receiv'd, and indeed the most probable opinion; *Lacerta* (or as some read, *Lacerna*) being a Chariotier in the time of *Domitian*, as the *Scholast* tells us; on those words, *Pone Lacerna.* *Nomen auriga abjecti, ex colore Russatus. Lacerna sub Domitiano auriga fuit.* Thus, there being diverse factions of Chariotiers distinguish'd by the colours of their garments, and one called the Reddish faction (as more largely may be seen, *Sat. 11. Illustrat. 16.* the Poet to shew the singular vanity of the Emperor, says that one such vain fellow, as *Lacerta*, was by the favour of the Emperor, richer then an hundred Lawiers. Briefly then, the Poet says, Put the estates of an hundred Lawiers in one scale, and *solum rus* only the land of one Chariotier, *Lacerta*, of the Reddish faction in the other scale, and this one shall out-weigh them all.

16. Thy judge is wife *Bubulcus*. —*Bubulco Judice.* The Poet here ironically describes their solemn and fruitless pleadings, borrowing that piece of *Ovid, Confedere Duces*. The Judges, says he, take their places; then thou a Lawier risest-up pale like *Ajax*, when with fear he pleaded for *Achilles* his armour: even pale with fear, says he, art thou, being to plead before the Judge *Bubulcus*, in defence of one's Liberty, or Free state of Birth, which some call in question. For so it was put to the question, whether he were to be accounted a free man, whose mother was free at the time of his birth, but a Servant at the time of her conception; or one whose mother being with child was set free, yet was afterwards made a Servant again before her childbirth. Such causes, as the Poet implies, Lawiers did use to plead with much care and small profit. In which passage some take *Bubulcus* for the proper name of some Judge, others for

for some ignorant Judge purposely describ'd by such a name. It may be taken, I grant, either way; for we find, says *Britannicus*, *Bubulcus* to have been the name of one, that was twice Consul, A. V. 508. and 518. namely *C. Atilius Bubulcus*; and so it may be plainly here used, as the name of *Gallicus* the City-Judge, *Sat.* 13. But the best Copies of the *Fasti Consulares* have it now in each place, *C. Atilius Bulbus*. Yet I deny it not to be probable, that our Poet according to his Satyrical way, might choose here such a name, as might in a second sense impie a jeer also against the Judge, alluding more particularly, as *Britannicus* thinks, to the practice of *Cæsar*, who admitted diverse *Gaules* to the number and honour of Senators; a thing afterwards amended by *Augustus*, as *Sueton* reports: yet if the like fault had not been continued in the times of our Poet, to what purpose had he touch'd upon it? A like jeer is used by the witty *Cervantes*, who calls his Knight errant, *Don Quixote*, or *Don Kneearmour*; and his Squire, *Sancho Panca*, or *Sancho Gorbelly*.

17. Green Palmes may make thy Stairs and Thee admir'd. *Figantur virides scalarum gloria palma.* The Poet says, that all that which the Lawiers commonly got, was either a little vain glory, or a little profit. Some understand by *Scalarum gloria*, the *scala Gemonia*, saying, that then the Lawier was honour'd, when he caus'd the person, against whom he pleaded, to be condemn'd to that execution; so *Britannicus*. But we may lay aside this remote exposition, as of a thing, which happen'd but sometimes, this passage intending something more frequent. *Lubin* says, that he, which conquer'd in Pleading, had a Palme-branch fix'd-up in his House (in *Domo ejus*) which was, says he, *scalarum vel pulpiti gloria, ex quibus dixisset*; the honour of the Pew or advanc'd Seat, to which by stairs he went-up, and from whence he pleaded. More natural is *Brodaus* his exposition (in his *Miscellan. lib. 9. cap. 1.*) who understands it of Palme-branches usually fix'd at such mens doors, to which they ascended by steps; expounding *scalarum* by *domus tue graduum, vestibuli ac janua*, adding that of *Claudian. 2. de Rapt. Proserpt. —alii pratexere ramis Limina—*. And here we may remember that of *Lucian* (in *Rhet. Præcept.*) *οἱ πολὺναι δὲ τῶν ἐν δούρῳ χροῶσι ἐστραυφίοντες πύλοισι τῶν ἐν τῷ δούρῳ χροῶναι τοῖς ἀδελφαῖς*. But the best expression of this place is (as I think) that of *Isaac Casaubon* (cited by *Autumnus*) who by *Scala* understands the many stairs by which Poets, Lawiers and other such poor men ascended to their houses or rather chambers being indeed but the *cock-lofts* of other men's houses; adding, that the manner was for those that had the better in their Court-Pleadings to fix-up a Palme-branch before their poor door in a vaunt of their success, alleging that of *Lucan* in his *Panegy. ad Pisonem, —licet exerceretogata Munera militia—*; and afterwards, *Hinc quoque servati contingit gloria civis, Atque victrices intexunt limina palma.* And thus our Poet, by the description of such professors habitations, does not without a jeer impie their neediness, as if he should say, that all the glory of such *cock-loft-men* is but to adorn their stairs with a palme-bough: to which we may only add this little difference, that their Clients fastned them up at their Lawiers doors, as *Dempster* says on *Rosinus, lib. 5. cap. 28. p. 514. col. 2.*

18. —Or your Moore's stale Monthly fish; Or wine brought down by Tiber—. —*aut veteres Afrorum epimenia bulbi*; *Aut vinum Tiberi deveſtum*. Amongst

the poor rewards here said to be brought to the Lawiers, are reckon'd the *bulbi*, which some take for onions or such coated roots; Others for a kind of fish, brought Monthly from *Africa*. The word indeed signifies both, yet of the two I rather choose the last, the Poet having immediately before mention'd in like manner another kind of fish, namely the *Pelamides*, or *Tunnies*. Besides, to suppose that *Italy* needed to be supplied with Onions from *Africa* (though thence, I grant, it had the choicest mushrooms) seems improbable, though *Lubin* intimates some to have been of that opinion. Besides, the word *veteres* by way of disgrace, is more applicable to fish, then to onions, especially if those be but of one months keeping: which short time does not usually make these the worse, but the other without the better ordering, odious; yet such stale *bulbi*, were the monthly provisions of the *Africans*, or which the *Moors* sent to *Rome*. We may here take notice likewise of the wine sutable to such fish, bestow'd upon them, namely not the rich and forraign wines of *Greece*, nor the good ones of their own *Italy*, but such as came down by *Tiber*. The *Scholias*t speaks a part of this truth, whiles he says, *Non transmarinum, id est, cibarium*, that is, not beyond-Sea wine, but ordinary, or good enough at meals. But *Britannicus* on this place says, *quasi dicat Transmarinum, non Romanum aut Campanum, quod optimum erat*; that it was Forraign wine, not brave wine, such as the *Roman* or *Campanian*. The last and negative part of which speech is true; the first and affirmative being false, in which he says, it was forraign wine. Nor is *Lubin* free from the like mixture of truth and error, who expounds it thus, *vile & ingratum vinum de Campano agro per Tiberim Romam deorsum veſtum, non transmarinum*; in which whiles he says it was vile wine, and yet *Campanian*, he couples contraries, the *Campanian* being excellent wine. Again whiles he says, that it was *Campanian* and yet brought down by *Tiber*, he speaks clean contrarie to the way of conveyance; *Campania* being the Country now call'd *Terra di Lavoro*, lying from *Rome* towards the South East; the main body of the Country call'd the *Territorie* of *Rome* (now *Campagna di Roma* in the North-West part whereof *Rome* it self is seated) lying between the City of *Rome* and *Campania*: whereas the Poet says, that the wine was *deveſtum*, brought down the *Tiber*; and therefore from the North Southward, to *Rome*. To amend therefore such errors, we may take notice of *Brodaus* his exposition of this passage: who in his *Miscellanies, lib. 9. cap. 17.* calls the wine here understood, *Vinum Vejentanum*, and adds, *Tiberis autem Vejentem agrum a Crustumino dividit; vile omnino ac tenue, non exoticum, aut transmarinum, utpote Chium, &c.* So that he understands here *Vejentane* wine. Which though I believe to be a truth, yet it is necessary to quit one difficulty, before we may admit it; and that is, to shew the Country of this wine, that so it might be *deveſtum*, such as might be brought down the *Tiber*: which point, though it be intimated by *Brodaus*, yet it may seem contrary to the learned *Ortelius*, who in his *Theſaurus Geograph.* places *Vejentum* in *Campania*, as he notes out of *Acron* upon *Horace, 2. Serm.* which peradventure was the reason of *Lubin's* assertion and mistake, that this wine was *de Agro Campano*: but according to *Brodaus* his intimation, it grew North-ward from *Rome*, and so sutably to the Poets description. The solution of which doubt may briefly be obtain'd, if we observe the varietie of Places in names oft times not much various.

rious. Though then we grant with *Ortelius* a Town in *Campania* call'd *Vejentum*, yet we must also grant another called *Veii* in *Hetruria*, where the wine call'd the *Vejentan* wine grew, as *Lubin* himself on *Perfume*, *Sat. 5.* on those words, *Vejentanumque rubellum*, observes; though unhappily in this place, he thought not on it. And this acknowledgment agrees both with *Brodaus* his exposition and the sense of this place; which implies that this wine grew not far from *Tiber*, and Northward from *Rome*, which is agreeable to a part of *Hetruria*, whence by opportunitie of the River, it was conveniently brought to the City. And such *Vejentan* wine of a dark-red colour, being neither very good, nor far fetch'd, was made the sorry reward for a poor Lawier, and such, according to *Perfume*, as the niggardly Seaman afforded himself.

19. Thus *Pedo* breaks, *Matho*, *Tongillus* too,
That makes with his great Oil-horn much ado.
Sic Pedo conurbat, Matho deficit, exitus hic est
Tongilli, magno cum Rhinoceros lavari
Qui solet

The Poet here suddenly turns his speech, expressing that though some crafty and vaunting Lawier got more than the meaner and simpler sort of that profession, by a pretence of wealth, yet it was but *facie majoris vivere census*, pretence of riches, and that at last they did by such means break, as is implied in the word *sic* and *conturbat*; *conturbare fortunas*, being to turn bankrupt. I need not here refute Lubin's first opinion, who once did read, *Marbo dejecit*, that he supplanted poorer Lawiers, he himself being rich, and having his new Litter, as is expressed in the first Satyre in those words, *Causidici nova cum veniat Lethica Mathonis*; both because Lubin did retract his opinion, and that indeed it was but a pretence of wealth, as *Martial* intimates in that passage, *Non tu properea, sed Marbo pauper eris*. But here in the description of *Tongillus* his vanitie, we may observe, that the Poet mentioning his bringing to the Bath on Oile-horn not of the ordinary sort, of a Bull's horn, but in pride the horn of a *Rhinoceros* (by *Britannicus* here called, *alicornus*) does, by a figure, put the beast for the horn.

20. *Cicero* ne're should see Two hundred *Seſterces* for his beſt ſec. — *Ciceroni nemo ducentos Nunc dederit nummos*. Some would have *nummus* the ſame with *drachma*, which in ordinary acception (and the loweſt of diverſe) being in value, 4d. 200. would amount unto 3l. 6s. 8d. But the *nummus* being by the general conſent of the learned the ſame with *Seſtertius*, and ſo but 1d. ob. q. q. if it be multiplied by 200. comes but to 1l. 11s. 3d. which is the ſumme here intended. See more largely of this, (*Nummus*) *Sat.* 11. *Illuſt.* 2.

at. Gown'd friends before. — *Togati Ante pedes*—. The Poet describes the Pomp of the thriving, at least of the pretending Lawiers, who had their eight Servants to carry them in their Litter, half a score Attendants, with a Chair brought after them for their change at pleasure, and other Citizens their friends, who went before them in their gowns to grace such their Patrons : *antepedes* being as much as *anteambulones* ; and as *Agratius* the old *Grammarians* (in his book of *proprietas & differentia sermonis*) tells us, *Circumpedes sunt obsequia servorum, antepedes amicorum*. To which sense *Marzial* says, *Sum comes ipse tuus, tumidique anteambulo regis*. Thus only the rich and vaunting Lawiers were employ'd, especially in the weightiest causes, how small so ever their Skill was : whiles the poor ones, though able and eloquent, such as *Basilus*, were

neglected, especially if the cause were of moment; as, by pleading, to preserve the life of an offending Son, in danger of death by the Law. In which case the Lawyers did use to bring in a weeping Mother, brothers and kindred, to move compassion by tears; in which case, says the Poet, they never employ a poor, though eloquent *Basilus*; but your ruffling pretenders.

22. — Though their full forms with noise
Have kill'd fierce Tyrants —. *Cum perimit favos
classis numerosa tyrannos.* Some make the sense to
be, Thou O iron-breast'd *Vesilius* teachest School-
boys, by thy art of *Rhetorick*, to declaim; who
in their Declamations kill fierce Tyrants, that
is, persuade others to kill them. But this
exposition *Lubin* justly rejects, thinking it an
allusion to *Dionysius the Sicilian Tyrant*; who
was fain to teach a School at *Corinth*, and, as
the Poet by an aggravation says, was even
killed with the continual hearing of School-boy's
repetitions: for to he adds, *Occidit miseris, &c.*
so that he speaks not of a fictitious killing of Ty-
rants in declamations; but the very killing of
the wretched *Rhetoricians*, that continually taught
and heard such declamations.

23. Such oft-dress'd Colewort does poor Masters kill. *Occidit miseris Crambe repetita magistros.* The reading and interpretation which here I use, as it was long since preferr'd by *Politian*, so is it now the most receiv'd, and as I think, the most natural, and to the best, being an allusion to the Greek proverb, *αις κηψις θανατος*: so that as Colewort twice or more often serv'd-up was esteem'd so loathsome, that it was accounted as a deadly dish; so loathsome likewise, so deadly were such declamations. This were enough for the exposition of this place, but that for delight I may add the fancies of others, *Scoppa* then in his *collect. lib. 2. cap. 2.* reads *Cambre*, and alleges a book concerning the *mirabilia Puteolorum*, wherein it is said that *Cambre* was a Town destroy'd by the *Cumani*; in remembrance whereof a story was written & called *Cambre*, which as the author says, was read in Schools and understood in this verse by *Juvenal*, & this story upon no other hear-say *Scoppa* likes; and it is alleg'd also by *Pulmannus*, but from *Scoppa*. *Ponticus Virannius* (cited by *Ortelius* in his *Theaur. Geograph.* in the words, *Britannia Insula*) thinks that by *Cambre* (for so he also reads) *Juvenal* in this Satyre means *Wales*, *Cambria*. If I may guess at the occasion of his mistake and appetite to expound it, I should think it was to please the *Bodoërian* familie famous in His time (about the year 1490) in *Venice*, but of *British* race, in favour of whom (to shew the *British* Antiquities) he did epitomize the first six books of *Jeffry* of *Monmouth's* ten books: but I leave it to the reader to judge, if his opinion here be not as wide from the truth, as *Wales* from *Venice*? One fancie more I may allege, and that is of the old *Scholiast*, who upon *crambe repetita* says, *Proverbium de Cramba & Anatho omnibus tritum, cum nihil sibi iam fuisse cognitum significare voluerint. Tritum & a nimis frequenti relatione historia fide fabula ab aliquo iam scripta.* Whereby he would seem to implie, that there was some known fable or story of that name grown irksome by the familiaritie. Which exposition I had not alleg'd, as being derided by *Politian*, but that the learned *Pithæus* gives this note here on the old *Scholiast*, *Scio hæc à Politiano derisa quondam, nec tamen contemnenda putavi.* But if I

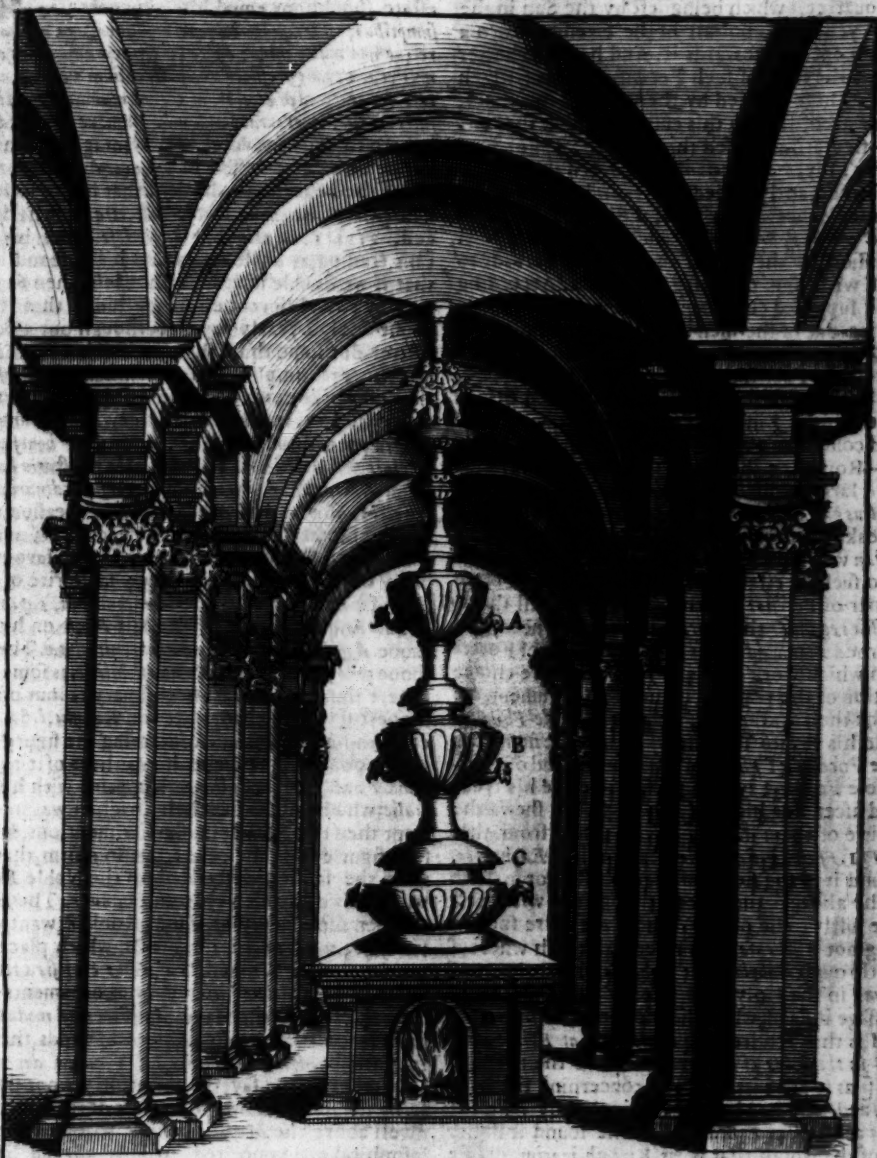
should use the like licence of fancie as others do, I might say, that some ignorant *amantissimus* finding in the *Scholias* the Greek proverb written in Latin Letters, did instead of proverbium, *dis crambe thanatos, omnibus tritum*, read, to make it seem more easie, *Proverbium de Crambe & Anabo, omnibus tritum*; and that the rest which follows in the *Scholias* is but the addition and fancie of some such like reader. Or if we would make sense of the rest which follows in the *Scholias*, we may fancie that some known book commonly read to children in the Schools was by a jeer for the frequency of it, ironically term'd *Crambe*, or *Colewort*. Or if we shall farther venture upon conjecture and somewhat like *Scoppa* read *Cramba*, we may suppose it to have been some doleful Poem compos'd of *Cambra*, who is said to have been the unhappy Mother of unhappy *Priamus*; but unlikely to have been so old, as to have seen the death of her old Son. Wherefore he that will be content with easie and sober sense, may rest in the interpretation of *Politian*.

24. Each sixth day his dire *Hannibal* my pate Does fill—*Cujus mihi sexta Quaque die miserum dirus caput Hannibal implet*. The Poet here accuses the Parents for accusing the Schoolmaster that their Son did not profit, whom the Poet merrily calls an *Arcadian* lad, and *As*; the *As*es of *Arcadia* being proverbially notorious. He expresses then the Master's pains, who to irksomness hears his declamation of *Hannibal* every sixth day repeated, and that so whiles he strives to perfect the boy, he starke tires himself.

25. Their Baths shall cost six Hundred; Their Walks more. *Balnea sexcentis, & plus porticus*. The Poet here comparing the expences of parents in the instruction of their children with their expences upon their Pleasure, shews that even the chiefest masters of *Rhetorick*, such as *Pollio* and *Chrysogonus*, which taught Great Mens Sons that Art out of the Books of *Theodorus* the *Gadaraean*, got but a small reward: whereas rich parents cared not how much they spent upon their Baths, their Arch'd walks, and such other delights. In which passage, in exposition of the words *Balnea sexcentis*, (which some pass-over in a huddling manner) the *Scholias* and *Britannicus* think the Poet to speak of the Building of costly Baths: but *Lubin* takes it to be understood of their yearly expences in the Bath-fee and other such appurtenances. In which diversitie of Opinions, though none of them give any reasons for the proof of their own, yet I think the first opinion to be true, and *Lubins* not to be admitted, as may appear by the summe here mention'd, if examin'd. For the Poet speaking before of an ordinary Lawier's fee, nay, even of *Cicero's*, said it would not rise to 200. *Sestertii*, or 11. 11s. 3d. unless he made a great shew of wealth; and speaking afterwards of *Quintilian's* pay, he makes it but two *Sestertia*, that is, 1s. 12s. 6d. but the expence on either Pleasure must vastly surmount these unwilling charges. According to which sure ground and the clear intention of the Poet in this place, the examination of the summes shall quit the doubt. If then we understand *Sexcentis* (their expence on their Baths) to be spoken here, as *Lubin* does, of the nummus or *Sestertius* 1d. ob. qa. q. it arises being multiplied by 600: to 41. 13s. 9d. and so

is far less, then the reward of *Quintilian*, though but a *Rhetorician*. But if *Sexcentis* be understood of the *Sestertium* (which was 1l. 16s. 3d.) it arises being multiplied by 600; to no less then 4687l. 10s. a summe proudly surmounting the trifle of a Schoolmasters reward, or the yearly expences in Bathing. Yet as the Poet says thus vast was their charge of Building for their Glory or Pleasure in their Baths, which though stately, were of a less extent then their *Porticus* or Arch'd walks (like Cloisters). Yet because the Summe of 600. *Sestertia*, or 4687l. 10s. is very great, which their less expence, that is of their Baths, amounted to, (for, the charge of their Walks was greater, as the Poet says) it will not be either unnecessary or unpleasant, to see the fashion of one of them (and in that the probable expence) according to the magnificence of that Age and Empire. See then this magnificent Bath, as it is expressed by *Du Choul*, a learned French Antiquarie, in his work *Des Bains & Antiques Exerc. pag. 5.* * Wherein for the better understanding of this point of Antiquitie and diverse passages of this and other Authors, may be observ'd the several vessels or places, and conveyances for the diversities of their waters. The inward roof of the Edifice does much resemble the inward roof of a stately Church if view'd to advantage of stateliness, as commonly from the West door upward. Within it was the *Hypocaust*, which was the place, where the fire was kept to heat the vessels in the Bath, which were made after the fashion of furnaces. Over which *Hypocaust* were set three brazen vessels one above another, as *Vitruvius* has it, lib. 5. cap. 10. the Lowest of which (signified by the letter. C.) was *Caldarium*, in which was Hot water: the Middlemost (expressed by the letter. B.) was called *Tepidarium*, in which was warm water: the uppermost (at the Letter. A.) was called *Frigidarium*, in which was Cold water; under all which, the Fire was kept: the Mouth of which Fire-place was called *Præfurnium* (at the Letter D.) The water in which brazen vessels was so order'd, that cold water being conveyed into the *Frigidarium* descended thence into the *Tepidarium*, and thence consequently into the *Caldarium*: (the upper vessel still supplying the under-vessel, as the under-vessel emptied.) So that the nearest above the Fire was the Hot water; the next remov'd was the Warm water, and the most remov'd or uppermost was the Cold water. Briefly to prove their wonderful cost on their Baths, I may only refer the reader to *Seneca. Epist. 86.*

26. Yonder a Feasting Room shall mount on high Numidian pillars, breasting th' Eastern skie. *Parte alia longis Numidarum fulsa columnis Surgat, & algentem rapiat cænatio solem. Surgat*, literally, Let there arise, as if it were spoken by some Rich one appointing in the proud vanitie of his wealth, some new and stately Edifice? *Cænatio* is the same with *Cænaculum*, which was the room, wherein they sup'd, in the upper part of the house, as is commonly noted, more particularly here by *Britannicus*, and likewise by *Dempster* on *Rosinus*, lib. 5. cap. 28. where he expounds *Cænaculum* by *Cænatio*, alleging that of *Sidon. Apollinar. Carm. 22. v. 207. Alia volubilibus patet hinc Cænatio valvis*. And as for the situation of the *Cænaculum*, *Varro, 4. de Ling. Lat.* says, —*superioris domus universa cænacula dicta*; that at last all upper rooms were call'd *cænacula*. Which I the rather note, because *Ausonius Poppa* in his learned and curious labour *de Differentiis verborum*, lib. 1.



An. Sat. VII. Illust. 25.

lib. i. in the word *cænaculum*, though he makes *cænaculum* to be a room in *superiore parte adium* (and rightly) in which they sup'd, makes *cænatio* (by way of difference) to be a supper-room in *imo domus*; in the lower part of the house. Wherein I believe he is mistaken, as may appear, both from the judgment of others, taking them for the same thing, and the invalidity of his own allegations, as also from *Sidonius* his epithet *alta*, and this expression of *Juvenal*, *longis fulta columnis*; which seems to be understood of the whole room, not of the roof only: and lastly from the convenient use of such height, which purposely was for the taking of the fresh air. Some would understand here, by *algen-*

tem solem, solem hybernium; the sunne in winter: but would not such a room entertain it also in Summer? and then prove as inconvenient, as convenient in winter? Some would have this room of pleasure here intended to open to the North, because the Poet says, *algentem solem*: by as much reason we may say, it cannot intend the North, the North being not at all the *Sun's quarter*; and for the South and West they are rather places of heat, even the West toward night, to a Room supposed by any to lie open towards the West, especially near the evening, which was the season of supper & feasting, with the Romans. I rather therefore understand this, as the most considerate interpreters do,

culantem; but *Loënsis* says, he sees not, why he should call it so; for, says he, *Fibula id calceamenti non fuit, sed extrinsecus ad malleum utriusq; pedis ornamenti gratia & velut patritia nobilitatis insigne appositum*: that it was not a tie, nor clasp of the shoe, but worn on the out-sides of both the ankles. But peradventure the learned *Rhodigine* call'd it so from the similitude of *fibula Comædi*, which, was the straight-lin'd fide being taken away, like an Half-Moon. See before, *Sat. 6. Illustrat. 11.*

29.—Although His Master's tail might make one laugh, ye know. — *Et cui non tunc Eliceret risum ciitharæ causa magistri*. The Poet shewing here the miserie of some Rhetorick-Professors, as of *Thrasymachus* a *Carthuginian*, that through the smallness of the reward left the Profession, & of *Secundus Carinas*, that was banished by *Caligula*, (as *Dion* relates) for making by way of exercise an Oration against Tyrants, affirms the former times to have been better; and that in Old time *Achilles*, though grown great, stood in awe of his Master, though his tail might have made him more ridiculous, then dreadful. In which expression he secretly jeers at the fiction of his supposed Musick-Master *Cithon* the *Centaur*, whose upper part was like a man, the lower part like a Horse; & therefore he is called by him, *Caudatus magister*: though by the way, I may remember for the singularity of it, that *Barbolinus* in his *Anatomic* (l. 4. c. 15.) relates such a story of a *Danish* child, making it only an extraordinary excrescency of bones below the *os coccygis*, the rump bone (called so from the resemblance of the *cuckee's* bill, as he describes it) saying, *maiores vero ossum & cartilaginum numerum adfuisse puto in puero illo Danico, cui cauda excreverat*. But, says our Poet proceeding in his expression of His times, Now-adays even boys will strike their masters, though such as *Satrius Ruffus* a proud & stout one; *Ruffus*, that sleighted *Tully* himself, as but a fellow of an *Allobrogian* (*Gaulish*) for grosser eloquence; or rather, as some think, that accused *Tully* (as *Salust* likewise does) of conspiring secretly with the *Allobrogians*.

30.—Yet, without suit before the *Tribune*, pay They seldom do.—*Rara tamen merces, qua cognitione Tribuni Non egeat*.—The Poet here shews the misery of *Grammarians*, such as were *Encladus* and *Palamon* (though this latter were unhappy chiefly by his intemperance) telling them that they must deal like other trades-men, that is, abate somewhat of their first set price; though seldom they got their pay without complaint to the *Tribune*, so to compel the parents to the payment of their stipend; for, says *Lubin*, *Hoc inter alia Tribunorum munus erat*. He speaks warily and aloof off; but *Britannicus* is more particular in his last annotation on this Satyre, saying, *Sed finis anno primum tuum promeritum non accipies nisi per litem, & quod populus, id est, ipse Tribunus magistratus populi iusserit tibi vi-flori dari, ut sic referas ad illud, Rara tamen merces qua cognitione Tribuni Non egeat*—so that by *Tribunus* he, as some others since him, understands the *Tribune* of the People. Unto which interpretation *Cælius Secundus Curio* adds another, and shewing first his dislike of *Britannicus* his exposition, he uses these words, — *suam tamen illi interpretationem reliquimus, & nostram in fine, scholii vice, subjunximus hoc modo, &c.* The substance of his addition is this, that to say that *Tribunus plebis* did decide such controversies, as whether a Schoolmaster should have his Pay which was agreed-for, is a vain untruth, and against all Antiquities; such causes belonging to the *Tribuni ararii*, whom he calls *leves & nummarios iudices*, who did distribute justice with far less solemnities; for, as he says, *In subsellio, non pro Tribunali jus dicebant*; so that they sat not in state on the *Tribunal*, as the *Prætor* did. Which reprehension is accurate, yet deserves a reprehension, seeing he sets it down as his own observation, which he first publish'd but in

anno 1551. whereas indeed it is the correction of *Alexand. ab Alexandro*, about threecore years before, in his *Gen. Die. l. 2. c. 24.* out of which place *Curio* transcribes hither above twenty lines *verbatim*, without acknowledging either here or in his preface, that he tendered but Collections, which yet might have yielded him credit enough for his own understanding, Censure & Disposal; but expressly he calls it his own interpretation. See more of these *Tribuni ararii*, in *Alexand. ab Alexandro. l. 5. c. 2.* who shews, that they sat in *Foria Basilica*, a place built by *Cato*, & more particularly to our present purpose says of them, — *quorum cognitio in pecuniariis & minoribus causis plerumque fuit*.

31.—As he goes To the Hot Baths, or *Phæbus* his, propose your doubts. — *Ut forte rogatus Lumn petit aut Thermas, aut Phæbi balnea, dicat, &c.* The Poet shews here the small reward bestow'd by parents on a Schoolmaster, and yet the great, the rare skill, which they require in him, as that he be able to answer to all questions propos'd, nay, and that on the sodain, as he is occasionally going to the Baths, or about other business; for, this I think to be the true scope of this place, though some things are necessarily to be examin'd for the just proof and clearing of it. Some then understand by *rogatus*, the Son or lad examin'd thus by his Father; by *petit* (*interrogat*) and apply it to the Father asking his Son this question, what are *Therma* or *Balnea Phæbi*? and by *dicat* understand again the Son making answer. But this methinks, is very incongruous; because then the Father should make the question concerning one thing (*Phæbi balnea*) and the Son should answer concerning another (*nutricem Anchise*, &c.) where we may take notice, that whereas some tell us, that the nurse to *Anchise* is not nam'd by any Author, if they had but consulted with the *Schooliast*, they might have found her to be call'd *Tiphonne*. Some understand *petit* [de professione] of the Father going to the Baths, and so, in his journey, of his proposing of diverse and curious questions. But the exact purpose of the place seems to be concerning the Schoolmaster & the exquisite abilities they expect in him, in Grammar, in Historie, in Authors; namely, *ut forte rogatus*, that if he be ask'd, though but by Chance, and on the By, as he is going to the Baths or as otherwise employ'd, *dicat*, he resolve instantly any the most curious, & frivolous questions: so that the person implied both in *rogatus*, *petit*, & *dicat*, is the same the Schoolmaster. Only it remains, that we expound in this passage, [*Quæ petit aut Thermas aut Phæbi balnea*], why the Poet says *aut Thermas, aut balnea*, by way of division; and secondly, what *Phæbi balnea* are? Concerning the first, the Interpreters say nothing; except *Britannicus*, who says on *Therma*, that they are *loca calida* (from *Quævis calidum*) Hot-houses, to sweat in; and, in reciting an opinion of some others, *Lubin* confounds them with *Balnea*, saying, *dum quarit—quænam sint balnea & Therma Apollinis, apud præfatos Historicos & poetas*. But this were but to make the Poet speak absurdly, in saying *aut Thermas aut Balnea*. Difference then there was, all *Thermæ* being *balneæ*; but all *balneæ* being not *Thermæ*. *Balnea* were baths in general; & properly at the first, only of cold water: *Therma* were baths of hot water, and the first of them in Rome, was built by *Mecænas*, as *Dion* testifies in his *Augustus*. See *Alex. ab Alexand. Gen. Die l. 4. c. 20.* and though I think this distinction was not perpetually observ'd, yet this is sufficient to clear our Poet's manner of speech from absurditie and confusion, in saying *aut Thermas aut Balnea*. Besides, *Therma* were the more stately works of Emperors or Great persons; *balneæ* (though a general name) being more usually the term for inferior places. Many and most magnificent were the *Therma* built by diverse of the Emperors, as *Alexand. ab Alexand.* shews in the place be-

fore cited; and it was a part of the *Ædile's* Office to take care, that they were kept *cleanly*, and that they were not too hot; as the same *Alexand. ab Alexand. Shews*, l. 4. c. 4. Concerning the doubt, *what were Phœbi balnea* and where they were, *Lubin* seems to make them *Hot* baths, and place them out of the City; for he says, *dum pater in itinere est, & Phœbi calida balnea petir*; though he adds, that some hold, that these Baths were at *Rome*. The *Scholiast* upon *Phœbi balnea* says, *Privata balnea quæ Daphnes appellantur*. There were indeed *Publick* & *private* baths: of the first sort *P. victor* writes, that there were in *Rome*, 856. The cause of which multitude *Pancirollus* (*lib. 1. Tit. 27.*) ascribes to the *Dustiness* of the ways, and their *Custom* of not wearing *tibialia*, [stockings] For their *private* Baths, there is in the 4th. *Region* of the City, this note, *Balnea privata* LXXXV. before which in order is mention, as of a distinct thing, of *Balneum Daphnidis*; the one shewing the number of the *private* Baths in that one *Region*, the other by way of some difference from the *Scholiast*, that *Balneum Daphnidis* was not a *Private* bath: which truth may preserve us from the mistakes of some *Interpreters*; But for what cause the Bath was call'd so, neither *Victor* nor the *Scholiast* shew. Some take *Phœbus* for the Bath-keeper; which seems not so probable, that a *publick* bath (as this seems to have been) should be denominated from such a person, either in respect of his mean Condition, or his not-long Continuance. Wherefore we may here prefer *Dempster's* learned diligence (On *Rosinus*, l. 1. c. 13. in *Region. 4.*) who by way of *quæstiones*, if it were not call'd so from *Daphnis* a wealthy servant, who may be suppos'd to have built it; — *cujus ingens pretium Cn. Pifaurensi vendente, & M. Scario licitante refertur fuisse trium millium septingentorum sestertium* (as *Pliny* relates, l. 7. c. 39.) a great summe to be offer'd, 3700. *Sestertia!* which if reduced, (the *Sestertium* being 71. 16s. 3d.) arise to no less then, 289061. 5s. Which edifice *Martial* is thought to mention, l. 3. *epig. 5.* *Protentus hunc adeas, primiq; in limine telli, Quos tenuit Daphnis, nunc tenet ille Lares.* *Dempster* thinks at a second guess (if his first please not) that it might be call'd *Phœbi balnea*, because sacred to *Apollo*, in whose protection the Bath was; Bays, says he, frequently growing *circa balnea*, aut in *ipsis balneis*, the Bay being call'd *Daphneto* which he adds that of *Marr. l. 12. *epig. 50.* Daphnones, platanos, ac æreas Cyparissos, Et non unus balnea solus habes.* Which last containing but a description agreeable to Baths in general, seems not sufficiently pregnant for the explication of this place, some particular and eminent place seeming probably to be here pointed-out. Besides, by this conjecture it might be infer'd from the particle of division *aut*, that the Bays grew at the *Balnea* and not at the *Therma*, which were too weak and uncertain a fancy. Wherefore his first guess may be the more reasonably admitted, if we like the congruity of *Daphnis* and *Phœbus*; and so in defect of other evidence from antiquitie, understand it of *Balneum Daphnidis*; & thus make the difference between *Therma* and This, not as between *Publick* and *private* Baths, not only the

Therma, but This also, seeming to be *publick* Baths; but rather as between *Royal* Baths & others (though such as these also were sometimes sufficiently magnificent) the first *Therma* being properly us'd for *Sweating*, the other *Balnea* for *washing*; though in These there was in alteration of time and custome, not only Cold, but also *Hot* water, as is before express'd on this *Satyre*, *Illustrat. 25.*

32. — At th' year's end so much gold thou'lt have, As for a Conquerer at the Shews They crave. — *Et cum se verteris annus, Accipe victori populus quod postulat aurum.* *Britannicus* here thinks the sense to be, that a *School-master* at the year's end shall be fain to complain for his wages, and be glad to get what the *Tribune*, (the protector) of the *People*, and the *People* should allow him. This exposition much esteem'd by some is by *C. Secundus Curio* as much dislike'd. For though it be said before, *Rara tamen merces, qua cognitione Tribuni non egeat* —, yet he affirms it to be against all antiquitie to say that petty and pecuniary business between man and man belong'd to the *Tribune* of the *People*, such things being below his cognizance, and proper to lesser *Magistrates*, who were call'd *Tribuni æarii*, whereas the *Tribune* of the *people* was their protector in a more noble way, that is, against the *Greater* *Magistrates* and the *Nobilitie*; as in part is shew'd before, on this *Satyre*, *Illustrat. 30.* besides this grievance being mention'd before by the *Poet*, the repetition may seem an overplus. To view then other opinions, *Alex. ab Alexandro* (*Gen. Die. 1. 2. c. 24.*) interprets this of the *Custom* of those, which set forth Shews, as he speaks, in the *Theater* (not strictly understood) bestowing on them, which got the better, rewards, though small ones: according to which sense he afterwards adds, — *nillem assem, & nimis tenuem mercedem, qualis est stipis exigua, quæ a populo in ludis postulat, cum ære exiguo victor à plebe donatur, consequeris.* The *Scholiast* more particularly expounds *aurum* here by *quinque aureos*, saying, *Ut in Theatro solent petere quinque aureos. Nam non licebat amplius dare.* According to which summe, if any would understand it, the *aureus* must be reduced, which was twofold, the more ancient call'd *Consularis*, the other *Imperatorius*: yet before the translation of the *Empire* to *Byzantium* the first is by some valew'd at 175. 1d. ob. 94. the last at 155. But some make this to have been a (golden) coin valewing 25. *denarios*, five centum *sestertios nummos*; and so make it a little more, namely, 155. 7d. ob. Which being the valew of the *aureus imperatorius*, and so in probable congruities with *Juvenal's* time, the *aureus* here intended; *quinque aurei* will be in valew, 31. 18s. 1d. ob. If any would see more largely, concerning the rewards, which according to the custome, the *People* call'd for in the *Circus*, for the *Chariotier* that got the better, he may see *Bulenger de Circo*, cap. 54. and according to this last acception, the place may yield us this quick sense, as the *Poet's* meaning, that a *Schoolmaster* shall have as much for a year's labour, as a vain *Chariotier* for a few *Hours* work.

SATYRE. VIII.

ARGUMENT.

What is't to boast of Ancient Blood?
 He only's Truly Great, that's Good.
If Vice shoots up with Noble Race,
High Birth proves but Advanc'd Disgrace.
If Nature's Law thou wilt not keep;
But Gam'st by Night; by Day dost Sleep:
Draw thy proud birth from Heav'nly nights
Thou dost yet but Eclipse their Lights;
Our Poet thus does Plancus chide,
Whom High Blood feather'd into Pride:
Then, Ponticus, he Rules does set,
If thou a Prefecture dost get:
But if what's forg'd thy Signet signe,
The Armes and Cosenage too are Thine!
Next, Damasippus does appear,
A Consul and a Chariotier!
Who, when his Lust his State had crack'd,
Hir'd to the Common Stage does Act:
In Others parts he may excell,
His Own part sure he Acts not well.
The Sword-fight does not Gracchus shame:
Who, though he escapes, yet wounds his Fame:
Nero is good to Kill and Sing;
The Poet then to view does bring
Catiline and Cethegus's Plot:
Fair was their Birth, their Fate a Blow;
Whiles Tully, Marius, and the brave
Decii by worth made Fame their Grave.
 What is't to boast of Ancient Blood?
 He only's Truly Great, that's Good.

♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ Hat avail Pedegrees? what is't to owe
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ Fame, Ponticus, to Ancient Blood? and shew
 ♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦♦♦ W ♦♦♦♦♦ Ancestors Painted; How th' *Emilii* stand
 ♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦♦♦ In Chariots; The Now half-fall'n *Curii*, and
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ *Corvinus* his diminish'd Nose, or Old
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ *Galba* without Nose or Ear? Times so Bold!

In a large Genealogy what good
 Is it to boast of Great *Corvinus* Blood?
 Then branch-out (1) smok'd Progenitours, though true,
 Some Generalls of the Horse, Dictators too;
 If now the *Lepidi* live ill? we sleight
 Their Warlike Statues, if Thou Dice all night;

Before

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

Before thy portray'd valiant *Numantines*,
 And goest to sleep, when *Venus's* Star first shines,
 When they mov'd Camp and Ensigns? Shall High Race,
 Shall (2) th' *Allobrogians* and Great Altar grace
Herculean Fabius, Greedy, Vain, of Ham
 VWeak, and more soft then an *Euganean* Lamb?
 If that a *Catanean* Pumice-stone
 Smooth his leud loins, that now a shame he's grown
 To's rough-hair'd *Grandfires*? If he poison buys,
 For which (3) his Statue's broke, and's Kindred crys?
 Though in thy Hall wax-Images we see,
 Vertue's the only true Nobilitie.
 Live like good *Paulus*, *Cossus*, *Drusus*; and
 Before thy Statues let these VVorthies stand.
 Let These before thy *Consul's* Rods still go:
 To me the Riches of the Mind first owe.
 Deserv'st to be held pure, and Just tow'rd's Men
 In word and Deed? I'll grant thee Noble then.
 Hail Great *Getulian*, or *Silanus*: be
 Noble, what's ere thou art by Pedegree.
 Th' art a Rare Citizen: with a full voice
 Of Fame thy Countty does for Thee Rejoice.
 I'll cry aloud what the *Egyptian* Rout,
 VVhen they had found *Osyris*, bellow'd-out.
 VVill any call him Noble, that defames
 His Stock, and only brags of Noble Names?
 So we some Great Mens Dwarf an *Atlas* call:
 A Black-Moor so a Swan: a wench that's small
 And crooked, an *Europa*: Hounds not quick,
 Grown bare with an old Scurf, and that still lick
 The sides of wasted Lamps, the names do bear
 Of Libard, Tiger, Lion, or what's ere
 Earth knows more fierce. Take heed then least thou grow
 A *Creticus* or *Camerinus* So.

VVhom warn I thus? *Rubellius Plautus*, Thee,
 That swell'st with thy high *Drusian* Pedegree.
 As if Thou somewhat had'st perform'd, which might
 Deserve a Noble Mother of the bright
 High *Julian* Race; (4) not one that for hire fits
 In the bleak wind, and some poor Loom-work fits.
 You under-men, say'st Thou, are our base rout,
 VVhose Parents Country no man can find-out;
 But I from *Cecrops* sprung. Live then, and much
 Joy take in This thy Birth: yet know, that such
 A Gown'd rout often to the Law-Courts sends
 An Eloquent *Quiritian*, who defends
 A Noble Block-head; Opens all his Cause
 Solving the knots and Riddles of the Laws.
 The youthfull Rout has at *Euphrates* warr'd,
 And tam'd *Batavia*, which our Eagles guard.

They

They toil'd in Armes. Thou only mak'st thy boast,
 Th' art a *Cecropian*. Th' art (5) a *Hermes*-Post;
 Only this odds to thee His Statue gives;
 That has a Marble Head; Thy Image Lives.
 Tell me, Great *Trojan*, who did ever hold
 Beasts of good race, unless they're strong and bold?
 A race-horse so we praise, whose fiery pace
 And Conquest the hoarse *Circus* oft does grace.
 He's Right, wheresoe're bred, who clearly best
 In flight, raises the dust before the rest.
Hirpinus and *Corytha's* breed we sell
 If on their Neck Triumph does seldome dwell.
 There's no respect of Sires and Ghosts: They're scord'd
 Away at Low rates, to new Masters: Forc'd
 In waggons with gaul'd necks they draw, when slow,
 VVhen fit to turn *Nepos* his Mill, they grow.
 That then we may not Titles praise, but Thee,
 Do somewhat, which may on Thy Statue be
 Inscrib'd, beside those Honours, which, thou know'st,
 VVere Theirs, to whom, what yet thou hast, thou ow'st.
 Thus much be spoken to the Youth, whom *Fame*
 Says, *Nero's* kindred does too much inflame.
 For, almost common sense is hardly found
 In such Great State. But be not Thou renown'd,
Ponticus, by thy Titles. Get a Name
 Thy self; 'Tis poor to build on others' Fame:
 Least, when the Pillars fail, the roof does fall;
 Weak Vines to Widdow-Elmes for Help do call.
 Be a good Souldier, Gardian, Umpire; and
 When in a doubtfull Cause, thou needs must stand
 A Witness, should *Phalaris* bid thee be (6)
 False, shew his Bull, and Dictate Perjury;
 Life before Vertue count it leud to choose;
 Do not, to Save Life, th' Ends we live for, lose.
 He that deserves death dies Alive: although
 His Lust an hundred *Gaurane* Oysters throw
 Down his vast throat, and in choise Ointments swim
 In *Cosmus's* Brals-Bath swelling to the brim.
 VVhen Thou some Province dost at last obtain,
 Bridle thy Wrath, thy Avarice, restrain
 Pitty our poor Associates heavy groans;
 Some have left Kings no Marrow in their bones.
 Mark what the Lawes admonish, what the State:
 What good rewards upon the Good do wait;
 And with how just a thunder *Capito*
 And *Tutor* fell, who spoil'd *Cilicia*; though
 The Senate's sentence saves not from such theft,
 VVhen *Pansa* robs thee of what *Natta* left.
 Sell thy Cloaths straight, *Charippus*, by some Cryer
 Complain (6) not: Loose not too the Ship-mans Hire;

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

'Twere Madness. Gentler sighs and wounds insu'd
 From loss to our Associates, when subdu'd
 At First; when yet they flourish'd. Then appear'd
 Plenty in ev'ry house: Mony stood rear'd
 In heaps, with *Spartan* cloaks, Purples from *Co*,
Parrhasian peeces, *Myro's* Statues. Loe,
Phidias his Ivory did Live: no place,
 But borrow'd from *Polyclete's* Art some grace:
 Few tables without *Mentor's* bowls. These drew
Antonie, *Dolabella*, *Verres* too,
 To Sacrilege. Their deep Ships close Increase
 Of Spoils did bring; more Triumphs from a Peace!
 The Oxen now and Mares, though few, they'll take;
 The Bull and little Field a Prey they'll make:
 The House-Gods next, if Statue worth their theft
 They find; if some small Shrine has one God left.
 These now are All; sure, These are Cheif. Thou'lt slight
 Perchance weak *Rhodes*, and 'nointed *Corinth's* might
 Justly, what (7) dares Their gumm'd youth Interprize
 Like War? what dares that Nation of smooth thighs?
 But shun rough *Spain*, the *Gaulish* Chariots, and
 Th' *Illyrian* Coast, and keep thy bolder hand
 From th' *Africk* Mowers, who our plenty send,
 Whiles we the *Circus*, and the Stage, intend.
 What yet shall such Crime gain, (8) when ev'n to th' shirt
Marius of late has th' *Africans* ungirt?
 Look, thou no gross wrong do to such as are
 Valiant and poor: for make them ne're so bare
 Of gold and Silver, shield and Sword they'll get,
 Helmet and Darts: The Spoil'd have weapons yet.
 Nor speak I now (9) Opinion: but deterr'd
 Beleave, one of *Sibylla's* leaves you've heard.
 Are thy Men pure? Sells not (10) some long-lock'd Boy
 Justice? Is thy wife clear? Is't not her joy
 At Towns and Meetings with bow'd claws to watch
 And there *Celano-like* All Monies snatch?
 From *Picus* then be branch'd: or if High Name
 Please thee, place all the *Titans* Fight and Fame
 Amongst thy Ancestours, *Prometheus* too;
 Take thy Great Grandfire from what Book's least New.
 But if Ambition does thee headlong draw,
 And if thou mak'st thy willful Lust thy Law,
 Breaking thy Rods on our Associats backs,
 Tiring the *Litor*, and mak'st dull his Axe:
 Thy Noble Parentage does straight disclaime
 Thy A&s, and holds a Torch before thy shame.
 Vice still is more conspicuous, as he
 That's Guilty, is advanc'd in High Degree.
 VVhy brag'st thou, who (11) forg'd Deeds seal'st at the Shrines
 Thy Grandfire built, and where in Statue shines

Thy Fathers Triumph? when by Night thy head
 VVears (12) a *Santonian* hood to a false bed.
 By his Fore-fathers Dust and Bones, with free
 Chariot, fat *Damasippus* hurries; He,
 He, even the *Consul* triggs the wheel: by Night
 It is: but the *Moon* sees: the Stars so bright
 Dart their pure eies. But when his *Consul-ship*
 Is done, at Noon-day he will take the whip:
 Nor will he fear though some grave friend comes by;
 Nay, jerk his whip for notice: Heel untie
 Bottles, the Hay and Provender He'l throw
 Unto his weary horses. A brave show!
 Then when as, *Numa*-like, a Sheep he will,
 Or stubborn Bullock at *Jove's* Altar kill,
 Only (13) by *Epona* he swears, whose face,
 With more such, does the stinking Stables grace.
 But when to watchful Taverns he does get
 Again, straight (14) some *Syrophanician* wet
 With daily Ointments, one of those that dwell
 At th' *Idumean* Gate, greets him right well,
 Host-like saluting him, my Lord, my King:
 Tuck'd *Cyane* the wine and price does bring.
 Some Patron of his fault will tell me, *We*
Did so, when young: Be't so: Th' hast left; tho' art free
 From hugging Vice. Be breif, when boldly Vile.
 Some faults there are, which must not long defile;
 But (15) be cut-off with the First beard. Admit
 Pardon to youth. But can such things be fit
 In *Damasippus*? He ev'n Now to those (16)
 Large Hot-Bath-Draughts, and Titled Curtains goes,
 More fit for the *Armenian* Warlike ranks;
 For the *Rhene*, *Ister* and the *Syrian* banks;
 To keep great *Nero's* careful breast secure.
 To *Ostia* (17) *Cesar*, send, send: but be sure
 In some large Tipling-house thou seek thy High
 Deputy; There 'tis, thou shalt find him lie
 With Cut-throats, Sailers, Fugitives, Purse-takers,
 With Executioners, and base Biere-makers; (18)
 Amongst Great *Cybel's* silent Drums, which lack
 Their *Phrygian* Priest, who lies drunk on his back.
 VVhere there is equal freedome, the same cup:
 Where all at the same Couch and Table sup.
 Had'st such Slaves, *Ponticus*, were not their Fate
 Some *Tuscan* or *Lucanian* VVork-house straight?
Trojans, you'l scape! Thus what's i'th' Cobler Base,
 Shall the Great *Volusi* and *Bruti* Grace!
 Oh, that we cannot Acts of such foul stain
 Rehearse, but that there will still worse remain!
 Crack'd *Damasippus*, to the Scene th' art Hir'd;
 There, bauling-out *Catullus's* *Vision*, tir'd.

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

Lentulus Velox play'd *Laureolus*
 VVell; He deserv'd, I think, a True Cross thus.
 The people's guilty too, of brow more bold,
 That Sits, and Dares (19) Thrice-scurrile Lords behold.
 They hear the bare-foot *Fabii* Act, and jeer
 At the *Mamerci* clapp'd. Their Lives how dear
 They sell, who cares? No *Nero* does compel 'em:
 Yet at the high-plac'd *Prator's* shows they sell 'em.
 Suppose yet (20) There were *Swords*, and the *Stage* here,
 VVhich would'st thou? who so base, Death so to fear,
 That he would be *Thymeles* jealous mate,
 Or dull *Corinthus* his Colleague? In State
 'Tis yet not strange, if Lords be Mimicks, when
 The Prince turns Harper: All will turn Play Then.
 One City-shame more, *Gracchus* does afford,
 Not close-Arm'd, without shield or crooked Sword
 He fights; (such Dress he does dislike, nay hate)
 No Helmet veils his brow. A Trident straight
 He shakes: but when his aiming hand at last
 Has with his waving Net err'd in his cast,
 He lifts up his bare face to all with moan;
 About the Sand he flies glad to be known.
 'Tis He, though coated: A Gold-ribband ties
 His high Cap, from his throat then loosely flies:
 That the Pursuer, which with *Gracchus* fought,
 Endures what's worse then any wound, a Flout.
 VVhat wretch but would be, might he speak his mind,
 To *Seneca*, then to *Nero*, more inclin'd?
 VVhose dismal Deeds deserv'd some Fate as black,
 More then one Ape (21), one Serpent, and one Sack.
Orestes kill'd his Mother too, with odds
 Yet, in the Cause: for he was by the Gods
 Made the Revenger of his Father slain
 Amid'st free Cups: but knife he ne're did stain
 In his Sister *Eletra's* throat; nor spilt
 The blood of his dear *Spartan* wife: no guilt
 Of pois'ning Kinsmen touch'd him: His Mad wit
 Ne're sung on *Stage*, nor *Trojan* Poem writ.
 VVhat could *Virginus*, *Vindex*, *Galba's* hand
 Revenge more justly? View the fierce command,
 The bloody rage of *Nero*, what rare parts
 Find we? Loe, These are a Great Princes Arts,
 Upon a Forraign Stage for false renown
 To sing, and win (22) the *Grecian* Parsly-Crown.
 Thy Grandfires Statues with Song-Ensigns grace:
 Before *Domitius's* feet the long robe place,
 In which thou didst *Antigone* express,
Thyestes too; or *Menalippe's* Dress:
 And on a high Marble *Colossus* claim
 Renown, by hanging up a Harp to Fame.
 VVhat, *Catiline*, is found of Nobler Height
 Then Thy Birth or *Cethegus* his? By night

Armes yet you took: to ashes you'd have turn'd
 Houses and Temples, as when *Rome* was burn'd
 By short-slop'd *Gauls* and the *Senonian* brood;
 For which in fiery coat you should have stood.
 But Loe, the *Consul* watches, and checks straight
 Your Troops: This New, Ignoble *Arpinate*,
 This Country-Knight-upstart at *Rome* does guard
 Astonish'd *Rome*, and (23) coils in ev'ry Ward.
 And thus within our walls the Civil Gown
 And Peace bestow'd upon him more renown.
 Then e're *Octavius's* bloody Sword could yield
 From th' *Asian* Sea-fight, or *Thessalian* field.
 But *Cicero*, *Rome*, *Rome* did, when sav'd from spoil,
 Her Founder, and his Country's Father, stile.

Another *Arpinate* on *Volscan* hill
 Other mens land, for hire, half-riv'd did Till.
 His (24) pate did next the knotty Vine oft crack,
 If in the Camp and Trench his Axe were slack.
 He yet receiv'd the *Cimbrians* and the doom
 They threatned: He alone sav'd trembling *Rome*.
 And when the Crows to the slain *Cimbrians* fled,
 Having on larger Carcasses ne're fed,
 His (25) Nobly-born Colleague of equal sway
 Vvas yet adorn'd but with the second Bay.
 Vulgar the *Decii's* Souls were, their Names too:
 For All our Legions yet, the Aides we drew
 From Others, and our *Latine* youth, (26) suffice
 They did th' Infernal Gods: A Sacrifice
 T' our Mother Earth they were, all that she crav'd;
 More worth the *Decii* were, then All they sav'd.
 The Robe, Rods, Diadem, Desert did fling
 On a poor Hand-maids Son, our (27) last Good King.
 The *Consuls* Sons our Gates thought to unbar
 To banish'd Tyrants; when they should in VVar
 Have done for our then doubtful State and Right,
 Some (28) brave Act, which *Cocles* and *Mutius* might
 Have wonder'd at, and that Maid so renown'd,
 That swom o're *Tiber* then our Empire's Bound.
 To th' Fathers (29) with these News a Servant runs,
 A sad one to the Mothers of those Sons:
 From whom disloyal blood the Rod first draws,
 And then the first Axe of the *Consul's* Laws.
 Better thy Father some *Thersites* were,
 So thou wert an *Achilles*, and could'st bear
Vulcanian Armes, then that thou be the Sor
Thersites, though *Achilles* thee begot.
 But, grant thou dost from far derive thy Line,
 All yet is drawn from the infamous Shrine.
 Thy First great Grandfire, whence so ere he came,
 Some Shepherd was, or (30) what I'll spare to name.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Eight Satyre.

Atria; the Reason of the Name, and the Use of them. *Ara Maxima*. *Euganei*. *Pumices*; their abuse. The Breaking of the Statues of Noble Offenders upon their Condemnation. The *Atria* not open at the top; against *Ptolemæus Flavius*. *Mercurie's Statues*; their Fashion and Frequency at Athens. *Hirpinus* and *Corytha*. *Naulum*; the various interpretations of it. *Refina*; the abuse of it anciently. *Discin-xerit Afros*, expounded by *Marcellus Donatus*; better by *Britannicus*. *Discin-ctus*. *Zona*. *Sententia*; the acception of it here, against the Opinions of some Interpreters. *Sibyllæ folium*. *Acersecomes*. *Tabellæ Testamentariæ*; the usual Place and Time of their Sealing. *Witnesses*, sworn *Fasting*. *Συματις ἵππος*, why so call'd; shew'd from *Balsamon*. *Cucullus Santonicus*. *Sufflamen*, *Epona*; her Name and Dress. *Manna foeni*. *Ἰντρονία*, a Spartan Curse. *Porta Idumæa*. *Ther-marum calices* and *Inscripta lineæ*; the various interpretations of them discuss'd. *Linea Cablaricia*. *Linum Catagraphon*. *Mitte Ostia*; diversly expounded, *Sandapilæ*. *Triscurria* retained, against the varietie of Reading tender'd by some. The Manner, Degrees and Reason of the strange Punishment of Parricides; shew'd from *Modestinus*, *Dositheus*, *Hieronimus Magius* and *Alexander ab Alexandro*. *Culeus*, *μυλός, ἀκρότης*; the matter of it diversly expressed by *Juvenal* and *Isidore*: the Capacitie of it reduced. *Coronets of Parsly* us'd at the *Nemæan Games*; the Cause of the Custome. The various Reading of that passage, *In omni parte laborat*. The *Militarie punishment* with the *Vine-rod*. *Laurus Secunda*, diversly expound-ed. *Devovere se*. *Trabea*. *Diadema*, described by *Pancirol* from *St. Jerom*; otherwise by *Britannicus*, and probably with such difference by *Marcellinus*. *Regum ultimus*, unwarily here expounded by *Autumnus*. That Passage, *Quod miraretur cum Coclite Mutius*, too remotely expounded by *Lubin*; aptly by *Britannicus*. *Servus Matronis lugendus*, differently interpreted. The *Rodds and Axe* carried before the *Consuls*; the form of them expressed from *Antoine le Pois*: why they were bound-up together. *Autumnus* his curiositie about, *Illud quod dicere nolo*, not admitted. *Asyla*, the Antiquitie of them.

1. Then branch-out smok'd Progenitors though true,
Some Gen'als of the Horse; Dictators too;
If now the Lepidi live ill?

—*Et posthac multa deducere virga
Fumos Equitum cum Dictatore Magistros
Si coram Lepidis malevivitur?*

THe Poet shewing the vanitie of old Genealogies (& decayed statues of one's Ancestors) speaks in the figurative description of a tree and branches, and so uses the words, *stemmata* and *multa virga*; after which fashion Genealogies use to be describ'd. In which passage some expound *multa virga* by *fascēs virgarum*, the Bundles of Rods, which by way of Terror were usually carry'd before the Dictators, the Consuls, and the *Magistri Equitum* (to omit

some others): which exposition though some choose not, they shew no reason, why they refuse it. In which point I think, that though the word be used in such a sense a little after in *Juvenal* himself, in that verse, *Præcedant ipsas illi Consule virgas*, yet such an acception seems not to be here; the Poet speaking here of such great Officers, only as they were *in statu*. Again, some Copies have *famosos*, which though it be most commonly used in the worse part, and so could not be intended here, he applying it to their *virtuous* Ancestors; yet if it were taken here in better part, it were nothing so suitable to the Poets present intent, as *fumosos*: which is aptly spoken, as according to the custome of placing of *waxen statues* of their Ancestors in *atriis*, in the Hall of the Palaces, and according

according to that of Seneca, *de Benefic. lib. 3. Qui imagines in aris exponunt, and afterwards, in prima parte adium collocant.* Now in their *Atria* they made fire, as *Britannicus* notes, citing *St. Luke* for it; and alludes, I suppose, to his 22. cap. v. 55. where it is said, they made a fire in the High Priest's Hall, it being in the Original, *ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀδύτης*, in the vulgar, *in medio atrii*; according to which use, some (amongst other Opinions) think them to have been call'd *Atria* (as *Britannicus* farther observes) *quod atra essent ex fumo.* In their *atriis* they also supped, as *Pancirollus* notes, *lib. 1. Tit. 51.* that so the Censors, as they pass'd-by, might see whether any exceeded the Laws of expence in diet. There is also a little difference here about the exposition of the word *coram*, which join'd with *Lepidis*, as some will have it, signifies, If thou livest ill before the Images of thy Noble predecessors the *Lepidi*, as presently it follows in the like sense, *Ante Numantinos*; but expounded alone, as it is by *Lubin*, signifies *Now*, or at this present; and then *Lepidis vivitur* is by him taken for a *Lepidis vivitur*; as if the Poet should say, If *Now* the *Lepidi* live ill, what is it to shew the statues of Ancestors which did well? Either of which expositions may be without inconvenience admitted; but *Lubins* yields more varietie and aptness of sense. I may add what *Britannicus* notes, that it is said, *Equitum cum Dissatore Magistros*; because always, when they made a *Dissator*, there was likewise made a *Magister Equitum*, who in the absence of the *Dissator* had absolute authoritie. One less doubt I may not omit, in defence of my rendering *Dimidius Curios*, by the *Half-sal'n Curii*: for whereas some take it in opposition to *Whole* statues, for statues form'd to the *Waist*; it cannot be here so understood; in respect that such half-statues are so made on purpose, and by Art: but these *Dimidii Curii* were such as were made so by Decay; and so, though half-statues, yet not the half from the head to the waist, but rather from the waist to the foot; the upper part, as more expos'd to injury, being first decay'd, as the Poet here expresses by the perishing of the nose and ears of the statues he here speaks-of; implying likewise as much, whilst he says, *Et Curios Jam dimidius*; that *Now* they were become half-statues.

2. Shall th' *Allobrogians* and Great Altar grace
Herculean Fabius? —
Softer then th' *Euganean* lambe?
Cur. *Allobrogicus* & *Magna* gaudent ara
Natus in *Herculeo* Fabius Lare —
Euganea quantumvis mollior agna?

The familie of the *Fabii* was very famous, and deriv'd it self from *Hercules*, whose Rites, and so his Altar (which was call'd *Ara Maxima*, as *Solinus* says, and here for the verse sake *Magna*, as *Britannicus* notes, and placed in *Foro Boario*, in the Beast-market) was counted hereditary to that familie, which also was made famous by *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who was call'd *Allobrogicus* for his victorie over the *Allobrogians*. Yet even the Son of that Conqueror was most effeminate, or, as the Poet speaks, softer then an *Euganean* Lamb. But here in some Interpreters is some varietie and much mistake. *Lubin* on this place says; *Euganea* *Alina*, vel *Paravina*, vel ut alii, *Tarentina*, *Calabra* & *Veneria*, (*illi enim Populi Euganei dicebantur*) *Hu autem ovibus nihil erat mollius, & lana valde laudabatur.* *Plin. lib. 3. cap. 20. Scribit Euganeorum opidum esse Veronam, & qua quidem urbs distat Pinnasio millibus Passuum.* *Lubin's* annotation has led others into error: into which he also partly fell, by not

carefully observing what he read. I guess the occasion of his mistake to have been from the Old Scholiast, who here on the word *Euganea* gives this note, *Calabra, Tarentina aut Veneta*, which in it self bad, is in the recital made worse by *Lubin*, whilst he turns it into & *Veneria*, the Scholiast, at the best, implying it to be one of the three, but *Lubin* making *Euganea* to contain those three; but with great error, the two first being in the South-East of *Italie*, the last in the North-East. The occasion of which assertion was as I think a mistaken truth; to wit, that of *Marzial*, writing of the finest fleeces of *Italie*, *Velleribus primis Apulia, Parma secundis Nobilis, Altinum tertia laudas ovis*; which some seem to have mistaken, thinking them to have been as near in situation, as in condition of the fleece; when as *Tarentine* and *Calabrian* were to the South, the rest to the North. *Livius* dic't (*says Autumnus* on this place) *Euganeos esse inter Alpes & Mare.* to determine it more nearly, the *Euganean* Hills are by *Ortelius* placed in the Territory of *Venice*, particularly in *Marca Travišana*, adjoining to that place, (as he guesses) which is now call'd, with small difference, *Vallis Sugana*. The Poet adds, that degenerate *Fabius* did ignobly Smooth his skin with pumice stones, such as the wanton *Sicilians* us'd, who had plenty of them, at their *Catana*, thrown-up by their ill neighbour *Ætna*, and abus'd by them to such purposes.

3. For which his statue's broke. What is it, says the Poet, for great persons, but leud ones, to brag of the Images of their Ancestors, such as the *Æmilii*, *Curii*, *Corvini*, *Lepidi*, *Numantini* (or, *Scipio's*) and the like, when as by their own ignoble actions they traduce, that is, disgrace their Ancestors, and deserve to have their own statues broken, as was *Sejanus* his. See *Sat. 10.* and here may be remembered that of *Tacitus*, *Annal. 2. Tunc Cora Messalinus, ne imago Libonis exequior posterorum comitaretur, censuit*; it is spoken of *Libo*, that slew himself being accus'd of treason against *Tiberius*; On which, see *Lipsius*.

4. —Not one that for hire sits In the bleak Wind, and some poor Loom-work fits. *Non qua ventosi conductus sub aere tekis.* The Poet having shew'd, that he first requires in a man bona animi, virtues, upon which terms he will allow him to be a *Getulicus*, such as *Cassius* was that conquer'd the *Getulians*; or a *Silanus*, that slew *Mago* the *Carthaginian* General, and took *Hanno* another of their Generals Prisoner; that he will crie-out for joy, *ὡς ἡνίοχος*, as the *Egyptians* at the finding of *Apis*: warns him that he be not call'd by a great name, such as *Creticus* or *Camerinus* by contraries, he being neither like *Metellus*, that overcame the *Cretians*, nor like the latter, that fetch'd the Laws of *Solon* from *Athens*. Which speech on the by, he confesses he directs to *Rabellius Plautus*, of as great Pride as Nobilitie; though, says he, thou no more deserv'st such a mother, then to have a poor woman, that for small wages works all day in the open air. In which passage some copies have, *sub aggere*, understanding it of a *rampire* or mount rais'd by *Tarquin*, where they say, *Women* did use to sit at work; so *Lubin*: and the Scholiast says, *in castris*; but they allege not any authoritie. The common copies have, *sub aere*, and expound it by, *sub dio*; which is the most easie and natural exposition; and so the most receiv'd. But *Prolemaus Flavius* in his *Conjectam. cap. 14.* expounds it by, *in atrio*: which though it were true (that *Women* wrought there) yet it could not be the exposition of *sub aere*; the atrium being roofed-over, as may appear

pear from the uses of it. *Illustrat.* 1. namely, their supping in it; their making Fire in it, and their placing of Waxen Images in it; which uses cannot agree to a place subject to rain.

5. —Th' art a *Hermes-Post*. He alludes to the Statues of Mercury, which were commonly at Athens placed by way of Religion over the Gates of their houses, to one of which the Poet here compares this boaster; telling him, that he will allow him to be a *Cecropian*, that is, an *Athenian*, yet not sprung from *Cecrops*, the *Athenian King*. Now the Statue of Mercury at Athens, was a Marble Head set upon a shape-less Post; whereupon the Poet says, Thou art like a Mercury's Head, only His is of Marble, and thine Lives; or rather, says he, thou art like the Post, on which it stands; for that is not only without life, but also without lively form. Next he presses him with a witty reason, and jeer drawn from very Beasts; saying, that there is no more reason why unprofitable men should be esteemed, then why unprofitable Cattle: but, says he, the breed even of *Hirpinus* and *Corytha*, (the most famous Horse and Mare for breed, as being commonly excellent at the Race) if it prove bad, (if their Colts prove but jades) is usually turn'd-off to the Cart or Mill. The name *Hirpinus* (used also by *Martial*) was drawn from the place of his breed, it being a Hill in the Country of the *Sabines*, says the *Scholias*t; but *Pithæus* sets a doubtful mark upon the word *Sabinis*, and *Ortelius* more expressly censures it, saying, *fides sit penes Grammaticum*. *Corytha* or (*Corife*) as the *Scholias*t has it, is by the *Scholias*t likewise brought from an excellent race of that name in *Achaia*, but *Autumnus* says, *Corythus est oppidum Tuscia*. Indeed *Coritus* (not *Corythus*) as *Ortelius* notes out of *Servius*, was a City and Hill in *Tuscia*: who tells us also, out of *Blondus*, of *Hirpinum* a Town in *Italy*; from which place thus described by *Ortelius*, it is probable, that *Hirpinus* here mentioned did come: but I think it not probable to guess with *Autumnus*, that *Corytha* came from *Coritus*; this City of *Hetruria* being by *Virg. Æn.* 9. made short in the two first syllables, in that verse, *Nec satis extremas Coriti penetravit ad urbes*, whereas *Juvenal* makes here the two first syllables long; *sed venale pecus Coritha posteritas & Hirpini*.

6. Complain not; loose not too the Ship-man's hire. 'Twere Madness.—*Jamque tace. Furor est post omnia perdere nautum*. Some take *nautum* here for the triens (the third part of the *As*) a farthing, due to *Charon* for waiving over the Soul departed; but this seems a little to out-run the just sense of the place. The *M.S. Commentary* makes the party here wrong'd to be a young Merchant, and takes *nautum* for the Ship it self; and so this Speech for an Admonishment to him, that he trouble not himself to come to *Rome* with his Complaint, least having nothing left but his Ship his only means to live, by carriage of people and wares over Sea, he be utterly undone. But this acception of *nautum* being without warrant, this exposition, as too weak, is not to be admitted. According to others then, the sense of this place, if we collect it, will stand thus; The Poet having said, that it is no true life to abound in wanton diet, and costly ointments, instructs one, if happily he should get the government of some Province, to deal justly with the poor Subjects; and not by oppression to undo subdued Princes (as *Plutarch* relates of *M. Antonie*) that is, as our Poet speaks, to leave no marrow in their bones. Unto this course he moves him by two reasons, the first is drawn from the Law and

the injunction of the *Curia*, the *Senate*, which require this of him at his departure to his charge: the second is from the punishment of such as in this kind have offended; such as were *Capito* and *Tutor* [mention'd by *Tacitus*] who instead of ruling, robbed the *Cilicians* [though these whom they robbed were very pirates] but by the sentence of the *Senate*, as by a thunder, were justly struck. Yet the Poet bewailes it as a foul fault in the *Senate*, that, though they punish the former Governour, suffer the Successour to be as bad: in which case says the Poet to any such poor Provincial, Thy way is, O injur'd *Charippus*, even to seek out a Cryer to set thy cloaths to sale; and other such small goods, which perchance are yet left, before the successor does come with a new hunger, and devour the little that is left unto the: intending that if thus he turn'd his small goods into money, he might happily the better conceal the remainder. For, says he, never complain, never hire thy passage by Ship from the Province of *Cilicia* (for of that he speaks) unto *Rome*, lest thou spend, the little thou hast, in vain upon thy watage, and so be as destitute of money, as of remedy. This, as the most receiv'd, I think the best interpretation deriv'd from the *Scholias*t, and enlarg'd by *Lubin*. The Poet adds by way of a jeer against such Oppressors, that if honestly cannot keep them from Oppression, yet now necessity must, there being little or nothing left in the *Greek* and *Asiatick* Cities, specially if compar'd with the spoils they yielded, when first conquer'd.

7. —What dares their gum'd youth enterprise like War? —*Quid enim resinata juvenus, &c.* There was a wanton custome in those times [especially amongst the *Corinthians*] complain'd of by *Pliny lib.* 14. which was to dissolve gum in Oile, and therewith keep their skin smooth from hair. In which passage *Lubin* notes that *enim* should be left out, the two first syllables in *resina* being long; which is observ'd before him by *Joan. Baptista Pins*, in his *Annot. Prior*. where accordingly he mends that of *Martial*, as some copies have it, *Cessatis pueri nihilque nosti, Vetro no resinaque pigiores*, reading the last verse thus, *Vetro no remorque pigiores*; shewing that *Martial* not much after, says, *Quid faciant ungues? nam certe non potes illos Resina veneto nec reserare luto*. And though some late copies have *enim*, yet I find it not in four the best MSS. which I use. The Poet here, prosecuting his just invective, tells the *Romans*, that though they dare unjust acts against some wanton People, such as *Rhodians* and *Corinthians*, yet must beware of stout Nations, such as the *Spanish*, the *Gaulish*, the *Illyrian*; and the *African* also, which bring Provisions to *Rome*, whiles the *Romans* idly spend their time in the shews at the *Circus*, and at Stage-Plays: where some unwarily say, in the *Circus* at Stage-Plays; when as the *Circus* was for Races with Chariots, and fighting with wild Beasts, and the like. See *Rosinus lib.* 5. c. 5. But the place for Stage Plays was the Theater, properly so called; as I have shew'd, *Sat.* 4. *Illustr.* 16.

8. —When ev'n to the shirt *Marius* of late has the *Africans* ungirt? —*Cum tennes nuper Marius discinxerit Afros?* He speaks of *Marius Priscus* mention'd in the first Satyre in those words, *Exul ab oBava Marius bibit*. — *Discinxerit Afros*, that is, subegerit, says *Marcellus Donatus*, pag. 311. on *Suetonius Augustus*, cap. 24. whence, says he, the *Greeks* also called *discinxerit*, not one that had a good girdle, but a good courage, that was valiant or well girt: and so it was a disgrace for a souldier to be ungirt [*discinxtus*]

This

This I grant to be a good observation, yet the common opinion I think to be more full, which renders it by *spoliaverit*; so that he did not only overcome them, but also make a prey of them, which is but agreeable to *Juvenalis* own words, which a little after follow, *Spoliatis arma supersunt*. Yet *Lubin* more nearly expounds it by, *Usque ad zonam depradatus sit. Quasi etiam cingulum illis abstulerit*: but before him *Britannicus*, and as I think, best interprets it by *spoliaverit*, with this addition, *Trañum ab his qui vestimenta alicui ablaturi zonam dissolvunt*. Which opinion, though I grant to be the best, and accordingly render it, that he stripe them to their shirt, and so took away not only the Girdle, but also the cloaths; yet the *Criticks* might have thought on one sense more, to which the word *discinzerit* might have prompted them; namely, that he did not only overcome them, and take away the main of their Estate, but ev'n their girdle, that is, their purse, which usually they wore in their girdles; and thus make the Poet point out the rigour of their Avarice.

9. Nor speak I now Opinion: but deterr'd Believe, one of the *Sybylla's* Leaves you've heard. *Quod modo proposui Mea non sententia verum. Credite me vobis solum recitare Sybilla*. Many are the Interpretations of this passage occasion'd by the ambiguity of the word *Sententia*; which some think here to signify *propositum*, as if the Poet should acknowledge this, which he spoke last, to be a digression from his purpose, his intended description of a Noble-man, yet that it was a truth. But this is not the acceptance of the word in any other place of *Juvenal*, though he often uses it: besides that here seems no digression at all. For, the Poet shewing first, that Birth without Virtue is no true Honour, does in the freedom of a Satyrist reprehend *Rubellius Plautus* for his vain pride conceiv'd from his high birth; then instructs *Ponticus* how he should behave himself, if he got the Government of a Province; aptly shewing the disservice he would do unto his Country by Oppression, in raising Rebellion: then detests him from forgery; from luxury also and other vices by the vile examples of *Damaspis*, *Gracchus*, *Nero*, *Calpurnius*: lastly, shewing the worth of men meanly born, as of *Tully*, *Marius*, and the *Decii*, he draws to a conclusion; so that, how the Poet should have here need to excuse himself for a digression, I see not. *Lubin* thinks the word here signifies *voluntatem*; as if the Poet should say, *What I have said, I wish not*: but this acceptance is not agreeable to the proper use of the word, which has reference rather to the understanding, then to the will; besides that it were a superfluous simplicity of Love, for a man to say, that he did not wish a Rebellion, it being his duty to detest it. Some take it for a Decree; as if the Poet should [vainly] say, he did not indeed decree this evil against his Country, whereas it neither could be in his loyalty, neither was it in his power. The *Scholias*t takes it for *nuda verba*, saying, that in a sentence there may be somewhat that is false: which last clause, though we grant to be a truth, yet why *sententia* should therefore be rendered by *nuda verba*, I see no reason. *Pitham* on those words of the *Scholias*t, *non sunt nuda verba*, notes here from *Petrone*, those words, *Sententiarum vanissimus strepitus*; and *Audire sententiam*, id est, *vitream fraxam*, & somniorum interpretamenta; and *fabulosam sententiarum commentum*; by which he may seem to imply, that *sententia* signifies here a witty saying, according to which sense the Poet should imply, that he speaks not here a quaint sentence, but a very Oracle, mean-

ing it by those words, as I guess, *Spoliatis arma supersunt*. But this methinks, were some levity in the Poet, to tell us, that what he says, might be taken for a witty speech; besides that such a sense were indeed an untruth, the words which he spoke, being an *Api* saying. *Britannicus* renders the place thus, *Non est quod tantummodo ego ita sentiam*: but this would confess it to be an opinion, though not only His; and so the Poet might rather have said, *Quod modo proposui Mea non sententia verum, &c.* but he says more absolutely, — *Non est sententia*; as if he should say, you may think this to be but opinion, but it is not opinion at all; it is not opinion, but (a Oracle, or) a Leaf of *Sibyl*. And therefore I render it not, nor speak I my opinion, (for that might have been an absolute truth in it self, though he had modestly call'd it but Opinion) but according to the purpose of the Poet, Nor speak I now Opinion; which is clearly the sense of the word, *sententia*, frequently used by our own Poet, as *Sat. 4* concerning *Montanus* his Opinion of the Fish, *Vicit digna viro sententia*, vers. 136. and *Sat. 6*. vers. 498. concerning the Matron's Opinion about the Lady's Dress, — *Sententia prima bujus erit* —; Her Opinion must first be given. And as he thus denies it to be Opinion, which includes only Probability, and so but uncertainty; so he says, in opposition to it, that it is a leaf of *Sibyl*, implying that it was Divine testimony, or the testimony of the Gods speaking in her by instinct of a Prophetess; and calls it a leaf, because she writ her Answers (before the invention of Paper) in Palm-leaves, as some tell us, out of *Pliny* (*lib. 13. cap. 11.*) See *Sat. 1. Illust. 28*. But we may not omit, that *Guilandinus* (*de Papyro*) says, that *Pliny's* text is corrupt, and that instead of *Palmarum*, it should be *Malvarum*; the *Palm*-leaf being too rough for such use, but the *Mallow*-leaf being soft, and so, very fit. See *Salmuth* on *Pangrol. lib. 2. Tit. 45*.

10. —Sells not some long-lock'd boy Justice? — *Si nemo tribunal Vendit Acersecomes*. — *Acersecomes* is one of the names of *Apollo*, and here applied to the Favourites of some Prefect of a Province. *Aurelius Hawechus*, *de Cognominibus Deorum*, *lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 114*. calls him, according to *Pindarus*, *ἀκέρσεως* (*intonsus*) from *α*, *αίψα* and *νῆμα*; and so with a little difference from this writing: but *Philostatus Junior*, in *Heroicis*, cited by *Hieronymus Columna* on *Ennius* his *Fragments*, p. 436. calls him *ἀκέρσεως*, as *Juvenal* does here. The sense is, if thou hast no Favourite, nor a wife, that like *Celso* one of the *Harpies*, goes about with thee through the Province taking bribes, then call thy self as Noble as thou wilt; draw thy line from *Picus* the first King of the *Aborigines*, the son of *Saturn*; or from the *Titans*, that gave battle to the Gods; or from *Prometheus* (the Father of *Deucalion*) that is feigned to have made man of moistned Clay.

11. —That forg'd Deeds seal'd at the shrine Thy Grandfire built—. — *falsus signare tabellas*, in *temple qua fecit vovis*. It was usual, as *Britannicus* notes, to dispatch the sealing of mens last Wills (which required fidelity in the witnesses) in the Temples; so to put men in mind, that Religion bound them to be faithful. And this they perform'd only in the morning, as *Georgius Longus*, *de Annulis Signatoriis*, pag. 98. observes out of *Marialis*, *lib. 10. Epig. 70*. *Nunc ad Luciferam signat mea gemma Dianam*. The like care (in after times) is observ'd in the Canon Law. *C. Honestum. 22. q. 5.* where it is ordered, — *Ut qui in Sanctis auctor jurare, hac jejunus faciat cum omni honestate & timore Dei*; that he which is receiv'd for a witness ought to be fasting; to make

the business, it seems, the more solemn, and so the person the more honest. The like caution is in the *Decretals. lib. 2. de Testibus. C. placuit. — nullus testimonium dicat nisi jejunus.* The Oath which the witness took (as we may a little farther observe with *Dempster (de juramento lib. 3. cap. 1.)* *Balsamon* calls *compuratio ignis*, a Corporal Oath, because the hand in the taking of it, touch'd the Gospels, the Altars, or according to the Ceremonies of those times, the Reliques of the Saints. *Cap. ult. Jur. Calum.*

12. Wears a *Santonian* hood.— This was a hood worn usually by Souldiers, of a coarse wool and a dark colour, call'd here by the Poet, a *Santonian* hood, because it was usually worn, as *Lubin* says, or, other made, as the *Scholias*t tells us, by the *Santones*, the People of that Country, which is now call'd *Xantaigne*. This hood is thought to be call'd by *Martial*, *Bardocucullus*; such a hood as the French Bards wore, who as *Strabo lib. 3.* notes, were addic'ted to Poetry. And such a hood the Poet here implies, some leud Great-ones did usually put on, going thus disguised to leud places for their foul purposes, according to that in the like kind, *Sat. 6. vers. 327. — dormitas adulter? Illa jubet sumpto juvenem proptere cuculla.* See *Sauard*, on *Sidonius Apollinaris* his *Epist. 16. Lib. 7.*

13. Only by *Epona* he swears.— *Jurat Solam Eponam.*— The Poet having here shew'd the odious behaviour of some Great one, under the feigned name of *Damaspippus*, (or as *Pitbaus* his copy has it, *Lateranus*) who being *Consul*, sham'd not to play the Chariotier, he himself applying the trigger to the Chariot, by which instrument it is saved from running dangerously in steep places; shews next, that he did swear only by *Epona*, the Goddess of Stables; a supposed Deity, which the lamentable Devotion of the Heathen raised to it self. Which Goddess is by some call'd *Hippone* (the middle syllable being long) by some *Hippo*, and in some of the MSS. which I use, *Ypona* (the middle syllable being short): but *Lubin*, or rather before him *Turnebus lib. 24. cap. 4.* has clearly shew'd, that it is *Epona*, both from *Plutarch* in his *Parallels*, and also from that of *Prudentius [in Apoteosis]* *Nemo Clacina aut Epona super astra Deabus*; and so, though some copies have here — *Jurat Hipponam & facies olida ad presepia pistras*, yet four of the best MSS. which I use, have — *Jurat Yponam, & facies olida, &c.* clearly agreeing, excepting but the difference of a letter, with *Turnebus* his Observation. To which I may adde, that *Pitbaus* also in his Notes on the *Scholias*t, confirms *Epona* from an ancient Inscription of a stone, which testimony I the rather note, because it has occasion'd such discourse amongst the Interpreters. *Apuleius* in his *Metamorphosis*, (*lib. 3.* towards the end; where also, according to the best editions, it is read, *Epona*.) describes the Image of this Deity, as placed in the middle of the upper part of the Stable, and curiously bedeck'd with Coronets of fresh Roses, [as *Juvenal* here implies] with the Images of other Deities also. The Poet aggravates the unseemliness of this Stable-*Consul*, in that he swears by this rank Shee-deity, as by that which he most esteem'd, like him that swore by *Juno*; as you may see, *Sat. 2. Illustrat. 19.* The Poet adds, that this *Damaspippus* play'd the groom of his own Stable, he himself giving his horses their meat, breaking the bottles under them, as these words imply, — *maniplos Solvet*; — that is, says the *Scholias*t, *mannas feni*, meaning handfulls of bottles of Hay. Which I note for the singularity of the acception of the word *manna* us'd here by the *Scholias*t; and leave it to the Readers

fancy, whether he will derive it from the Hebrew, *Man para*, and so may be taken for any thing that is food; or rather, as I think, in this place by a barbarous derivation from *manipulus*. And thus this *Damaspippus* was sick of that disease, which by the Spartans was call'd *inurenes*, or horse-feeding; and us'd for a Curse; as if one should say, the *inurenes* take thee; they accounting a man sufficiently plagued, that was infected with that humour, it being a chargeable and sure confusion. See *Alexand. ab Alexand. Gen. Dic. lib. 3. cap. 22.*

14. — Some *Syrophanician*— One of those that dwell at the *Idumean* Gate.— *Idumae Syrophanic incolae porta.*— The Poet shews another lewdness of *Damaspippus*, who falls from one humour to another, as to the haunting of Tipling-houses, such as were at the *Idumean* Gate, to call'd because *Vespasian* and *Titus* entered it at their return from the conquest of *Judaea* and *Idumaea* (the Country of *Edom*) at which kind of houses there was wine, good cheer, a flattering host (that call'd his guests according to the fawning custome of those times, His Lord and King) choicest Ointments (such as are brought from *Syrophania*, the Hosts own Country) and a Wench tuck'd or girt ready for attendance with her Wine-pots. But here *Britannicus* vainly seems to make *Porta Idumaea* to be the Country it self; for so he expounds *Incolae porta Idumae*, but *est*, says he, *Qui domi sua incolit portas Syrias. Nam Idumaea pars est Syria.* The *Scholias*t likewise speaks from the purpose, when he tells us, that *Idume* is a City in the East, adding, *ideo currit*, or rather (as *Swigerfius* mends it, *Var. Leß. lib. 6. cap. 18.*) *inde occurrit Damaspippo tabernarius, qui prope portam manet, tabernam valenti intrare.* *Idume* indeed is said by *Philastrus*, (on the 3. of *Virgil's Georg.*) to be a Town in *Lydia* (which *Jes. Ortelius* in his *Theaurus* doubts of): but the Poet here speaks of some Vintner in Rome. And whereas he would have him call'd *incolae porta*, for his suppos'd standing at the City-Gate to take up guests, it seems but vain: seeing that by the like reason, others of the same condition might do the like, and so consequently to small purpose. Besides, it is likely that such customers needed not to be prompted whether to go for their pleasure. See *Alexand. ab alex. lib. 4. cap. 16.* and *Tiraquel* in the description of *Porta Triumphalis*, which was the ancient name of it, and *Godefrerus* on *Livie*, on the same title, *Lib. 2.* though they take not notice of this name, *Idumaea*. Where we may farther note, that the diligent *Tiraquel* in the place above cited, has in effect the like also concerning *Porta Vaticana*, which he mentions the next save one after this, saying *Vaticana, Trans Tiberim, nunc Porta Ripa, vel Vinaria, quod extra eam vina externa, maxime tanum Campana & Tusca, venduntur.*

15. But be cut-off with the first beard.— *Quedam cum prima rescentur crimina barba.* Of this Rite, and the Season of it, see at large, *Sat. 6. Illustr. 25.*

16. — He even Now to those large Hot-Bath draughts, and Titled Curtains goes, &c.— *Damaspippus ad illos Thermaum calices inoscriptaque lineas vadit, &c.* This passage does much trouble the Interpreters; *Britannicus* saying of this *Damaspippus*, *Non erubescit se in popinas & thermas ad potandum demittere, ubi homines tantum saginis vilissimisque versabantur*; which exposition, if he had left out *& thermas*, had been tolerable: the *popina* being usually places of rice, but not the *therma*. Next he expounds *inoscripta lineae*, by *sudaria thermarum*, which will probably appear to be a mistake. *Lubin* expounds *thermarum calices*, by *quibus in thermis bibunt*. Indeed in the

the Baths *Plutarch* says in his *Symposiac. lib. 8. cap. 9.* they did in ancient time sleep, eat, and drink, without overheating their bodies, but complains, that in his time the Baths were kept so excessively hot [though, as I shew'd before, *Sat. 7. Illustrat. 31.* the *Ædile's* office was to prevent such inconvenience] that they were almost intolerable, and that through the vehemency of the heat men seem'd to draw-in as well fire as air; in which extremity we may conceive some desire of large draughts. This I add to shew the quality of the *Therma*, but not to approve his exposition; the *Therma* being here not properly intended. Next he expounds *inscripta lineæ* by *Judaria thermarum*, the figur'd or wrought-work-towels at the Baths, wherewith they wiped away the sweat, according to that of *Caullus*, *Sudariumque Setabum Catagraphonque linum*; and so he agrees with *Britannicus*; but he likewise expounds it by *pilis popina vela*, and so partly agrees with the *Scholias*t, who upon *inscripta lineæ* says, *hoc est, pilis velis popina succedit, aut lineis cabfari- cius tergit, vel ubi esculenta publice venduntur*; taking *lineæ* either for the hangings or curtains used in the Taverns probably for the distinction of rooms and companies, or for the towels they used there against sweat, or for the supposed inscriptions there, shewing what provisions were there to be had. In which passage for *lineis cabfari- cius* perchance it should be *carbascis*, or *Carbasineis* [the first of which is used by *Virgil*, the last by *Varro*] signifying a more special kind of fine linnen called so from the *Carians* mention'd by *Pliny, lib. 19. cap. 1.* Lastly some say, that *popina, therma* and *lupanaria* are often taken promiscuously; and so by *inscripta lineæ* they here understand the *Inscriptions* in the *Stews* over the Cells of harlots, or perchance wrought upon Curtains before their cells; but in this expression they say nothing of *thermarum cali- ces*. Wherefore to collect the sense and contex- ture of this place, I think thus; That *Therma* do not here signify properly, the Hot Baths, but figu- ratively, the *popina*; as I collect from the word *illos*, implying that what is here spoken of, was touch'd before: now he spake before of *Damasippus* his haunting the Taverns, *pervigiles popinas*; and here he aptly calls his tipplings and those his excessive draughts there, though in *popina*, by the name of *Thermarum calices*; meaning they were as large, though many, as the Hot-Bath draughts, which by unreasonableness were oft unreasonableness. Secondly by *inscripta lineæ*, I think according to the last Opinion, that they may most fitly here signify the *Inscriptions* over the Cells of Harlots, yet not as They think, in the *Stews*, but in *Popinas*: where though they were not by a public allowance, yet by secret and corrupt practice they were fre- quent; and this exposition I the rather make, as being more agreeable to a Satyrical sharpness and aggravation. For, to make it a fault to go to the *Therma*, is improper, it being the Pulick, the Civil Custom: Secondly, to make it a fault in him to go to the *inscripta lineæ*, if we take it for the Bath-linnen, is as absurd, this also being conse- quently lawful: or if we take it for linnen (as towels) used in *popinis*, it is but a faint expressi- on; so likewise to take it for the hangings of a Tavern-room; or for the inscriptions of the pro- visions, the victuals, to be sold there. But to take it for the inscription of an impure Curtain or Cell, is futable to a Satyrists, first accusing him of Drunkenness, and then of Lust. I therefore ren- der *inscripta lineæ*, by *Titled Curtains*, the last word

being probably most fit to express *lineæ*; and the first being agreeable to that in the sixth Satyre, — *titulum mentis Lycifeæ*. In the rendering *Therma- rum calices*, though it be meant *de popinis*, yet I render it, Hot-Bath draughts, so to retain the fi- gure and so the expression of the Poet, his strict meaning being not *calices Thermarum*, but *quasi ther- marum*, or like unto them; as if he should say, *Damasippus* goes to such Tavern-draughts, or rather Hot-bath-draughts and his harlots, being now past a Youth; being now grown as much beyond Ex- cuse, as beyond Measure.

17. To *Offia, Casar*, send, send: but be sure In some large tippling-house thou seek thy High De- puty. — *Mitte Offia, Casar, Mitte; sed in magnâ Legatum quare popinâ*. There are four several ex- positions of this place, the two first of which take the word, *Mitte*, for *Omitte*, and the first of them takes *Offia* for the Nobleman's Gate; whence they would make this apt sense (if the words would as aptly bear it) If thou would'st send a Nobleman *O Casar*, on an Employment, pass-by his own Gate, and seek him in a Tavern. The second takes *Offia* for the Haven in the Mouth of *Tiber*, where the ships lay; and then they would make this apt sense (if some inconvenience did not withstand it) If thou would'st send some Noble Deputy, *Casar*, send not to *Offia* for him, where men of Spi- rit and Employment are; but seek him in a Ta- vern. The Third opinion takes *Mitte* properly, but *Offia* for *Offia Istri* or *Rheni*, or the like: whence the sense would be (if some inconvenience did not attend this also) send, *Casar*, send a Noble- man in warlike employment to the Mouth of *Danu- bius* or of the *Rhene*; but seek him in a Tavern. The fourth and last takes *Mitte* properly, but *Offia* as in the second Opinion, for the Mouth of *Tiber*: according to which acceptance the sense is, as I have chosen to render it. The reasons of my choice are from the exceptions against the other three, though they all seem apt. In the two first opinions, where *Mitte* is taken for *Omitte*, the expression and cohe- rence is too obscure; for I have rendred them rather according to the Desire of the Authors, then the efficacy of the words; rather as they would have them import, then as they do import. For, according to either of these expositions it is disor- derly expressed, that *Casar* should take care where to find a Deputy to Employ, before we are told, that he means to employ any. Secondly, to take *Offia* for the Nobleman's Gate, as in the first opini- on, is silly; as in the third, for *Offia Rheni* or the like, and yet to say only *Offia*, is ridiculous. But the last and most receiv'd exposition first moves *Casar* to the resolution or purpose of employing some Nobleman, and Then to the Search for him, for the performance of his purpose.

18. — And base Biere-makers. — *Et fabros San- dapilarum*. He reckons-up here the wretched companions, with whom Noblemen sham'd not to associate themselves. Amongst others, which are mention'd by him, are *fabri sandapilarum*, though the *Scholias*t mentions other Readings, as *fabros Sandaliorum* taking them for Shooe-makers; like- wise *Sardanapalli* (as he has it) and lastly *San- dapilarum*, which is most receiv'd, and expounds it by the carpenters, that made biers (not coffins) on which they carried forth of the *Amphibateer* the bodies of the *Gladiatores*, when they were kill'd. Some more generally (as *Britannicus* out of *Fulgen- tius*) take it for the biers on which they carried to their funeral, not only the bodies of the sword- players

players that were kill'd and of persons condemn'd, but also of any of the meaner sort : which acceptions of it may be confirm'd, from that also of Sueton, speaking of Domitian slain, *Cadaver ejus populari sandapila per vespillones exportatum*. Some derive the word from *Sandalium*, the pall or covering cast upon the dead body. The Poet adds here a just indignation against such ignoble Nobles, saying unto them, If your slaves were thus leud, you would punish them with the forest Restraint and Task : but vainly boasting your selves to be defended from the Noble *Trojans*, you would make your Greatness the protection of your vileness ; and whiles you are indeed nothing but *Vice* and *Title*, you would have that which even in the basest people is accounted a Shame, to be in your selves esteem'd a Grace.

19. And dares thrice scurrile Lords behold. — *Et spectat trifurria Patriciorum*. The Poet describes another vileness of Noble *Damaspippus*, who having spent his estate upon Horses, Taverns, and harlots, was fain to turn player, hiring himself to the stage, to the *Siparium* (properly the hangings, which conceal the Actors from the stage till their entrance) and acting in *Catullus* his play, called *Phasma*, or, *The vision*. Then he mentions another Lord, one *Lentulus Velox*, who acted *Laureolus* a servant, who for a Crime was Crucified : which part this *Lentulus* perform'd very skilfully ! These performances the Poet honestly protests to be odious, and that the very people are impudent, which dare sit and behold these most scurrile behaviours of Lords (*trifurria Patriciorum*) and to hear also (*Planipedes Fabios*) the Noble *Fabii* act bare-footed, as the Players used to do in one sort of Comedie, which from the meanness of the persons was the vilest of all, as *Diomedes* the *Grammarians* tells us ; as also to see the Noble *Mamerci* (deriv'd from *Mamercus* one of *Numa's* Sons, as *Alexand. ab Alexand. lib. 1. cap. 9. notes*) basely box'd about the ears, in such plays, according to the nature of the servile part, which they undertook. In which passage there is no great difficulty ; only about *trifurria*, *Joseph Scaliger* (*de Emendatione Temporum*) makes a doubt ; and would have it *transcurria*, because the Nobles did *transire ad Orchestram* : but his friend *Lubin* does not so much as mention it ; it being indeed without copie or good composition. *Rigaltius* takes notice of it, and adds another conjecture of some, which think it should be *trifuria*, as much as *ingens cura digna Patriciis*. But we may better keep our selves to the ancient copies, which have *trifurria* made from *tris* and *scurra* expressing [in sense] a superlative ; as *Britannicus* sufficiently shews by *trifurcifer* and *triveneſce*, in *Plautus* : with which Antiquities and the unchanged consent of Interpreters we may without farther fancy rest satisfied.

20. Suppose yet There were Swords, and the Stage Here ; Which would'st thou ? — *Finge tamen gladios inde, atque hinc pulpita ponas : Quid satius ?* — Having shew'd that the Nobles did unworthily act on the common stage, he farther disdains that they became *Gladiators*, and without any compulsion from a *Nero*, and at the Shews which were set forth by the *Praetor*, one far inferiour in honour unto them : who yet sate there advanced in stately manner beholding Them ventring their Lives like Rascals. Yet of the two, says the Poet, the stage is a worse shame to them, then the Sword-fight : for who, says he, would not detest to act the cuckold *Latinus*, *Thymele's* jealous husband ? or

to be a fellow-actor with the logger-head *Corinthus* ? Then shewing *Cesar's* vile example in a like kind to be the cause, he says, that though the sword-fight is of the two the less shameful, yet these Nobles choose the worst degree of leudness in that leud practice. For whereas one sort of the *Gladiators*, the *Myrmillo*, fights so arm'd that he cannot be known, the Noble *Gracchus* performs the part of the *Retiarius*, who with his net acted barefaced, as one quite shameless, hating the close dress, which might come near but to the least modestie. Neither doubt it, says the Poet, that it is *Gracchus* ; *Credamus tunica* : for though he wore not a Nobleman's habit, but basely after the manner of the *Retiarius*, wore a short coat for the more activitie, yet believe it, it is he. For, being put to the worst, as he lies about for his life, he shews his face, so to move the Spectators to save him. See *Sat. 3. Illustrat. 5*. Besides, you may observe his golden ribband, which might be occasion of some guess, that he is no common person. Indeed, says the Poet, when it is generally known what he is, the *Myrmillo* that fights with him, is floured-ar, as having shew'd no such skill, as he thought he had against some practis'd gladiator. Thus much was necessary to rectifie the diverse contextures of this passage : but for the many Antiquities here employ'd, see them largely discussed. *Sat. 2. Illustrat. 26*. Some read here, *Cedamus tunica*, let us give way to a Noble person ; shewing out of *Herodian*, that *Commodus* the Emperor in like manner most shamefully acting the *Gladiator*, had favour (if one may call it so) shew'd him by those he fought-with, they respecting him not as a *Gladiator*, but as Emperor. But such favour could not with such ease and confidence be hoped-for by a Nobleman : for by his fight it appears, that he sought time to be thoroughly known, so to be rescued by the People's judgment, who in case of favour used a sign for deliverance : and therefore I think *credamus* to be, as it is the most receiv'd, so also the safer Reading.

21. More then One Ape, One Serpent, and One Sack. *Cujus supplicio non debuit una parari Simia, non serpens unus, nec culeus unus*. He speaks this, because *Nero* was guilty of many unnatural murders. The kinds and degrees of punishments for parricides, such as kill'd their Father, or others very near of blood, differ'd in diverse places and Ages ; but amongst the *Romans*, a Parricide being condemn'd was presently hooded to deprive him of the sight of the Sun and Heaven : then whipp'd with rods, *virgis sanguineis*, says *Modestinus*, *Digestor. lib. 48. Tit. 9. L. 9.* which some seem to interpret, by saying that he was whipped till he was bloody : which, though probably true, I think not to be the meaning of the Law ; *virga sanguinea* signifying rods of the *Sanguen-tree* called so from the blood-red colour of it, as *Gothofredus* notes on that Law ; and *Io. Isacius* on *Macrobius* his *Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 16*. The Parricide was afterwards sow'd-up in a sack or bag ; and in after-times there was sow'd-in with him, an Ape, a Cock, a Serpent (or, as some more particularly, a viper) and a dog. Lastly, he was thrown into the Sea, or, in in-land places, into the next lake or river. But *Dositheus* the old *Grammarians* adds more especially, that the *Culeus* being sow'd-up was put into a cart, and drawn to the Sea, or Lake, or River, by a yoke of black Oxen. *Hieronymus Magius* in his *Miscellan. lib. 4. cap. 8.* probably conjectures, that at the first there was nothing sow'd up with the parricide, but that afterwards

afterwards such company was added; as likewise that there was more than one Serpent sow'd-up ordinarily, from those words of *Constantine* the Emperor, *Serpentum contuberniis miscetur*; unless as he says, the plural number be put for the singular. Yet he thinks that *Constantine* reviving the Law fallen to disuse might peradventure increase it. Indeed *Quintilian* in his *Declamations*, did long before speak so, *Culeo & serpentibus expianda feritas*: yet we must add, that *Juvenal* and *Quintilian* lived at the same time; and that it were ridiculous to think that either of them could write ignorantly or would write falsely of his own time. Wherefore seeing that *Juvenal* implies the many crimes of *Nero*, even of this kind, by the many deserved punishments for such crimes; It appears that in *Juvenal's* time there was but one serpent sow'd-up with the parricide; for otherwise he must have said, that he deserv'd more than two serpents, (even four) or else he had not express'd what he intended, which also would have spoil'd the uniformity of his speech, If he had said, More than One Ape, Two serpents, and one sack, if *Magius* his Conjecture took place. Wherefore I believe that *Quintilian* used the plural number for the singular. But whether *Constantine* also did so in the Reviving of the Law, it concerns not this doubt, being in after-times, and so no way contrary to what *Juvenal* implies of his own times. The reason why these creatures were added to the parricide, is by some said to have been, because they likewise, as we may say, are parricides: which reason I confess I understand not, excepting only of the viper; for as concerning the Ape, it is rather expressly against *Juvenal*: who in this very argument, speaking again, *Sat. 13.* says, —*cum quo Clauditur adversis innoxia simia fati*, implying, the Ape to be of a less guilty disposition. *Olivierus Arzeganensis* (an Interpreter of *Valerius Maximus*, and cited by *Gothofredus* in the place before alleged) makes the reason, why these creatures were added to the parricide, to be this; *quod Gallus serpentem, serpens simiam, simia hominem insequatur*: which, if consider'd, seems to make less the combat (and so the punishment) of the Parricide, by dividing the combatants, the serpent being employ'd in his own defence against the Cock, and the Parricide being left properly, according to Him, only to the fierceness of the Ape. But *Alexander ab Alex.* (*Gen. Dier. lib. 3. cap. 5.*) does well express the reason of this addition, in these words, —*ut in rixa inferorum animalium, & fœdâ laceratione corporis, ob tanti sceleris immanitatem diro cruciatus vulnere interimitur: utque ab omni elemento repudiatum cadaver, irrequieto labore & perpetuis fluctibus agitur*, implying the parts of the punishments, that they might be tormented with such troublesome creatures, and that their carcases might want both burial and rest. See also *Rhodigine*. Yet *Isidorus Hispalensis* (in *Glossis*) said as much before them both, speaking of a Parricide, *mittebatur in mare, & contententibus inter se animantibus homo majoribus panis afficiebatur*. As for the *Culeus* (called by *Dositheus*, *μολυβδῆς*, by *Suidas*, *ἀνθρωπῆς*) which in the most usual and vulgar expression we render, a Sack, *Isidore* in the place before cited, says, it was *tunica ex sparto in modum crumenæ facta*, a coat made of broom in fashion of a purse, which the executioner daubed on the inside with pitch and bitumen. Of which basket-stuffe though some perchance might in some latter time be made, yet *Juvenal* describes it to be *exocori bovis*, *Sat. 13.* and so it is commonly sa-

ken, to have been properly of leather, made of a Bull's or Oxe's hide, or rather of more, sow'd together; if we consider the capacity of it: which we may reduce (to omit diversity of opinions) upon this ground, that the *Sextarius* contains according to our last Interpreters of the Bible, about a pint and a half; which being granted (of wine-measure) the *Culeus* containing 20. *Amphoras*, and the *Amphora* containing 48. *Sextarios*, it follows, that the *Culeus* contains 180. gallons. To conceive this by our English measures, the Hogs-head being 63. gallons, the Pipe 126. and the Tunne, 252. gallons; it is plain, that the *Culeus* (the greatest vessel for Liquors, amongst the Romans) was as much as a Pipe and a Hogs-head, that is $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Tun, wanting only one *Amphora*, or, nine gallons: whereby may be understood the capacity of the vessel for the Parricide and his Companie. I may here add, what *Alexander ab Alexand.* in the place before cited notes, that the first which suffer'd the punishment of the *Culeus* (but without the addition of those creatures) was one *P. Maleolus* (for the murder of his mother) mention'd by *Florus*, the Epitomiser of *Livie*, *lib. 68.* and by *Orosius*, *lib. 5. cap. 16.*

22. —And winne the *Græcian Parslie-Crown*. —*Graiaque apium mernisse corona*. *Apium* is usually taken for Parsly; though some take it for Smalage, or Marsh parsly (in Latin, *Falud apium*) otherwise by some, [as by Mr. *Guillim* in his Display of Heraldrie, *feild. 4. cap. 16.*] called *Merche*, which is an herb, as *Theophrastus* notes, that is always green: of which a coronet or chaplet was made for the Conqueror at the *Nemean Games* [as *Fliny* tells us, *lib. 19.*] celebrated to the Memorie of *Archemorus*, the young Son of *Lycargus*, but indeed for the comfort of his Father, by overcoming his sorrow with a perpetual honour. But why the Garland was of Parsly, the Interpreters tell us not: in which point the diligence of *Alexander ab Alexand.* may help; who tells us [in his *Gen. Dier. lib. 5. cap. 18.*] that it was because the child *Archemorus* was unhappily kill'd by a Serpent as he was playing upon a Parsly-bed; though some say [which by the way we may note] that the mischance came by a river-side, where his nurse laid him, which would not so well sort with the reason of the *Nemean* Custome, unless peradventure it might possibly be a little helped, by being understood of Marsh parsly. And here it were but an overplus to fill the Reader with the base and scenical behaviour of *Nero* [here enveigh'd-at] both in *Italie* and *Greece*; the dishonour being as known, as the Empire, which he dishonour'd. Wherefore I leave him to the jeere of our Satyrists, who tells him, that he may do well to place the Rewards, the Ensigns of his Arts, at the feet of the statues of his Ancestors, his Father, or Great Grand-father, each of which was called by the name, *Domitius*.

23. —And toils in ev'ry ward. —*Et in omni parte laborat*. Having shew'd that *Cataline* and *Cethegus*, though Noble, behav'd themselves most ignobly against their Country (like the fierce French, that inhabited about *Narbon* and *Lions*) for which they deserv'd to have burn'd by night in the troublesome Coat, as he calls it (of which see *Sat. 1. Illustrat. 47.*) he shews next, that on the contrary, *Tully*, though slighted as a Country-Knight, brought-up but in some *Municipium*, some City or Town priviledg'd, or made capable of *Roman Offices*, (and so a fellow but of a disdain'd size, compar'd with your Native Roman) did yet save *Rome*, toil-

ing, as he says, in *omni parte*, as the most copies have it, in every Ward, or Part of the City. Some Copies have — in *omni Monte*: so *Rigaltius* reads, expounding it of the Hills, on which Rome was built; and some Copies have (as the *Scholias* says) — in *omni Ponte*, alluding to the *Mulvian*, where some of *Catiline's* Confederates and the *Allobroges* were apprehended. Both which last seem pretty varieties; but the first (in *omni parte*) is, methinks, the more plain and full expression, implying his general care, which employed it self not only on the Hills and Bridges of Rome, but in every part; though figuratively, I grant, the other Readings may be admitted. And here we may take notice that the Poet says, that Rome when freed from the danger of *Catiline*, call'd *Cicero Parentem* and *patrem patriam*; which may seem at the first an overplus; if it implied no more, then to call Rome the child, and *Cicero* the Father: but it more largely shews his merits, not only in respect of the City of Rome, but of all his Country: while he is equall'd to *Romulus*; of whom *Livie* says in the same word, *Patrem Urbis, Romulus*; which I therefore here render, Her Founder, as *patrem patriam* his Country's father, ascribing thus unto him both the Original and Preservation of the City and the Dominions belonging to it.

24. His pate did next the knotty Vine oft crack. *Nodosam post hac frangebatur vertice vitem.* Describing *Marius* another *Arpinate* (as *Tully* was) he shews how famous he became, saving Rome from the *Cimbrians* (the *Holsatians*) and winning in a manner all the glory of a Triumph from his Nobly-born College *Q. Lutatius Catulus* [in *Marius* his fourth Consulship:] though this *Marius* at the first did but plow other mens land for wages, and afterwards was but a Common Souldier, and had many a vine-rod broken upon his pate, in case at any time he loyter'd at his Military task. Wherein he implies the manner of punishing some defaults of Souldiers, the Centurion correcting such as offend'd, with a knotty vine-branch or cudgel, as *Pliny* shews, *lib. 14. cap. 1.* *Guillaume du Choul* observes [in his *Discours sur la Castrametation des Romains. fol. 34. a.* treating of the punishment of Souldiers] that if a Souldier being punish'd staid the Centurion's hand, or the Vine-Branches, *les sermens* [I think, in exacter writing it should be *sarmens*; this signifying vine-rods, the Other, *Oaths*] he was *casé*, cashier'd, or put-out of Office, if he had any; or, if by force he defended himself, he was punish'd, as for a capital crime. And for this use of the vine-rod grew that jeere mention'd by *Tacitus*, [*Annal. lib. 1.*] upon one *Lucilius* a Centurion, who being very severe, and upon a time breaking a vine-rod upon a Souldier, he cried *Cedo alteram*, Give me another, and after that again, *Cedo alteram*: whereupon the Souldiers in a flourish call'd him, *Cedo alteram*.

25. His Nobly-born College of equal Sway, Was yet adorn'd but with the second Bay. *Nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda.* There are diverse Interpretations of this place; three of which make *Nobilis* to be the Genitive Case, and so *Nobilis Collega* to imply, that *Marius*, though of mean birth, was yet a Nobleman's College. But on *lauro secunda*, the *Scholias* says, *Secundo, per Marium familia nova.* Nam primo per *Ciceronem* nobilitati, hoc est ut triumpharet; I suppose it should be *nobilitata*; meaning that a new or upstart familie from amongst the people was first ennobled with a triumphant fame in the person of *Cicero*, and a Second time in

Marius. Which is some mistake in respect of the order of their times: for, whereas he makes *Cicero's* glory to have been the former of the two, it was the latter by almost forty years. Some understand it only by *Marius*; that though he were but of mean birth, yet he obtain'd two triumphs, one over *Jugurth*, another over the *Cimbrians*. A third sort expounding it of *Marius* and his College, say, that he obtain'd to triumph at least in the Second place, *post collegam suum*, as the *Scholias* speaks, who recites also this third exposition. A fourth sort taking *Nobilis* for the Nominative case, understand by *Nobilis Collega, Q. Lutatius Catulus*, who was put to flight by the *Cimbrians*, who afterwards by *Marius* and *Catulus* were overthrown with a mighty slaughter. Yet the victory was ascribed generally in a manner only to *Marius*, which made the Poet say of him — *Et solus irepidantem protegit urbem*: which was not literally true, *Catulus* being join'd with him; but in the main of the business it was true, his *Præses* being such, that by the common consent, if he would, he might have triumph'd alone; but to decline envie, he was content, that his College should triumph with him. The most apt sense therefore is this which I choose; that his College, though Nobly-born, was yet adorn'd but with the Second bay; or, as it may be varied, had not at all triumph'd but for the valour of his mean-born Collegue *Marius*.

26. —Suffice They did th' Infernal Gods: A Sacrifice T' our Mother Earth were —. *Sufficienti Diis Infernis Terraque Parenti.* Amongst other wretched persuasions of the Old Romans in their mistaken Religion, one was that it was most acceptable to their *Dii Inferi* and *Tellus* in case of great danger foretold to the Commonwealth by their *Aruspices*, for one by way of atonement or pacification, *devovere se*, to vow, promise or solemnly bequeath himself, as a sacrifice for all the rest; as is commonly known by the example of the *Decii*. See the form of such devoting of themselves set down by *Rosinus* (*lib. 10. cap. 15.*) out of *Livie. lib. 8.*

27. —Our last good King. — *Regum ultimus ille bonorum.* The Poet describing *Servius Tullius*, whose Mother was but a hand-maid, says, that his Merit bestow'd upon him the *Trabea*, the *Fascies*, and the *Diademe*. The *Trabea* was a Royal robe of purple woven upon white; or to speak neerer to the *Etymologie*, beam'd with white; or, as some describe it, having gold woven upon it like glistening beams. Of the *Fascies*, see *Illustrat. 29.* of this Satyre. The *Diademe*, as *Pancirollus* tells us, (*lib. 1. Tit. 47.*) was a little cap, like half a foot-ball, bound about with a white *fascia*, or wreath, as he describes it from *St. Jerom* to *Fabiola*. It is the 128. *Epist. De vestitu Sacerdotum*; where he speaks of *rotundum pileolum*, such a one, says he, as *Ulysses* was presented-in, in an Arch'd walk call'd by His name. He says it was by the *Gracians* called *riden*, by some *Galerus*. This *pileolum*, as he afterwards says, *Ita in occipito vittâ confixum est, ut non facile labatur ex capite.* Yet it should seem, that rather the *fascia* (or, *vitta*) it self, then the bonnet, was properly the *Diademe*, if we consider the story of *Pompey* (as *Marcellinus* describes it, *lib. 17.*) who was suspected of treason for wearing the *fasciola candida* about his legge to hide a soare; that being generally interpreted for a *Diademe*, and he accordingly suspected for aiming at the Empire; it being, as was said, not material on what part of the body it was worn. (See *Alexander ab Alex. Gen.*

Gen. Dier. lib. 1. cap. 28.) And this may appear from the name fram'd from *drachma*, *circumligo*; it being a band of white cloth (as some describe it) round about the head. Rightly therefore does *Britannicus* note, that it was not *Corona*, but *fascia*. But here I marvel, that *Antoninus* rightly expounding the words *ancilla natus*, of *Servius Tullius*, does notwithstanding on the words, *Regum ultimus*, say *Tarquinius Superbus*: which though it were a truth of *Regum ultimus* absolutely taken, he indeed being the last Roman King; yet it being here expressly said with an addition, *regum ultimus ille bonorum*, it does apparently exclude *Tarquinius Superbus*.

28. Some brave act, which *Mutius* and *Cocles* might have wonder'd at. *Quos Magnum aliquid dubiâ pro libertate deceret, Quod miraretur cum Cocle Mutius, &c.* The Poet here expressing, that the *Consul's* Sons sought to betray the Libertie of their Country, by seeking to bring back *Tarquinius Superbus*, adds, *Quos magnum aliquid, &c. Quod miraretur, &c.* which last word *Lubin* applies to their Act, which here the Poet enveighs against; implying that honest persons, which loved the libertie of their Country, wonder at those that would betray it; especially their own Father being of another mind. Which though it may be admitted, yet not with any great Grammatical convenience in the construction, if we consider the remoteness of the Relative from the thing, to which he would thus apply it. But *Britannicus*, methinks, far better applies *quod miraretur*, to that famous act, which, as he says, had more bescem'd them, such a one, says the Poet, *Quod miraretur cum Cocle Mutius, &c.* that is, says *Britannicus*, *quod posset mirari & imitari*: which singularly advances the sense of the place, implying that they should rather, being the Sons of such a Father, have done some famous act, which even the most famous *Cocles*, *Scævola* and *Clodia* (who immediately grew famous after Them) might have wonder'd at, though themselves did things, that were justly wonder'd at; according to which sense I choose to render it.

29. To th' Fathers with these News a Servant runs, A Sad one to the Mothers of those Sons.

Occulta ad Patres produxit Crimina Servus Matronis lugendus

This passage is expounded with a little variety. The story is, that *Vindex*, or, as some call him, *Vindicius*, a Servant of the *Aquili*, did detect the conspiracy of the *Consul's* Sons unto the Fathers; for which he was first manumitted, as a preserver of his Country, as afterwards crucified, as a betrayer of his Master: therefore as some say, *lugendus matronis*, in regard he was put to death, though he had kept out a domineering ravisher; and so as a friend of the Matrons, might be justly bewail'd by them. This sense we demie not to be congruous; but it is somewhat far fetch'd; and the rather, methinks, to be disliked, because it makes the Mothers more compassionate for the loss of a good Servant, then of a bad Son: whereas in a case of so near a sorrow, we must give them leave to shew more tenderness, then wisdom. Wherefore I imlie, and according to the more receiv'd exposition, that their sorrow was, thought occasion'd by their Servant, yet for their Sons; who as the Poet presently infers, were whipped and put to death, suffering so both the Rods and Axe, which were carried before the New *Consuls*. And here we may note with *Britannicus*, that the Poet says, *legum prima securis*, because the government under their

Kings, that is, before the time of their *Consuls*, was arbitrary or, without set Laws. Here also, because the *Fasces* and the *Securis* are so frequently mention'd in this and other Authors, it will not be unpleasant to behold them in picture, as they are bound up together and represented by *Antoine le Pois* (a French Antiquary) in his *Lifcours sur les Medalles Antiques*, at the end of his work, on p. L. figure 3. * The reason of which binding of them up, as *Plutarch* guesses (in *Rom. Quæst.* 82.) was to shew a slowness in the magistrat in the use of them, implied by the necessarile delay in the untying of them. The binding up the axe with them (not in them, as some have mistaken, but cross them) did likewise shew, that what the rods could not sufficiently correct, the axe must: as also that he, who was to suffer death by the Axe, was before such execution punish'd with the Rods. The use of which among the Romans was brought in by *Tullus Hostilius*, King of the Romans, being anciently carried so before the *Etrurian* Kings, and by some the *Fasces* were adorn'd with Bays, as *Lipsius* notes on *Tacitus*. *Annal.* 2.



30.—Or what he spare to name. *aut illud quod dicere nolo.* The Poet concludes, that it were better to be the Son of an unworthy *Thefires*, so that one's self were an *Achilles* (the nephew of *Æacus*) bravely behaving himself in the armour, which *Vulcan* made for him, then to be a *Thefires*, though one were the Son of an *Achilles*. But, says he, by way of jeer, to the Noblest Roman, thou canst not properly derive thy self, better, then from the Company, which assembled at *Romulus* his *Asylum*, his Sanctuary or place of refuge (so called from *an* and *oûda*, *durpio*, because no man might be drawn thence); and then thou wilt prove but a shepherd, like such as he gather'd together; or what is worse, such as those desperate persons (as he intimates) which in desperate fortunes & consciences fled unto him. Thus the common exposition takes *illud quod dicere nolo*, for *latro*, or the like; making all, whom *Romulus* entertain'd there, either Shepherds, or Cut-throats, either Mean or Leud Persons. But *Antoninus* somewhat acutely excepts against this last part; saying, that the Poet in the former verses understood all these, when he mention'd *Asylum* (the infamous *stirpe*), and therefore would not presently again imlie the same thing: wherefore he thinks this to be an allusion to the next story of *Romulus* and his Company, about their particular exploit in Ravishing the *Sabine* virgins. Thus he would briefly have *Rastores* and *Latrones* to be understood before; and here, by *illud quod dicere nolo*, only *Ravisher virginum*; implying that the best of their Ancestors were either such as were glad to take Sanctuary, or but *Ravisher*. This, I grant, is witty, if it prove as sound; but I shrink this last verse to contain but the parrs by way of explication, of what was said before in general; that is, they all came from the *Asylum*, and so were either Shepherds or worse; for that *Ravisher* must be in the parts of that division, All being derived from the *Asylum*. Concerning the *Asylum* or place of refuge it self, I need only intimate, that this fact of *Romulus* in the erecting of it, was but an imitation of many ancient examples, as of *Cadmus* at the building of *Thebes*; of the Posteritie of *Heracles* at *Athens*, and diverse others; for which see at large, *Alexand. ab Alex. Gen. Dier.* l. 3. c. 20.

SATYRE. IX.

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

Juvenal and Nævolus.

ARGUMENT.

*Lust and Poverty ill joyn'd
In Monstrous Nævolus we find:
But here strange Virro Great and Vile
Both Lust and Avarice defile.
Dark Crimes, though hid, scape not our sight:
By Night we see not, yet see Night.
Over their Lords from guilt not clear
Base Servants Tongues do Domineer.*

JUV: VVhy, Nævolus, so oft meet I thy brow
All Cloud, like *Marsyas* quite put down? why now
Look'st thou like *Ravola* caught with his sweet
Rhodope? With just blows indeed we greet
Our sweet-mouth'd Servants. A more wretched Face
Does *Crepereius Pollio* ne're disgrace,
When he goes Offering Treble Use, and lights
Upon no Fools. What sodain care thus frights
Thy brow to wrinkles? Sure, thou liv'dst of late,
A Slave? rather meer Knight, though small in state.
A Guest thou wast, that had'st thy quips most witty,
Veh'mently tart, pure Natives of the City.
Now all's inverted: A sad Face, dry Hair
Like a shagg'd Copp'ce: Thy Skin knows no neat care:
A hor' glew'd-swath did once smooth thee with art;
Now every where rough hairs, like sprigs, do start.
What means thy meager shape, like one half-tir'd,
VVhom a Domestick *Quartane* long has fir'd?
Thou may'st discern the Sick man's mind's Distress,
Or Sound man's Joys: The Face does both express.
Methinks then thou seem'st chang'd, and hast begun
In a new diverse Course of life to run.
For I remember thou did'st haunt of late
Isis shrine, (r) *Peace's Ganymede*, and wait

On *Cybel's* Palace-Rites which hither came,
 And *Ceres* (For, what Shrine don't women shame?)
 Th' Adulterer *Aufidius* was less known:
 I could say, Didst thou please the *VVives* alone:

Nev. Yet that's a thriving way to some: but small
 Gain I have thence: A greasie Cloak is all,
 (To save my Gown) course, of some gross die, w^{ch} some
French weaver drove but ill, with a sleight comb;
 Or some small Silver of the second vein.
 The Fates Rule men: Fate does in those parts reign,
 VVhich the Lap hides. For, if thy Stars thee fail,
 Thy strength of Lust shall nothing then avail,
 For all rich *Virro's* rank desire. And yet
 No Monster's like Avarice and Lust met!
 I gave you This, then That, then More: He Counts,
 And leudly Moves! Lets see to what it mounts:
 Ho, (2) bring the Counting-board. Suppose your Gains
 VVere Five *Sestertia*: Reckon then your Pains.
 Dost sleight my Toile? Shall he find less vile Fares,
 That tends thy Plow, then He that on Thee waits?
 But sure thou thoughts thy self soft, young, fair, fit,
 VVhom *Jove* might to his Cup and Heav'n admit.
 To a poor Client will you bounty show,
 VVho Nothing on your sweet Disease bestow?
 Lo, may'st not Thou fitly to such a Friend
 Large *Amber*-bowls, and a green *Shadow* send
 Upon Her Birth-day, or when the fresh Spring
 Does (3) gentle showers and the Shee-Calends bring?
 Nay when to Thee plac'd in a stately Chair,
Virro, some thus with secret guifts repair?
 Sparrow! For whom keep'st thou such Hills, vast Grounds,
Apulian Farms, Kites ur'd within thy bounds?
Trifoline fields, the dread *Cumean* knowl
 And hollow *Gaurus's* Vintage fill thy bowl.
 VVhose Pitch more Vessels keeps? More lasting wines?
 VVhat wert to help then a spent Clients loins
 VVith a few Acres? wilt thou to some other
 Rather bequeath a Country-house, a Mother
 VVith Babe and whelp his Play-fellow? to some (4)
 Slack Priest of *Cybel*, that can vainly drum?
 Begger, (5) you're Bold, says he. But Rent does cry
 Beg: So does my own man, like the broad cie
 Of *Polyphemus*, for all which, the wise
Vlyses escap'd. But one does not suffice:
 Another must be bought; both fed. And when
 December blows, what course shall I take then?
 To their cold Heels and Shoulders wilt be some
 Releif, to say, The Grass-hoppers will come.
 But, though thou wilt not my Deserts set forth,
 To omit other things, was't nothing worth,

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

That I thy most addicted and devout
 Client in thy behalf all means sought out?
 VVhen as thy VVife the Marriage-bonds had broke,
 And now was sealing new, back to thy yoke
 I won her, and did always make her stay,
 VVho, but for me, had often gone away?
 VVwhether can'st turn? what can'st say first or last?
 Deserve I nothing for my Labours past,
 Thankless, false wretch? Is't nothing, that th'art now
 Upon Record a Man? The Laurel-bough
 May now adorn thy Gates: A Father's Name
 Thou hast: thou hast, what to oppose to shame.
 A Father's Rights thou hast: now thou may'st be
 An Heir, (6) now receive any Legacy;
 Sweet wind-falls too. More Priviledges add,
 If once three Children make thy heart right glad.

Juv. Sure, *Nevolus*, thy sorrow's just, as I
 By this should judge: yet, what does he reply?

Nev. VVhy, he neglects me, and now seeks some other
 Two-footed, sturdy Ass. But these things smother
 Reveald thus only to your self; and rest
 VVith my Complaints hid in your secret breast.
 For, whom the *Pumice* smooths, He's a dire foe!
 VVho shews a Secret, Burns and Hates, as though
 All that I knew, I had betray'd. He'll take
 A Sword, or Clubb my brains out; or else make
 His candle fire my doors: nor think him vain;
 These (7) Rich ones ne're count Poison a dear grain.
 This then, like *Mars* his Court at *Athens*, hide.

Juv. Dull *Corydon*, think'st Rich men undiscried
 VVhen Vile in private? what their Servants spare
 To speak, Beasts, Dogs, Posts, Marbles will declare.
 Shut doors and windows, stop the chinks; Desie
 All light, let Neighbours bawl, let none lie nigh:
 VVhat yet he acts (8) at the Cocks second Crow,
 E're break of day the next Vintner shall know;
 Nay, hear (9) what's ere his Scribe and cheif Cooks fain,
 His Carvers too. For, what care they to stain
 Their Lords? when by such lies, revenge they take,
 For the shrew'd Belts they've felt? Nay, some will make
 Search for thee in the ways, and thou must hear:
 They're drunk, and they'll make drunk thy wretched ear.
 Pray them then, as thou did'st pray me, to say
 Nothing: but secrets sooner they'll betray,
 Then drink as much *Falerne*, though got by stealth;
 As did *Laufella* for the People's Health.
 As Duty binds us not to live amiss,
 And many Causes more, so chiefly this:
 That Conscious Servants Tongues make us not start;
 For, a vile Servant's Tongue is his worst part.

VVho

VVho yet will not live free from Crimes, He's worse
Then They, that live upon his Bread and Purse.

Nar. How to despise a Servants Tongue, if I could,
Good Counsel, yet but Common, thou hast shew'd.
But now what's thy Advise after lost Time
And Hope? For Lo, how swiftly hasts the Prime
Flow'r of our Age? Lo, how the fatal Knife
Hasts to cut off our short and wretched Life?
Amid'st (10) Cups, Flow'rs, Ointments and Lovers toys,
Old Age does unperceiv'd arrest our Joys.

Juv. Fear not; I warrant thee, whiles these Hills stand,
Thou can'st not want a Pathick ne're at hand:
They're brought by Ship and VVagon; Here th'are sped:
They, they, (11) that with one finger scratch their head.
Besides, thy Hope and Gain may yet Increase;
Only eat Rocket hard, and hold thy peace.

Nar. These Rules are for your lucky ones; but my
Clotho and *Lachesis* are glad, when I
By lust my Hunger stanch. But, (12) Oh my small
House-Gods, on whom with some incense I call,
Or with a Cake and Garland: when (13) some Vow
Shall I so fix, that old I may know how
To scape a Crutch and Cabbins. Nay, (14) that I
May twenty thousand have for use, with tie
Of Pledges for the Payment? Besides such (15)
Plate, that *Fabricius* might judge it too much?
And two strong (16) *Masians*, whose hir'd necks might grace me
To the loud *Circus*, and there safely place me?
Then a stooping Ingraver, and (17) a speedy
Painter? These would suffice; seeing that Needy
I still shall be! Yet Vain's my wish! nor may
I hope This! For, when I to *Fortune* pray,
Her ears she stops with wax, from that Ship brought,
On whose deaf Row'rs the *Sirens* Songs ne're wrought.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Nineth Satyre.

*Marfyas his overthrow by Apollo, How and where Memoriz'd. Crustula. Verna-Eques. Psilothrum and Dropax. Bruscus. Brucia. Ptolemæus Flavius his opinion about Ganymedem Pacis, not approv'd. Diptycæ. Amanuenses, and their Overseer, probably shew'd from some of the Manuscripts. Calculi and Abacus, the ancient form of it presented. Fæminæ Calendæ. Juno Calendaris. Matronalia. Saturnalia. New-years Gifts, their Antiquity, first Matter, and Abuse. Arbores felices. Strenia. Cymbala, the fashion of them expressed. Gallantes. Sundry expositions of that passage, --- sed appellat puer unicus, ut Polyphæmi Lata acies, per quam solers evasit Ulysses. Register-books of the Birth of all persons, used anciently amongst the Romans. When Children receiv'd their Name. Caducum. Jus trium liberorum; the strictness and Licence about it, in several ages of the Romans. Annona. Areopagus; the secrecy of that Court. Lubin's Error about Galli cantus secundus, shew'd from Censorinus Gallicinium; the different Seasons of it. Librarius. Carptores. Serta and Unguenta; their ancient Abuse derived, according to some, from the Hebrews. Unguentarius. Several sorts of Ointments for several parts of the Body. Oleum Susinum. *velum & omm.* Eruca, where usually sow'd. The Lares adorn'd with Chaplets of Flowers. Lemures and Larvæ. The Custome of fixing Vows with wax to the knees of their Gods. Argentum purum; the different acceptions of it, shew'd from Marcellus Donatus, and Franciscus Luisinus. Cervix locata, expounded somewhat differently from Lubin. Pithæus and Scaliger's conjecture about Maltha, propos'd.*

I. ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ *Eace's Ganymede. — Et Ganymedem Pacis.* — The Poet in this Satyre discovering in a dangerous Zeal the execrable impurities of some Roman sinners; sets out one *Navolus*, as a Monster; telling, that for all his leudness he did not thrive, but look'd as wretchedly as *Marfyas*, *Ravola* or *Crepreteus Pollio*. The first of which the Scholiast says, was either some Lawyer in *Juvenals* time, or more probably (that being but an obscure supposition) that bold Musician, who daring to contend with *Apollo*, was overcome and slayed; his skin being hang'd up for a Monument, not in the forum of *Celene*, (a City of *Phrygia*) as *Alexander ab Alexand.* says, *Gen. Dier. lib. 2. cap. 12.* but in a Cave, at the Head or Springs of the River (named since from Him) *Marfyas*, but formerly, *Midas* fons, which ran indeed through *Celene*, where the contention was: but the Monument was placed at the Head of the River, as *Tiraguel* proves, on that place of *Alexander ab Alex.* The Second, to whom he likens him, was one *Ravola* an impure Villan, who being taken with his *Rhodope*, was con-

founded with a just shame at the discovery, deserving (as the Poet flouts) many a clap for his Lique-rishness, like an unmannerly servant over-bold with sweet-meats, *crustula*, properly *frusta panis bene cocti, leviter melliti* (some render them, *wafers*) which were sometimes by mens last Wills appointed to be yearly distributed on their Birth-days; as *Lipsius* shews on *Seneca, Epist. 56.* from an ancient Inscription: The last he compares him to, was one *Pollio*, mention'd elsewhere by our Author, and noted for a mad spend-thrift, who though he desperately offer'd for money three times as much, as the ordinary Interest, could yet find no such foolish Creditour. The Poet then gauls *Navolus* with the remembrance of his former prosperity, telling him, that he once lived like *Verna-Eques*, literally a Knight-slave, that is, one by birth a Servant, born of a Hand-maid, yet so gently brought up in his Masters house, that he was admitted to great Liberty, living more like a Knight than a Servant: which sort of persons were commonly call'd by way of jeer *Verna-Equites*, as particularly by *Martial*. Next he tells him, that his hair was now drie, (without ointment) and stubbed, whereas formerly he was wont to wear a *fascia*, a fillet spread with

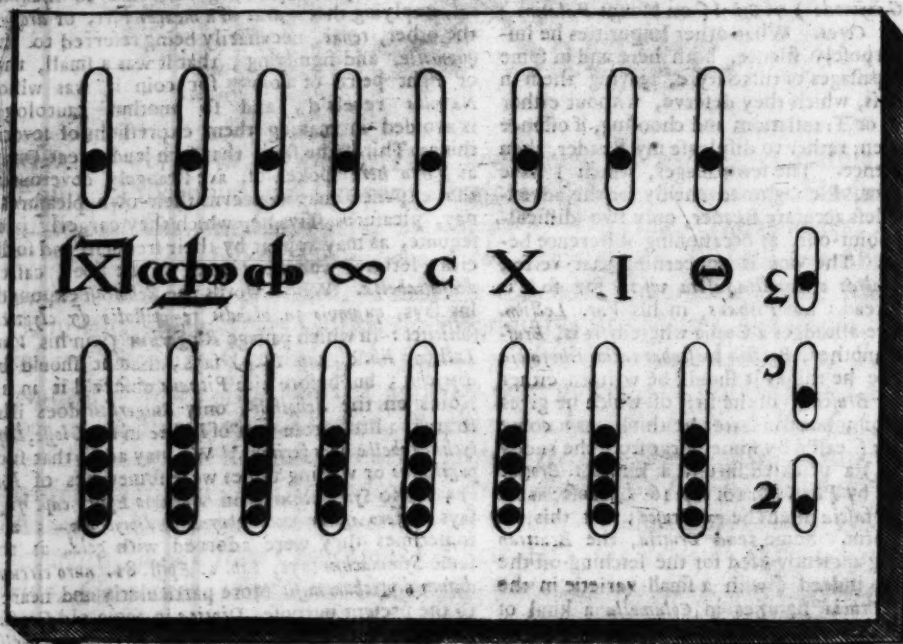
with a composition of hot *grew, gumme and wax*, as *Pliny* (*lib. 24.*) observes; which they call'd *Psilobrum* and *dropax*; the first from making *naked* the skinne from hair, the last in the like sense from *fetching* off the hair: which art of smoothing the skinne was practis'd amongst the leudest *Romans*. Lastly he tells him, that he haunted the most notorious places for Adulterers, such as were the prophand Temples of *Isis*, of *Peace* (wherein was the Statue of *Ganymede*) of *Cybel* (on Mount *Palatine*) and of chaste *Ceres*. What other Impurities he implies, I purposely silence, both here and in some other dark passages of this Satyre, leaving them in that darkness, which they deserve, without either Illustration or Translation; and choosing, if offence must be given, rather to displease my Reader, than my Conscience. The few passages, which I have layd-together, I enlightned chiefly for the advantage of the less accurate Reader, only two difficulties I may point-out, as occasioning difference between some. The one is concerning that verse, *Præstat calidi circumlita fascia visci*; for so it is commonly read; but *Pinhaus*, in his *Var. Lection.* on this place alleades a Copie wherein it is, *Bruscida*, as in another, *Brustia præstat calidi tibi fascia visci*; where he thinks it should be written either *Bructia*, or *Bruscia*: of the first of which he gives no exposition; but the latter he thinks may come from *Bruscus* (call'd by some *rufcus* from the ruddy colour of it) a prickled shrub, a kind of *Broom* (mention'd by *Pliny. lib. 16. cap. 16.* because, as he guesses, the *fascia* might be *ex brusco*; but this he does not affirm. Some read *Bruttia*, the *Bruttian* pitch, being anciently used for the fetching-off the hair; and so indeed (with a small varietie in the Reading) *Brucia* signifies in *Columella* a kind of pitch, and so probably was, if not alone, yet, an ingredient of the *psilobrum*; and so the word may be used here, according to such Copies, either Adjectively, or by way of Apposition with *fascia*. Yet this being without the farther warrant of Copies, I accept the common Reading and exposition. The other, and the chief doubt is, concerning the Statue of *Ganymede* in the Temple of *Peace*, one of *Nepos* his haours. The general exposition is, that *Vespasian* built a Temple to *Peace*, and as others more particularly affirm, erected a Statue there to *Ganymede*: part of which assertion the *Schooliast* has, saying on the words, *Fanum Idis (by Ganimedem) Statua ad quos conveniebant cinadi*. *Britannicus* more largely lays, *Templum pacis Vespasianus extruxit juxta forum, in quo aut piæam imaginem, aut statuem Ganymedis fuisse offendit poeta*. See also *Matthian. p. 39. 6.* But *Ptolemaus Flavius* in his *Conjectan. cap. 19.* rejects this as incongruous, that *Ganymede* should have a Statue in the Temple of *Peace*; and therefore takes *Ganymedem* simply for some Statue of him somewhere else, without reference to *Paxis*. But this exception being but fanisie, may methinks by the same way be answer'd, if we say it is congruous; that when *Jupiter* gave Them *Peace*, which is the delight of Men, They should, to express their Gratitude and the Occasion of it, in the Temple of *Peace* place *Ganymede*, the Delight of *Jupiter*.

2. Hoe, bring the Counting-board. Suppose your gains were five *Scertitia*. — *ponatur calculus, adificum tabula pueri, numerata scertitia quinque Omnibus in rebus*. Poor & vile *Navolus* reciting here his base gains, mentions first *pingues lacernas*, which may be render'd either *course* or *grease* (as through frequent wearing); in which last sense I express it, though it does as well signify the first, according

to that of *Marrial*, — *me pinguis Gallia vestit*, the French garments at that time being of a course making. But because the *Courtesens* is express'd in those words also which follow, — *tenaxius pelline Galli*, I thought it convenient thus to prevent, by a lawful varietie, a soddain tautologie. Next he mentions *tenue argenteum venaque secunda* a small peice of base silver; for both these are here implied; *vena secunda* having reference to the metal, implying that it was of a meaner sort, or drossy: the other, *tenue*, necessarily being referred to the quantitie, and signifying, that it was a small, thin or light peice of coin; for coin it was which *Navolus* receiv'd; and so another tautologie is avoided in making them expressions of several things. Thirdly he says, that such leud Great-Ones, as *Virro* here spoken-of, are strangely covetous in the expence that concerns their own pleasures; nay, pleasures, says he, which they eagerly prosecute, as may appear by their frequent and solliciting letters, which are here, by the Poet, called *dense tabella*. Which words the *Schollast* expounding says, *quomvis in blandis re epistolis & chyriceis sollicitior*: in which passage *Rutgersius* (in his *Var. Lexion*, lib. 6. cap. 18.) says, that it should be *diptychis*; but before him *Pitbaus* observ'd it in his Notes on the *Schollast*; only *Rutgersius* does illustrate it a little from that of *Isidore* in his *Glosse*, *Diptycha, tabella quæ feruntur*. We may add, that such *pugillares* or writing-tables were sometimes of *Ivory*; for so *Symmachus* (in *Anthonio Epist.* cap. 7.) says, *Offero igitur vobis eburneum diptychum* —; and sometimes they were adorned with gold, as the same *Symmachus* says, *Lib. 2. Epist.* 81. *auro circumdatum diptychum misi*. More particularly and nearest to the present purpose, *Diptyca* in some old *Glossaries* are said to be *tabella, quibus corruptores puellis suis inferibunt amorem*. And here not to insist upon the *Ecclesiastical* acception of the word *diptycha* (well known to the learned) signifying two tables containing the names of especial persons, some alive and some dead, some famous for their virtues, and some (as some note) notorious for their vices, and read publicly in the Ancient Church, in the time of Divine Service, for the exciting of the Good and deterring of the Bad; I may only add that acception of the word *diptychum* in *St. Ambrose*, in his *Hexamer. lib. 5: cap. 8.* where it signifies *claustrum ostreorum, an oyster's shell*; it seems from the apt closing of them, like two leaves. But *Navolus* using it here for love-letters of the worst sort, adds what I omit in the translation — *αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἀνδρὶν κινῶν*, as some Reading has it; or as the most receiv'd, *ἰδιώταις γὰρ κινῶν ἀνδρὶν κινῶν* (understanding *ἰδιώταις*, *expediti*) which in two of the Manuscripts (namely, *Corpus Christi* and *Ben. Jonson's*) is thus corruptly written, *αὐτοῖς ταῖς ἀνδρὶν κινῶν*; which I thus express in their Ignorance and Characters, there being on this passage this note in both of them, *unus pes deest versus Græco, quem Magister Heinricus scire non potuit*. Which I point-out to note the Custome and Endeavour of those times here implied; that is, that the *Amanuenses* in their transcription of Manuscripts had some Overseer to compare and correct the Copies, with whom the *Amanuenses* or Scribes did consult in doubtful passages. For so here, it seems, the Scribe consulting with *Magister Heinricus* the Overseer, for the rectifying of this peice of a Greek verse, finding it imperfect, and not receiving satisfaction, added of himself, this note in the Margin: for, though it had been truly written, yet so

was left-out, which particle was notwithstanding in some MSS. particularly in the *Manuscript Commentary*. Lastly *Nevolus* makes his foul Patron *Virro* to reckon-up the parcels of his false bounty, and grudgingly to suppose them to amount to Five *Sesteria*, that is, 39l. 1s. 3d. In which passage (to blot-out the impurities which follow) we may

observe that he calls to his Servants for the *calculi* and *tabula*: which last is, by *Persius*, *Sat. 1.* call'd *Abacus*; the form and some description whereof I have here presented as a less obvious point of Antiquitie from the curious *Pignorius*, in his book *de Servis*, p. 172. and 173. * Upon which he says, *usum ejus indicant calculi duobus & reducibiles capitati*,



Juv. Sat. 1. Illustrat. 2.

unde viginti, oblongis alveolis inserti. Calculi quatuor inferiores, unitatis vim singuli obtinent, appliciti tamen numero intercalato. Superior ille singularis & unicuique, item adnotus quinque unitates notat. Alveoli unciarum extra ordinem, sex calculos continent, quinque infra, unum supra, qui omnes XI colligunt pro recepta uncia divisione in XII solennes partes. Semuncia; scilicet, & semis scilicet seorsim comparent. In hac tabella novenarius eminet, cujus ea laus est, auctore Marciano (lib. 7.) ut primi versus finem teneat. Which explication before we farther consider, it may be observed, that the Mathematical Table was by the Ancients called the *Delphick Table*, as *Britannicus* notes on *Juvenal*, *Sat. 3.* in the exposition of those words, *Ornamenta abaci*. It was likewise called by way of honour, *Pythagoras his Table*, as *C. Secund. Curio* notes on *Persius*, *Sat. 1.* (though the Invention of *Arithmetick* it self be attributed to the *Phoenicians*) and he tells us that it was sprinkled-over with hyaline (or glass-colour'd) dust, as he urges from *Marcianus Capella*, to the end that in their multiplications, partitions and podismes, (as he speaks) or, measuring-out of ground by the feet, they might easily amend an error. And this *Geometrical dust*, says he, is by *Cicero* called by the learned title of *The Philosopher's dust*. *Ascensius* on *Persius*, *Sat. 1.* towards the end, understands by—qui abaco numeros—scit rississe vaser—, one by whom the *Arithmetical calculi* were derided, which *calculi* he calls *denarii projectiles*, coins or counters to be placed or removed; and by *metas rississe*, (as it is in *Persius*) he understands one that

flouted at *Geometricians* figures, taking *meta* for *termini* (as *Nebriffensis* notes on that place) that is, for the bounds of their figures or descriptions, which they made, says he, with a *radius* (or rod) moved in the dust, that if the measure were not true, it might be blotted-out. *Johan. Baptista Plautius* (on *Persius*, *Sat. 1.*) calls this Table *palimpseston*, i. e. *deletilem*, saying, *quâ nunc passim calculatores vivuntur*. Which two expressions cannot yet exactly consider'd stand together, unless we take *calculatores* in a general sense for accountants, but not for those, that did account by the *calculi*; because on the Table, which they sprinkled with dust, there was no use of them: *Nebriffensis* therefore more warily understands by *metas* the schemes of the *Geometricians*, which they made with the *radius* in the Dust. *Theodorus Marcilius* on *Persius*, *Sat. 1.* on the words, *Abaco*, —& se illo in pulvere metas, says, *Abacus communi usu & numerarii & Geometris: ut pulvis & radius proprius Geometrarum*; making the *Abacus* common to *Arithmeticians* and *Geometricians*; but the *radius* and *pulvis* proper to *Geometricians*. The first part of which assertion is a Truth; the last an Error: as in the same annotation, towards the end of it, plainly appears from his own words. For afterwards he says, *At illud Marciano communiter dictum, abaci circumfusus pulverem movere. Contra, pulverem solvere*. (The one was, as I conceive, to make the figures in the dust, the other to put them out.) *Seneca. Epist. 24.* Which allegations are good, and what he adds is accurate, whiles he says, *Neque non tamen etiam numerarii pul-*

vere

vere interdum fsi. Itaque Tertullianus, c. ult. de Pallio dixit, numerorum arcenarios. Geometra semper pulvere: Numerarii aliqui sine pulvere, ut calculatores. This well expresses the ancient differences: which may with some other remembrances clear this point. The *Calculi* then were not at all us'd by *Geometricians* in Their work, that is in the drawing of schemes (though They also, but as *Arithmeticians*, might use them in *Arithmetical Operations*) but only the *radius* and *pulvis* belong'd to Them, (yet not only to Them); yet were they not always used properly upon an *Abacus*; but sometimes the *radius* was used on the *Ground*: as appears by the story of *Aristippus* (mention'd by *Baptista Platinius*, on *Perfius*, Sat. 1.) who having escaped from a Tempest and got to the *Rhodian* shoar, and perceived some making *Geometrical schemes* on the *Sand*; bid his fellows be of good courage, telling them, that they had found *Men* (meaning *Mathematicians*) and therefore probably *Civillie* of Entertainment. They did sometimes likewise draw their schemes in the *Dust*, as is known from the story of *Archimedes*, and the multitude of *Geometricians*, who by such practice made the Court of *Dionysius* Dusty, as *Plutarch* relates. Sometimes likewise they used the *Abacus*, sprinkling it with fine dust, such as pin-dust, or the like (and which by some is called *Green dust*) which they divided into figures with a *radius*, or *stylus*, with one end of which they might write, with the other put-out. But such a *Table* or *Abacus* we must suppose to have been plain and level, and used not only by *Geometricians*, but also *Arithmeticians*; yet on such a one the *Calculi* were not used at all; the *Arithmetician* also performing his work with the *stylus* in the fine *Dust*. But besides this plain *Table*, there was an *Abacus*, such a one as *Juvenal* here intends, and *Pignorius* presents; which was not to be sprinkled with dust, nor requir'd the *radius*, but only the *calculi*. Which *Table*, as I guess at the meaning of *Pignorius*, who seems somewhat obscure, was of this manner. There were carved in it certain *alveoli*, depths or channels, as we may call them, in which the *calculi* were placed; which *calculi* appear in the *Table* like so many black, round spots, which are but the upper parts of them above the plain of the *Table*, by which they were placed and displaced in those hollow rows at pleasure. These expressed on the *Table* are 44, and were of a like use as with us, *Counters*. The *alveoli* are expressed by the spaces inclosed between two lines, and closed at each end; in which the *calculi*, as is said, were placed. These *alveoli* or depths in the *Table* (in number 19.) were made that the *calculi* might lie the surer, for the preventing any occasional disturbance of the work. Of these *alveoli*, as appears in the *Table*, there are two rows divided, or separated, by a row of *Figures*, in each of the lower *alveoli* are placed 4 *calculi*, in each of the uppermost, one; each *calculus* in the lower row being in value once so much as the figure above it signifies; each in the upper row being five times as much as the figure under it signifies. A third thing considerable in the *Table* is, the *Numbers*, which are disposed into eleven places; And if we place them according to the modern manner of *Arithmetical Operation*, that is, the *Least* in value toward the *Right hand*, and so proceed toward the *Left*; we may most readily expound them by our latter kind of (*Barbarous*) *Figures* set against those that are whole *Numbers* or *Pounds* in the seven last places, that is, towards the left hand thus;

IXI.	ccclxxx.	ccclxx.	cccl.	cc.	X.	I.
1000000.	100000.	10000.	1000.	100.	10.	1.

 The next in the *Table*, towards the *Right hand*, I take to be but the parts of the first of these; this Figure Θ standing for *Uncia*, or the place of *Ounces*, as this, 1, for *Libra*, or the *pound*, which contain'd 12. ounces. The other *Three* towards the *right hand*, do likewise express the chief & most convenient parts in the division of the ounce; namely, *Semuncia* (or, the Half-ounce) express'd, I think, by the figure, 2, implying it to be $\frac{1}{2}$ or one part of two in the division, as 6. to 12. The second expressed by the figure, 3, I take to signify the fourth part of the *uncia*, $\frac{1}{4}$ and so, 3. of 12. [though some divide it into more parts] which quarter of the *uncia*, was by the *Romans* called, *Sicilicus*, from *Sicilie*, the place, as some think, where it was invented, or first brought into use. The last was called *Semisicilicus*, or half-quarter of the *uncia*, thus expressed in figure, C. in value as much as one 12. part and an half of the *pound*. The exposition of which three last figures, as parts of the *uncia*, I do not assert, but only for want of an Interpreter, propose: making it yet in this obscure and conjectural argument at least so useful, that from these chief parts of the ounce, [the half-ounce, the quarter and the half-quarter] here supposed to be express'd the other parts also of the ounce may be conveniently expressed. To express now the use of the *Calculi*, though they be set out in the *Table*, as if upon occasion they were already placed, we must notwithstanding suppose the *Table* free from them all, only the *Figures* and the *Alveoli* constantly to remain. If then we would express *One Pound*, we must place one *calculus* in the *alveolus* under the Figure, I. If two pounds, Two *calculi*; and so to 4. If we would express 51. we must place One *calculus* in the upper *alveolus*, and none in the lower. If we would express 61. we must place one in the upper, and one in the lower; and so to 9. as is expressed in the *Table*. If we would set-down Ten pounds, we must place One *calculus* in the *alveolus* Under X. and so forward in like manner, as in the first; and thus may we number on this *Table* unto a Thousand Thousand. If we would express *Ounces* unto a *Pound*, we must place one *calculus* in the *alveolus* under the Figure, Θ , and so to 4. If we would set-down five ounces, we must place only One in the upper *alveolus*. If we would express 9. we must place One in the upper and 4 in the lower; if Ten, Two in the upper, but none in the lower; if Eleven, Two in the upper and One also in the Lower. But, one ounce more making the pound, the *Pound* must be expressed by One *Calculus* placed in the next lower *alveolus* under the Figure, I. If the Half-ounce, Quarter or Half-quarter [*Semuncia*, *Sicilicus*, or *Semisicilicus*] is to be expressed, the *calculus* is to be placed in the *alveoli* at the *Right hand*, according to the figure adjoin'd to them. And having thus expressed the *Table* according to the best sense and use, that I can collect from it, it is convenient that I shew how far I agree with *Pignorius* his difficult explication, and in what I differ from it. He tells us then, that there are two examples of the ancient *Abacus* extant, one publish'd by the excellent Antiquarie, *M. Velferus* of *Augsburg*; and another, which he calls the *Roman* [and, the *Italian*] sometime in the custody of the learned *F. Vossius*, and mentioned by the two excellently learned Spaniards, *P. Ciaconius*, [in explicatione Inscriptionis Duilliana, &c. in libro de Nummis] and by *Ant. Augustinus* [Numism. Dial. 9.] He farther tells

tells us. that he publish'd this latter form of the *Abacus*, both because the former was not then at hand, and likewise because the Numeral Notes in this latter came nearer to the Ancient, and were more elegantly form'd; adding, *Quod ut ut verum sit, illud utique certum est, publice interesse, vulgari & hunc nostrum Italicum, ut insigne antiquitatis monumentum, hac iteratâ editione, in oculos hominum incurrat, ut eruditiorum manibus teratur.* Now for his explanation of this Table, I have before, in this Illustration, recited his own words which may by parts be farther consider'd. For, whereas first he says, *usus sanè est, quem satis superque indicant calculi ductiles & reductiles, capitati, undeviginti, oblongis alveolis inserti*; the comma between *undeviginti* and *oblongis*, must needs be struck-out, else it corrupts the whole passage: in which, as it is now pointed, *undeviginti* must relate to *calculi*, which word goes before; and so it would imply, that the whole number of the *calculi* used upon the Table, were but 19. whereas there are 44. express'd upon it: but taking away this comma, it must relate to *alveoli*, that follows; and be read, *undeviginti oblongis alveolis inserti*, clearly agreeing with the Table, in which the whole number of the *alveoli* is 19. Another part of his description he sets-down in these words, *alveoli uncarii extra ordinem sex calculos continent, quinque infra, unum supra, qui omnes XI colligunt, pro recepta uncia divisione in XII solennes partes*; adding, that the other three *alveoli* towards the right hand express the chief parts of the Ounce. But what congruities there is in this expression, I confess, I apprehend not. For while he says *Alveoli uncarii*, he seems to speak of the two *alveoli*, the one of which is above, the other below this figure \ominus expressing the place of the whole Ounces; there being, besides this, no other place, on the Table, left for the Numbring of them. But why he calls them, *extra ordinem*, is not, as I suppose, for any extraordinary Local position of them, they being placed in the like manner, as the *calculi librales*, as I may term them; which follow towards the Left hand; but for their extraordinary or different manner of numbring; the other whole Numbers being reckon'd unto 9. but the Ounces being reckon'd to XI. Again, in the Numbring of these, why he should say of these *alveoli*, *sex calculos continent, quinque infra, unum supra, qui omnes XI colligunt*, and, *pro receptâ Uncia divisione in XII solennes partes*, I perceive not. As I guess, in this Obscurity, at the sense and use of the Table, it might rather have been said, either *Septem calculos continent, sex infra, unum supra* [for, those, by the value of their places, would have made XI; the lower standing for six, the One in the upper place standing for 5.] but then the *calculi* had without necessity been increas'd to 46; Or rather, to avoid such inconvenience, it might have been said, *Tres calculos continent, unum infra, duos supra*, which by their places would have made XI. the lowermost standing for One, and the Two, in the uppermost, for Ten; and then it should have been said, *pro receptâ Libra divisione in XII solennes partes, seu uncias*. For, whereas by his description, this figure \ominus and the two *alveoli* above and below it, express the Division [as he says] of the Ounce, it seems to me not to agree with what he himself says; while he adds presently after, that the other three *alveoli* toward the right hand contain the Parts [and so the Division] of the Ounce. This place therefore must express not the Division of the Ounce;

but the Numeration of Ounces unto XI. inclusively, the addition of one more making the *Libra* containing XII. Ounces, and express'd in the next place at the figure, I. According to which sense the *Arithmetical* operations will be fitly perform'd and orderly; The Parts [or division] of the Ounce as the first and least being express'd in the three *alveoli* to the Right hand; then the whole Ounces or Parts of the Pound being express'd in the next place toward the Left hand; and lastly the *Libra* in the last 7. places and figures toward the left hand also: without which contrivance, I see no place for the setting-down of the whole Ounces. And whereas *Marcellus Capella* (*lib. 7.*) cited by *Pignorius*, says, that in this Table *Novenarius numerus eminent*, *cujus ea laus est, ut primi versus finem teneat*, that the number of 9. is eminent or uppermost in the upper *alveolus* (for so, I suppose, he means by *Versus*, which anciently signified a line, order or row from the turning at the end of it towards the next place, as here having number'd unto 9.) it is to be understood of the last 7. places of Numbers in the Table, that is, in the Numbring of whole pounds; it being not applicable to the rest; this of the Ounces containing a Numbring unto XI. and the three first containing ten parts and an half (or, $\frac{10}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ part) of the Ounce. *Pignorius* adds somewhat concerning the *Calculi Athletici*, or the White Stones given to the Conquerors among the Ancient Heathen, alluded to *Revel. 2. 17.* (in those words, *δίδωμι αὐτῷ λίθον λευκόν*) and touch'd by *Aretas* on that place, and more fully written of by the learned *Faber* in his *Agonistic. lib. 2. cap. 9. and 33.* but being not to the explication of this place, I omit; leaving my conjecture and endeavour in these obscurities to the judgment and ingenuity of the Reader.

3. — Or when the fresh spring does gentle showers, and the shee-Calends bring? Divers things are here said by the Interpreters, some of which being confused, uncertain, or false, that they may be the more clearly discern'd, it will be convenient to set down this whole passage, which is this;

*En cui tu viridem umbellam, cui succina mittas
Grandia, Natalis quoties redit, aut madidum ver
Incipit, & strata positus longaque cathedra
Munera femineis tractas secreta Calendis.*

From which words, *Navolus* having in the former express'd the baseness of *Virro* even towards the servants of his Lust, arises a double doubt: one concerning the Persons by whom, and to whom they are spoken; the other concerning the Time here intended. For the first, *Lubin* expounds these words as spoken by *Navolus* unto himself, but against *Virro* in derision; as if by way of expostulation with himself he should say, O *Navolus*, is not this niggardly wretch a trim creature, whom thou may'st complement with gifts at the usual time of the *Womens Calends*? *En tibi formosulum illum—Virronem cui tanquam amica mittas munera—festis Maeronalibus!* and thus by *Tu* understands *Navolus* speaking to himself. But by this interpretation of this difficult passage (which some pass-by) there were no congruity in the word *tractas*, which follows: seeing that they cannot be applied to *Navolus* bringing or sending the presents, but to *Virro*, who degenerately receives them, as is here said, after the solemn manner and Ceremonie of Women. Which last though *Lubin* rightly applies to *Virro*, yet incongruously by *Tu* understands *Navolus* speaking to himself: *Britannicus* thinks that these words may be spoken either by *Navolus* or the Poet unto *Virro*, and

and instead of *trastat* thinks that it should be *trastat*, expounding it thus, *Et ipse positus in cathedra trastat minor*. But to attribute these words to the Poet, is without necessity or congruity; both the precedent and subsequent words, and these as conveniently, being the continued speech of *Navolus* to *Virro*: as likewise to read *trastat* is both unnecessary and incongruous with the precedent *Tu*. *Navolus* then speaks this, with indignation to *Virro*, as if he would make even *Him* judge of his words, and using the word *Tu* by way of comparison, should say, Loe, art not Thou (meaning, were not such a one as Thou, that art niggardly towards the instruments of thy pleasure, and by whom a man gains nothing) a trimme creature, to whom thou might'st send gifts forsooth, such as at the *she-Calends* they send to women, (and such as thou thy self also dost unseemingly receive at the same times) a veil or bon-grace against the Sun; (which veil or shadow the Poet says was green, to express the person that wore it, to be affected to the Green faction or party of the Charioters; as *Lipsius* thinks. *De amphitheatro* c. 18.) or send *grandia succina* (gemmata dextrocheria, bracelets, says the Scholiast, or as others) large bowls of Amber? Thus then briefly it is *Navolus* that speaks, and in the continuance of the Speech does in the words *Vos, Tu, and trastat* intend *Virro*. For the second doubt, which concerns the Time, when these gifts were usually sent, it is describ'd in those words — *natalis quoties redit, aut madidum ver* Incipit — and *Femineis Calendis*: all which, as some think expressly but the same time; understanding by *Natalis, natalis Veneris*: which was, say they, at the beginning of the Spring, on the *Calends* or First of March. Indeed *Femineis Calendis* were the first of March, as the Scholiast rightly notes; *Calendis Martii* quibus *Junonis Sacra* celebrantur a Romanis: quia & tum *Ilia compressa est à Marte*. Tum nam *Matronalia* sunt. But the same Scholiast on the words *Madidum ver* incipit, saith, *Matronalibus scilicet, qua sunt Calendis Aprilibus, quibus est natalis Veneris*; which though they thwart the former, and so shew this last clause to be but a corrupt addition to the true copy of the Scholiast (though *Autumnus* alleadges this without taking notice of the error) yet they clearly make these two reasons different, and come one point nearer to the Roman *Kalendar*, in which indeed is a Feast appointed to be celebrated to *Venus* on the *Calends* of April. Besides, the Poet does not here say, *natalis quoties redit & madidum ver incipit*, but *aut madidum ver*, by way of distinction, as making them two several seasons. Not then the Birth-day of *Venus* seems here intended by *natalis*; but the Birth-day of the woman [here, Satyrically, of *Virro*] to whom gifts were then by custome sent: and so it is rightly understood by *Britannicus*, and after him by *Lubin*; but that *Lubin* does also place the Birth-day of *Venus* on the *Calends* of March, though without alleadging any authority. Again, on the words — *aut madidum ver*, *Lubin* says, *nam tempore veris, quod plerumque madidum est, Calenda Martia sunt*, and this he says truly and warily enough, that the *Calends* of March are in the Spring: but on the next word *Incipit*, he says, *Nam principium veris incipiebat Calendis Martiis*. Where (to pass by the casual impropriety in saying, *Principium incipiebat*, the Poet speaking exactly, *ver incipit*) he affirms the beginning of the Spring to be on the first of March; which though I grant *Juvenal* here says speaking in the liberty and latitude of a Poet, yet *Lubin* should have spoken according to the Roman *Kalendar*: in which this note, *veris initium*, is placed on the first of the

Ides (that is, the 9. day) of February. But with an equal license to our Author we will grant, that the beginning of the Spring, and the first of March design here the same Time and the Season of sending gifts to women, and to be call'd *Femineis Calendis*. Yet the reason of the name was not as some have thought, because the *Calends* of every month were sacred to *Junio*; though this was true, as *Ovid* says [*Fast. lib. 1.*] *vendicat æsonia Junonis cura Calendas*; for which cause she was called by the *Laurentes, Calendaria*, as *Macrobius* says. But the *Calends* of March [which now we call *St. David's day*] more particularly were call'd *Femineis Calendis*, being the day whereon anciently the *Sabine Dames* decided the Battle between their Parents and Husbands; and the time of their Feast call'd *Matronalia*; and the day whereon the more stately and dainty Women did yearly sit at home in great Solemnity, longâ Cathedra (the Scholiast renders it by *scamnum*; on a bench or form, or rather) in a high and large chair richly adorned, receiving gifts of those that honour'd them which being proper to women, *Navolus* here imputes disgracefully to *Virro*, as his secret and degenerate practice. And here we may take notice that the Romans had by ancient custome other seasons also of sending gifts besides on Birth-days and the womens *Calends*, namely New-years-day; and also the *Saturnals*, which were in December, and proper to Men; and from which *Martial* pleasantly calls the *Calends* of March the Womens *Saturnals*. For writing to one *Galla*, lib. 5. epig. 84. (though *Autumnus* by mistake cites these verses following, out of *Horace* his *Capin. lib. 5.*) he says,

*Saturnalia transiere tota
Nec munuscula parva, nec minora
Misti mihi Galla, qua solebas.
Sane sic abeat meus December.
Scis certe puto vestra jam venire
Saturnalia Martius Calendas,
Tunc reddam tibi Galla quod dististi.*

In English thus,

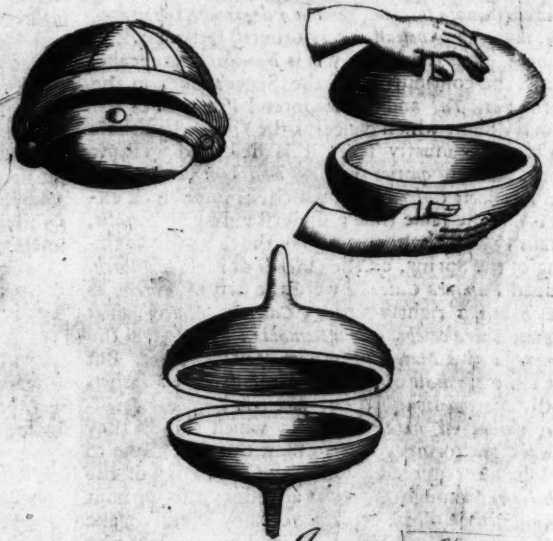
Our Saturnals are now quite gone;
Yet gifts from Galla see I none:
She us'd to send some of small cost.
Be thus then my December lost.
E're long your Saturnals [a things,
I think, you know] March Calends bring.
My thankful mind you shall not lack:
What you have sent, I'll then send back.

And as for their New-years-day we may take notice, to prevent the error of some, that it was on the *Calends* of January by *Numa's* appointment. Indeed in *Romulus* his time the year began on the first of March, there being then but ten months, of which this was the first: but *Numa* adding *January* and *February*, appointed the first of these two for the first of the year. On which day for the custome of sending gifts, *Symmachus* says, [*lib. 10. epist. 28.*] that it began almost as soon as *Rome*, by the authority of King *Tatius*, qui verbenas felices arboris ex luco *strenia*, anni novi auspices, primus accepit. Of which *felix arbor*, see *Festus*; *Pliny lib. 16. cap. 26.* and *Macrobius* his *Saturnals*, lib. 2. cap. 16. who shews out of *Veranius* and *Tarquinius Priscus*, that according to the Roman Theology, some Trees were counted lucky, as the Oak, the Haste, the Apple-tree, the Pear-tree, the Vine, and others; some unlucky, which were in the protection of the *Dii Inferi*, as the *Sanguen-tree*, of which they made rods for Parricides, as is noted *Sat. 8. Illust. 21.* Thorn also, Fearn, and others there mentioned. Some derive *strenia* from *strenus, luxus*; implying the wish of them that gave

it; to wit, that they to whom they gave it, might the rather live plentifully, and in delight. *St. Austin. de Civit. Dei, lib. 4. cap. 11. and cap. 16.* mentions *strenua*, [or *strena*, as some] a Goddess, *qua faceret strenuum*; the Goddess of Industry, as *Vives* notes on the last cited chapter of *St. Austin. Marcellus Donatus* on *Suetonius Tiberius, cap. 34.* shews that *Augustus* and *Tiberius* were far from Covetousness in the receipt of New-years-gifts, but that *Caligula* was basely impudent, he himself using to stand ready, whiles all sort of persons brought their gifts to him; as particularly *Sueton* relates, in his *Caligula, cap. 42.* At this season they had anciently feasts and dancing and filthy Songs, as *Antonius Augustinus* shews, *lib. post. de Emendat. Gratiani. Dialog. 1.* *Sueton* calls this, *strenarum commercium*; for the mutual sending of gifts. [In *Tiberio, cap. 34.*] Diverse of the Fathers of the Christian Church and also Councils have disliked the Custome of sending New-years-gifts; as particularly *Tertullian. lib. de Idololatria.* And *St. Jerom* [apud *Gratianum can. 5. 37. d.*] complains that what anciently the Virgin or Widow, or the poor gave to the *Corbana* [the holy Treasury] was now bestow'd upon a New-years-gift, *aut sportulam Saturnalitiam*; as *Laurentius Pignorius* notes in his *Symbol. Epist. 47.* By all which we may discern the condition of this Custome anciently; that it was infected with superstition, covetousness, impurity, flattery and superfluity: but amongst Christians it is to be hoped, that it is purified into a renewing testimony of Love or Thanks. These many customes then being thus taken notice of without varying from the letter of my Author, more then for the enlightning of his sense, I render the whole passage thus, as the scoff of *Navolus* to *Virro*,
*Loe, mayst not Thou sit to such a friend
 Large amber-bowls and a green Shadow send
 Upon her Birth-day, or when the fresh Spring
 Does gentle showers and She-Calends bring?
 Nay, when to Thee plac'd in a stately Chair,
 Virro, some thus with secret gifts repair?
 Wherein it is not properly intended that
 Virro should be praised as fair, or a she-
 friend, being rather foul, yet execrably
 effeminate: and therefore when I render
 it, upon Her Birth-day, it is but to continue the Satyrical expression, meaning his Birth-day; which was to be spoken covertly, that the intimation might be, not unlike his practice, dar.*

4. —To some slack Priest of *Cybel*, that can only drum? *Tympana pulsantis legatum fiet amici?* *Navolus* continuing his Speech to *Virro*, says unto him, Thou lustful Sparrow; who art nevertheless so niggardly; for whom dost thou keep such vast possessions, and so many Kites tir'd within the circuit of them? The fruitful *Trifoline* field in *Campania*, the huge promontory over *Cuma*, looking as if it would fall upon the City, as likewise the *Gauran* hill full of Caverns, provide Thee wine, which thou pitchest up (of which custome see, *Sat. 5. Illust. 6.*) Now were it such a matter for thee to bestow upon me, after all my service, one of thy Country-farms and thy woman servant, which looks to thy house there, with her child and the dog his play-fellow, for a releif to my old age? Or wilt thou rather bequeath these to one of *Cybel's* leud Priests, that vainly drum? In which last passage (to reject the incongruous exposition of *ruficus infans* made by the Scholiast and *Britannicus*) some read not *tympana*, but *cymbala*, as

Pithaus his copy and the Scholiast have it. But *Britannicus* on that of the eight Satyre (vers. 176) *Et resupinati cessantia tympana galli*, makes both kinds, the Cymbal and the Drum to have been by custome used by the Priests of *Cybel*; and that rightly. The *Indians* likewise used them both, when they went to War, being taught so by *Bacchus*, as *Tiraquel* thinks; see him on *Alex. ab Alex. lib. 4. cap. 2.* The last kind of which instruments, the Cymbal (which was of Brass) has its name from *κύμβαλον*, *cavus recessus*; from the hollow form of it; and so *Lucretius lib. 2.* expresses it; *Tympana tenta tonant palmis, Et cymbala circum Concava* — To which agrees that of *Turnebus* in his *Adversar. lib. 26. cap. 33.* where, out of *Scribonius Largus*, he describes the Cymbal to be like the leaves of the herb *Coyledon* (penny-wort, as some; as others *Venus Navel*) the form of whose leaf is hollow like a Cup. *Pignorius, de Servis, pag. 91.* thus presents it, * and from *Amalaricus Fortunatus*,



Juv. Sat. IX. Illust. 4.

lib. 3. cap. 3. in these words, *cymbala invicem tanguntur ut sonent: ideo, à quibusdam, labiis comparata sunt.* In which expression we see that some had handles; which things I lay together, because some describe them as if they were to be play'd on, or struck with a radius or rod of metal; for so speaks the Scholiast here, *Archigalli cymbala percutientis*; which is not a just expression of the striking of one against the other; but according to *Amalaricus* his description, he might rather have said, *concutientis*. More agreeable is that of *Ansonius, Ep. 2. Cymbala dant flitru sonitum*; and that of *Virgil* with a little difference (*Georg. lib. 4. ver. 64*) *matris quate cymbala circum.* Which descriptions I the rather alleage, because if anciently the Musick on the Cymbal were only by hitting the two parts of it together, and that their handles did in their use imploy both hands, *cymbala pulsantis* here offer'd by some copies, were peradventure a less proper expression, and so not the Right Reading; and the ordinary copies, which I choose to follow, have here *tympana pulsantis*. The reason of the different sounds of Drums and Cymbals is expressed by *Seneca, Natural. Quaest. lib. 2. cap. 29.* in these words, *Ita tympana & Cymbala sonant,*

nant, quia illa repugnantem ex ulteriore parte spiritum pulsant, hac ad ipsum aërem alia, nisi concavum non tinnunt. And here we may note, that some make the difference between *Loud* [or as some render it, the well-sounding] cymbals, and the high-sounding cymbals mentioned, *Psalm. 105. v. 5.* to be this, that the first were composed according to *Musical Art*; the other were those, which, if struck, retain'd the sound longer (*si diutius rursus sonum retineant*) as *Mersennus* notes on *Genes. cap. 4. q. 36. col. 1520.* (*out of Turnebus*). We may only add, that the *Corybants*, the Priests of *Cybel* the *Phrygian* Goddess were call'd *Galli* (as it is commonly deliver'd) and shew'd by *Britannicus* on *Sat. 8. v. 176.* on those words *tympana Galli*) from the river *Gallus* in *Phrygia*, whose waters are said to have made those mad, that drank of them. These Priests are mention'd also by *Varro* [*apud Nonium, in Castum*] in these words, *Nam qua venustus hic adest Gallanibus. Qua casta vestis ?* On which words says *Dempster* on *Rofinus*, lib. 2. cap. 4. *Gallantes sunt infami, à Gallis matris Deum*: from which *Galli* the word *Gallant* is most probably for the like sense derived into ours (and other languages, though by use improved to a better acceptation.

5. *Improbos es cum posesis, ait. Sed pensio clamaris. Posce : Sed appellat puer unicus, ut Polyphemus.*

Lata acies, per quam follers evasit Ulysses.

This passage which I have here set down, does in the exposition of the latter part of it, much disturb the Interpreters, the ordinary exposition, according to *Britannicus*, being this; *Virro* tells *Navolus* that he is a bold begger; but he replies, that he rent which he is to pay, and such other expences (call'd here *pensio*, because they anciently weigh'd their mony) calls upon him, or urges him to such bold importunities: nor only such expences, but also his one servant. For, he has but one servant, as *Polyphemus* had but One *eye*, a broad one, by which subtle *Ulysses* escap'd; and therefore adds, *Alter emendus erit*, &c. he must needs provide himself another, and both of them must be fed and cloath'd. In which speech, the comparing of his One servant to *Polyphemus* his One *eye*, seems to many but affected, if not very absurd and fortish; and likewise to say, that he escap'd by his *eye*. *Lubin* therefore, who thinks thus of this passage, labours to save it by these two ways; First, by making the sense to be this; That as one *eye* did not serve *Polyphemus* his turn, but that by the loss of that only, having not another to help, he was quite blind; so he having but one servant, had need of another to supply the possible loss of him which he had, so to prevent the misery, into which he might otherwise fall: Secondly by saying, that the Poet purposely here makes *Navolus* speak thus fortishly, that he might shew him to be not only corrupted desperately in his *Moralls*, but as much perisht in his *Intellectuals*. The learned *Rigaltius* (*de Satyra Juvenalis*) says on this passage, *dixit adeo latam fuisse illius oculi aciem, ut per eam Ulysses evaserit*: whereby, it seems, he means that *Navolus* says, *Polyphemus* his *eye* was so broad, that *Ulysses* escap'd through it, as through a passage. For he makes the breadth of the *eye* the means of the escape: and then wittily thinks, that the Poet here flouts at *Virgil's* wild hyperbole (*Æneid. 3.*) in his description of *Polyphemus* his *eye*; which he there says was *Argolici clypei & Phæbæ lampadis instar*, large as an *Argolick* shield, nay, as the Sun. Indeed *Juvenal* flouts so at *Homer's* hyperbole, in making *Mars* cry as loud as ten thousand men: for if

by *That*, he intended to express him to be a God, why did he in another place make him a frail man, as when wounded by *Diomedes*? But the learned *Heinsius* (*de Satyra Horatiana. p. 106. and 107.*) having diligently shew'd against the Interpreters, that *unicus* ought here to signify as much as *dear*, *belov'd*, his dear, only or belov'd servant, presses this passage as an absurd, nay an intolerable expression, upon our Author. For, who says he would say, that *Ulysses* escap'd per *Cyclopi oculum*? especially when his *eye* was put out, and that his blindness was the occasion of the escape? yet to speak in an ingenuous libertie, though it be granted, that *unicus* is to be allow'd that sense, which he proves it to be used in; yet I likewise think that in this place it ought also to signify in that sense, in which the Interpreters here take it, both his belov'd servant and his one servant; but literally and chiefly this: as is manifest by the word *alter* which follows, and answers to it, *alter emendus erit*, supposing *unus* (though in the word *unicus*) spoken of before. And for the other exceptions, I think them to be very acute and rigorous: for, to confine a Poet to a Logical exactness of expression, is to take away not only Poetical Licence, but also Libertie. Nay, even Logick it self, the severe Art of Reason permits equivocal expressions, and so an *eye*, though put out, to be term'd an *eye*. Besides, may it not relish of a Satyrical jeere, to call that an *eye*, which but lately had its sight, and was by a subtilty so soon depriv'd of it? But what if in a conjectural libertie, per be in this place taken as in that passage of *Persius*, *Per me sint omnia protenus alba*? that is, *me permittente* or *non obstante*, and so per quam interpreted by *quâ tamen lata acie non impedieme* (intimating the scoffe, that it was put out) *follers evasit Ulysses*? The drift of the speech, though not in express terms, yet implied in the sense, will be in the comparison of *lata* and *follers*: the meaning being, that though his One, his only and dear *eye* were very great, yet *Ulysses* his wit was as great, yea greater, that could notwithstanding, or for all that, escape so broad an instrument of circumspection. For the word *improbos* I take it here to signify not dishonest (though that were true applied to *Navolus*) but as in that saying, *labor improbus omnia vincit*; where it signifies not wicked labour, but persevering, importunate, that will prevail.

6. —Now receive any Legacie; Sweet windfalls too—. *Legatum omne capis, nec non & dulce caducum*—. *Navolus* here upbraiding *Virro* with the many services, which he had done for him, [to silence the impurities of this passage] says, that he reconcil'd his wife unto him, when according to the Roman libertie of divorce, he had broken the marriage-bonds; and was sealing new, making some other heir to the estate she had. Secondly he says, that *Virro*, as a Father, was upon the publick Records; according to that Custome mention'd by *Capitolinus* [*in vitâ Marci Aurelii Philosophi*] — *apud præfectos ærarii in Æde Saturni unumquemque civium natos profiteri, intra diem tertium nomine imposito*, &c. as *Marcellus Donatus* notes on *Sueton's Tiberius*, cap. 5. But *Ph. Rubenius* in his *Elest. lib. 1. cap. 5.* for tertium reads tricesimum [in *Capitolinus*] for so, says he, it seems that *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* chang'd the ancient custome. So the Father was to give notice of the birth of his child, and the child receiv'd his name within thirty days after the birth. For before this Emperor's time, the *dies lustricus* [for the purifying of the infant, and for imposing

of the Name] was the ninth for the Male, the eight for the Female; as appears from *Tertullian, de Idololatriâ*; *Macrobius*, 1. *Saturn*. 16. and likewise from *Festus in voce, Lustrici Dies*; for the causes of which custom see *Plutarch* in *Questiôn. Rom.* quest. 102. The suppos'd Goddess for this day was call'd *Nundina*, and the day it self, *Nominalia*. Till the 7th. day was past, they held that the child was in danger. But *Torrentius* on *Sueton* observes out of *Suidas*, that names were not impos'd till the tenth day. But that was properly the *Gracian*, more particularly the *Athenian*, custom, as *Rubenius* notes from the *Scholias*t upon *Aristophanes de Avibus*, and from *Euripides in Eletra*. Thirdly to proceed the Poet bids *Virro* adorn his door, according to the custom and joy of childbirth, with garlands. Fourthly he recites his privileges, as of a Father; for whereas in the estates of those that were married, but died childless, the tenth part of that which the one bequeath'd unto the other, did by the *Papian Law* fall to the *Excebequer*; *Virro* was capable of the whole legacie; none being here taken for *integrum*; which in the Law they call'd *Solidum*; as *Jacobus Nicolaus Loensis* notes in his *Miscell. Epiphyl.* lib. 9. cap. 9. whereas also diverse Testaments ran conditionally, as that such things should descend (or fall) to such a one, if he had children, *Virro* was capable of such *caduca*, such *fallings*, or as the use and metaphor in our language allows it, such *wind-falls*: which because unexpected, and so more grateful, makes *Nevolus* say, *Dulce caducum*. Lastly he adds his Benefit in Hope, that if he should have three children, then he should have many more privileges, as freedom from the trouble of being a Guardian, priority in bearing offices, and a treble proportion of corn. Concerning *Caduca*, see the *Code*. lib. 6. Tit. 50. and of the *ius trium liberorum*, see the *Code*. lib. 8. Tit. 59. and *Gothofred's* notes on it; and that it privileged from Guardianship, see *Institur.* lib. 1. Tit. 25. *De excusationibus Tutorum & Curatorum*; where the first excuse is *polyptidia*; as the argument of that Title shews. And more particularly concerning *ius trium liberorum* may be observ'd, first that the privilege was not granted to any, unless the Parents dwelt in *Rome*: but if they dwelt in any other part of *Italie*, they were to have five children; and if in the *Roman Provinces*, Seven; otherwise, they enjoy'd not the privilege: Secondly, that contrarie to this ancient strictness, the Right was by some of the Emperors granted to some (as *Britannicus* here notes) not only that had not three children, but that had neither wife nor child.

7. The rich ones nere count poison a dear grain. *Hic opibus nunquam cara est annona veneni.* *Nevolus* here shews, that such as leudly use the smoothing Pumice-stone, are as monstrous in their Revenge, as in their lust; and withall, that being rich, they never count poison (the instrument of their revenge) dear, by the Poet call'd here *annona veneni*: or, *annona* being the yearly provision of a family, we may render it, They never count the provision, or yearly provision of poison, dear: as if he would implice their leud care in providing yearly poison for their wicked purposes, as other men did Corn, or other necessities, for their families. Wherefore he desires *Juvenal* not to discover, what he has discover'd to him; but to be as secret, as the *Athenian Court* of the *Areopagites*, wherein the Judges gave their suffrages by night and in silence, by Characters. The place where the Court was kept, was call'd *Areopagus*, or *Mars-hill*; because *Mars* being ac-

cused of a Murder by *Neptune*, was there by six of the twelve Gods, by whom he was tried, acquitted; as the Fable assures us.

8. — At the Cock's second Crow. *Quod tamen ad cantum galli facit ille secundi.* The Poet here earnestly flouts at *Nevolus*, as at a rude and ignorant *Coridon* (like Him in *Virgil*) who fondly thinks, that a Great Man's crimes can be conceal'd: no, says he; what he does in the dark, in the night, *ad cantum galli secundi*, is made known before day by his own servants. Where, by *ad cantum galli secundi*, he means *ad secundum cantu galli*, as *Britannicus* expounds it; or as *Lubin*, *ubi gallus secundo canere incipit*. Which exposition, though it be very short, is very necessary: for, the cock naturally crowing at several seasons of the night, and at every season one answering another, it must not be understood of the crowing of the second cock, which is quickly after the first, and so in effect at the same season. But concerning the second Cock-crowing, or season here intended, *Lubin* expounds it, by adding to what he said before, *sub mediam noctem*. The other Interpreters express it not at all; and he but ill; it containing more difficulty, then he took notice of, if examin'd. The Romans then who began their natural day (of 24. hours) at Midnight, did thus name and distinguish the first parts of it; The first of all was call'd *Media nox* (which was indeed *principium & postremum diei Romani*, as *Censorinus* calls it); the second, *De media nocte*; the third, *Gallitinium* (when the Cocks began to Crow); the fourth, *Conticinium* (when they ceas'd); the fifth, *ante lucem*; the sixth, *diluculum* (for this must be distinguish'd from the former, as it is by *Censorinus* in these words, *tunc ante lucem: & sic Diluculum, cum sole nondum orto jam lucet*) when it was light, but the Sun not risen; the seventh, *Manc*, when the Sun was up; as *Censorinus* (de *Die Natuli*. cap. ult.) reckons them up; for, I need not recite more for the discussing of this point. But by this little it presently appears (against *Lubin*) that the Roman *Gallitinium* was not the same season with *media nox*; no, nor the next after it. Besides, by the Roman reck'ning it self how can we know what time is spoken of there being in it but one Cock-crowing in all mention'd, and by *Censorinus* call'd *Gallitinium*; (the *Conticinium* being the season when they ceas'd) but *Juvenal* mentions different seasons of the Cock-crowing. Wherefore this difficulty may be examin'd by a more absolute way; not that of the Romans, but of Nature: which teaches us, that the Cocks naturally crow at three especial seasons in the night; as they are distinguish'd and pointed out unto us, by our English *Varro* (for Rural knowledge) our *Aurhenck Tisser* in his *Poetical Husbandry* (p. 123. in his note of Cock-crowing where he thus delivers it,

Cock croweth at Midnight, times few above six,
With pause to his fellow to answer betwixt;
At three a clock thicker, and then as you know,
Like all into Martins, nere day they do crow.
At Midnight, at three, and an hour yev day
They utter their language, as well as they may.

By which natural way of trial, the first season of the Cock-crowing being at Midnight, and the third an hour before day, the second must be at Three in the Morning, the season here intended, suitable to *Juvenal's* expression, admitting a supposal of sufficient time between *Virro's* fast and his servants discovery. A like expression of this season is that in *St. Mark* (Chap. 14. v. 13.) before the Cock crow twice; a speech without the ambiguity of the Roman *Gallitinium*, and according to Nature.

9.-What se're his Scribe & Chief-Cooks saign, His Carvers too. *Et quæ sinxerunt pariter Librarius, Archimagiri, Carptores.* In the exposition of the servants, which discover their Lord's guilt, there is some difficulty, *Librarius* not only signifying one that weighs out the task to under-servants in great families, in the nature of an overseer, but also a Scribe, or amanuensis, employ'd in his Lord's Library: both which senses *Lubin* notes, but leaves us at random for our choice. *Britannicus* more definitively takes it in the latter sense, for a Scribe; and so in this place I choose to take it: though, I grant, that in *Sat. 8.* I take *Libraria* in the first sense, for a woman-servant, that weigh'd out and oversaw others work. For though there were three-Scribes also, as I shew, *Sat. 8. Illustrat. 33.* yet there the person spoken of had relation to a Woman, a Lady more employ'd in housewifery, then in study: but here it being the expression of a servant to wealthy *Virro*, it seems more convenient to render it in the latter sense. So likewise *Carptores* signifies carvers; but also, as *Lubin* says, *carminatores*, i. e. *carptores lanarum* carders of wooll. But it seems somewhat incongruous to take it here for such work-folks, if we consider the more proud condition of wealthy *Virro*'s familie. But for the inward conditions of *Virro*'s servants the Poet says, that they were more eager to discover secrets, even of their Lord, then to drink wine, nay though stolne wine (which seems sweetest) and though as Much, as *Laufella*, (or, as some copies have it, *Saufeia*) did use to drink, *pro populo faciens*, when shee sacrificed to *Bona Dea* for the safety of the people: at which Rites celebrated in the house of the *summus pontifex* the women did familiarly drink themselves drunk; as the Poet in his 6. *Satyre* shews with just indignation.

10. Amidst Cups, Flow'rs, Ointments & Lovers toys. — *Dum bibimus, dum ferta, unguenta, puellas poscimus.* The luxury of the Ancients was marvellous in their manner and excess of drinking; as is often implied both in this and other Authors: the use being Then to adorn their heads with chaplets of flowers, to anoint themselves with fragrant ointments, and so sit and frolick it at the wine. Which use of such floury crowns some think to have come from the *Hebrews*; and conjecture so from *Ezechiel*, chap. 23. where *Samarita* and *Jerusalem* are describ'd under the metaphore of whores; *incense* and *oil* are mentioned, v. 41; and so it is said, v. 42. that their lovers put beautiful ointments upon their heads; which *Fortunatus Schacchus* in his *Myrothecium*, l. 1. c. 26. understands in this sense. Who also in the same book, cap. 20. makes a difference (though neither receiv'd nor acknowledged) between *Unguentarius* and *ungentarius*; this being (according to him) he that composes the ointments, the Other he that sells them: and shews that the composers were men of better qualitie, then the Other; which last though we may admit, yet the distinction of the names remains to be prov'd. But for the ointments themselves, we may know, that the excess of them anciently was marvellous, even to Curiosity: for as *Athenæus* shews, l. 15. c. 11. out of an old Poet, to the accurate anointing of a man, they us'd variety of ointments; namely, *Egyptian* for the feet and thighs; *Phœnician* for the cheeks and Breast; *Sisymbrian* for the Arms; *Amatacine*, for the eye-brow and hair; and *Serpylline* for the neck and knees. But above all we may here take notice of one kind of Oil among the Ancients of singular excellency, called *Oleum Saffinum*, made of *Lillies*, but more particularly of that sort, which was called *æthiops*, and ro which, it seems, is that allusion, *Contr. 5. 13.* where the Church says of Christ, *His lips like Lillies*: which

might seem a strange comparison in the common apprehension, if any should there understand the *white lillie*, the beauty of the lip consisting rather in red; according to which clear congruity Our Saviour describes his spouse the Church, *Contr. 4. 3.* saying, *Thy lips are like a thread of scarlet*; which was most proper and comely. Wherefore we must take notice, that there were diverse sorts of *Lillies*, of which that which is called *æthiops*, was of a reddish colour, as *Pliny* describes it, l. 21. c. 5. *Æthiops rubens lilium*, quod *Græci æthiops vocant*: and this, as *Athenæus* says, l. 2. c. 2. was the same with *æthiops*, (called so as is conjectur'd, from the Hebrew שושן, *lilium*) of which was made that admirable *oleum sissimum*, mention'd by *Pliny*, l. 13. c. 1. And this is that, as *Schacchus* thinks (in the fore-cited book, c. 29.) which the Prophet calls, the Oil of Gladness, he had better have call'd it the figure of *Tob*, and which signifies, as he says, the high grace of the hypostatical union. I may only note by the way, that this Oil is not mention'd by the learned *Cordus* in his *Dispensatorium*, though he describes *Oleum Lilinum* (p. 301.) but his is the Oil only of the white Lilly.

11. They, they, that with one finger scratch their head. *Qui digito scalpunt caput uno.* The Poet here in the description of the Roman Leud-Ones, makes this a part of his expression, that they scratch the head with one finger, meaning thereby persons filthily effeminate: because, says the *Scholias*t, they behave themselves like women, who in the ordering of their hair, scratch their head with one finger, to prevent the disturbing of it. But with more probability *Britannicus* and other Interpreters generally take it for an allusion to a most known jere express'd in a peice of a verse, by *Calvus* a Poet, written upon *Pompey*; who in his time was noted for such a leud one, and likewise for scratching his head in an affected manner with one finger; and so he was taxed by *Clodius*, as *Plutarch* relates in his *Pompey*; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* in his 17. book. And here the Poet by way of Ironie, bids *Nevolus* not despair of thriving yet, saying to him, — *alera major Spes superest*, — that there may yet be hope of new gain, seeing that for ever there will be new sinners; and therefore bids him only to eat enough *Rocket*, an herb in the Roman Climate, anciently in great request, as may appear by *Columella*, who tells us, that they did use to sow it near their Garden-God. It was an impure diligence, that took care for their lust.

12. — But O My small House-Gods on whom with Some incense I call, or with a cake and garland. — *O parvi nostrique Lares, quos thure minuto, aut farre & tenui soleo exorare coronâ.* The *Scholias*t here on the last words *exorare coronâ*, says, id est, *coronatus floribus precari*: but the construction in the Poet yields it not; and the things he uses are to be applied not to the Sacrificer, but to the *Lares*; and therefore the chaplet or Garland of Flowers, did as well as the frank-incense and cake, concern *Them*. So does our Poet himself also express it, *Sat. 12.* in those words (which I marvel the Interpreters did not here alludge, seeing that they so much illustrate this passage concerning the sacrifice to the *Lares*.)

*Inde domum repetam, gracies ubi parva coronas
Accipiant fragili simulachra nirentia cera.
Hic hostium placabo Jovem, Laribusque paternis
Thura dabo, atque omnes viola jussabo colores.*

On which passage *Britannicus* shews, that the *Lares* were adorn'd with chaplets of flowers; and more particularly out of *Pliny* (lib. 21.) that when in winter there were no flowers, they supplied the defect by making coronets *ex armento à cornibus iunco*,

of the shavings of horn died with colouring (such as are sometimes now-a-days used for the dressing of windows) and these, as he says, were called *winter-chaplets* and therefore by the Poet, as he thinks, *graciles coronas*. But this his last guess I think not to be right, because they were there used by *Juvenal* for his friends escape from a thunder-storm at Sea, and so most probably in Summer, both in respect of the *thunder* and the *Season* of sailing; and therefore very flowers might then have been had: wherefore I think they might there be call'd *graciles coronas*, in the like sense, as there also he says, *simulachra parva* Some copies have here, *soleo exornare coronas*; which though, I grant, it aptly agrees with *corona*, yet it does not so agree with *thure* and *farre*: unless we should take *Lares* in part of the construction plainly, and in part figuratively, which were too harsh, if not absurd. For, *adornare Lares coronas*, must signify the *Lares* properly, that is, themselves, or statues; but *adornare Lares thure* and *farre*, must not signify properly, the *Lares* themselves, but figuratively, that is, their *Altars*. Wherefore I retain the more receiv'd Reading, *exornare*, as better agreeing to *all the things* here mention'd, and used by his Devotion. And here we may observe concerning the *Lares* themselves, that according to the doctrine of the Heathen (particularly of *Plato*) they were taken to be the *Souls* of their predecessors, who at the first were usually buried in their houses, and so there worshipp'd. But they were thought to be the *Souls* only of such as lived well, with a worthy providence for their posterity: but on the contrary those that lived ill, were thought to wander after death in a wretched banishment, and that they were the *Goblins*, which frightened People; and these were call'd *Lemures* and *Larva*; as *Tiraquel* on *Alex. ab Alex.* in his *Genial. Dier. lib. 6. cap. 4.* shews out of *Apuleius* and Others. Lastly, whereas the Poet here elegantly says, *O parvi nostri que Lares*, making *His* and *Small* (or, poor) to be all one, I knew not how more concisely and effectually to render it, then by an apposition, *My-small*; that as they concerned but one thing, so they might be express'd by One word.

13. *Quando ego figam aliquid, quo sit mihi tuta senectus A tegote & baculo?* Some Copies have here (as *Pithæus* notes in his *Var. Lection.* on this place) *Quando ego fiam aliquid, quo sit, &c.* When shall I become some body, or be made of some moment, that I may be secure in my old age? But the most and the best Copies have *figam*; by reason of the ambiguity of which word, there are two expositions of this place. The one according to the use of the word, according to which it signifies as much as *constituam*, or *componam*, to get, or settle, and then the sense would be, When shall I get some sure stay, to shield me in my old age from uncomfortable beggary? The other is according to the use of the word, whereby it signifies to fix, and so implies a relation to an ancient custome of fixing their vows with wax to the knees of the Gods, which the Poet in the 10th. *Satyre* calls; *genua incerare Deorum*; and then the sense will be, when shall I so fasten a vow to the knees of the Gods, that I may obtain in my old age Plenty and convenience? And thus *Rutgerius* (Var. *Lection. lib. 5. cap. 5.*) expounds these words, *Quando ego figam aliquid, &c.* & then adds, *quem locum vulgo ridiculè explicant.* Yet this exposition which he gives, is before set-down by the learned *Scholast.* who on the words *figam aliquid*, says, *Constituam, Componam, aut certe quid in certis votis figuntur apud templa: aut habeam ubi maneam, aut supra quod in-*

cumbam senex. Wherein though he proposes both opinions, and mentions the other both first and last, yet he mentions this with a *certè*; so that though he implies some doubt in his judgment, yet he intimates his inclination to be more towards this, which includes the custome. And to this exposition, I confess; I incline, not that I think because *figam* may so signify, therefore it must: but (to express mine own reason) because all that which follows will better agree with *figam* taken in this sense, then in the other. For *Navolus* making here this *figam aliquid quo sit &c.* the cause of the many and great benefits which he desires, should then pray somewhat incongruously: for if *figam aliquid* signified but some small stay (as in that sense it must) it could not though he obtain'd it, afford him those parcels of plenty, which he mentions, as the consequence of this desire obtain'd. But if by *figam aliquid* we understand a vow; we then must grant, that all the plenty which follows here, may safely and properly flow from it. For this reason (which I leave to the judgment of the Reader) I choose the latter exposition, and accordingly render it,

When some Vow

Shall I so fix, that old I may know how

To scape a Crutch and cabbins? —

14. — Nay, that I may twenty thousand have for use. — *Viginti millia fenus*; that is (by an apposition) that I may have *Use*, *Twenty thousand*, or twenty thousand for use. But here it is necessary to observe the construction; the many parcels of *Navolus* his desire depending upon the first words, *Quando ego figam aliquid*. When, says he, shall I so happily fix a vow, *Quo sit mihi tuta senectus, &c.* Which *quo sit* must in effect (because only with the allowance of a little Grammatical variety) be often repeated; as [*quo sint mihi*] *virgini millia fenus*; and [*quo sint mihi*] *argenti vascula puri*; and *duo fortes, &c.* and [*quo sit mihi*] *calator & alter Qui cito pingat*: for, thus he discontentedly asks, when he shall be so happy by fixing a vow, as [*therby*] to be able not only to escape starke beggary, but also to attain some good sufficiency. For when he has expressed these his desires, he confesses that these things would serve his turn; especially seeing it is *His* Lot (as he repiningly speaks) to be always but poor. Yet again he condemns this his desire, confessing it to be but *votum miserabile*, a vain desire (or to be pittied) and therefore that it is but a folly to entertain the hope and expectation but of this much. For, says he, when I pray to *Fortune*, she stops her ears with some of the wax, with which *Ulysses* (taught so by *Circe*) stopped the ears of his Mariners (he himself by his own appointment being bound fast to the mast of his ship) whiles they pass by the *Sirens*, which dwelt nere *Sicily*, that so they might not be enchanted with their alluring songs, as it is in *Homer. Odys. 12.* So that when as some point part of this passage thus, *Sufficiunt hac. Quando ego pauper ero?* It will yield no congruous sense: wherefore it may better thus be pointed, *Sufficiunt hac; Quando ego pauper ero. Votum miserabile, nec spes His saltem.* Thus taking *quando* for *quoniam* (as some do) seeing that I must be poor. The construction of which place being thus observed, we may take notice of the *Use* here mentioned, *Viginti millia*, that is, *Sestertiorum*, as it comes from *Sestertius*, and so is the same with *viginti sestertia*; which make (multiplying 71. 16s. 3d. by 20.) 1561. 5s. the summe, which this leud and foolish *Navolus* does here wish for the Monthly Interest of Money;

Mony; the Ancients renting it out not by the year, but by the Month, according to that of *Horace*, *Epod. Od. 2. Omnem relegit Idibus pecuniam, Quarit Calendis ponere*. See *Gothofred* on the *Code. lib. 4. Tit. 32.*

15. — Besides such Plate, that *Fabricius* might judge it Too much. — *Argenti vascula puri*; *Sed qua Fabricius Censor notat*—: The story here intimated is, that *Cajus Fabricius* being *Censor* adjudged *Cornelius Ruffinus* a Senator, who had been twice *Consul*, unworthy of the place of a *Serator*, because he had gotten silver vessels, which weigh'd ten pounds a peice, and so were in value 311. a peice; esteeming this as a notorious example of luxury. And here we may take notice, that though the most, particularly *Gellius* [*lib. 6. cap. 5.*] likewise *Marcellus Donatus* on *Sueton's Nero, cap. 44.* and *Budaus* on the *Pandeſts*, expound *argentum purum* by *defecatum*, purified silver; yet *Franciscus Luisinus* [in his *Parergon. lib. 1. cap. 26.*] shews out of *Tully* [*Act. 6. in Verrem*] that *argentum purum* is oppos'd to *calatum*. So likewise *Festus* takes it, for plain plate, without any emblems or work, and therefore without addition I render it, *Plate*; which the reader may only take notice of [both here and *Sat. 10. v. 19.* where these words, *argenti vascula puri* are repeated) as of a more refin'd exposition.

16. And two strong *Masians*, whose hir'd necks might grace me To the loud *Circus*, and there safely place me.

— Et duo fortes

De grege Masorum, qui me cervice locata

Securum jubeant clamoso insistere Circo?

Navolus in reckoning up the parts of his desire,

mentions slaves from *Masia*, which as *Pliny* describes it (*lib. 3.*) runs along the *Danubius* unto *Pontus Euxinus* from which country came strong slaves, which were accordingly employed as porters. A couple of such, *Navolus* wishes for, who, as he says might carry him to the *Circus*. Upon their shoulders, in *leslica* says the *Scholias*; but *Britannicus* reprehends him: because the *leslica* requir'd six or sometimes eight to carry it, being thence call'd *Hexaphorum* and *Olophorum*. See *Sat. 3. Illustrat. 37.* Here then we may understand the *jella* or chair, which a Couple might carry. But whereas *Lubin* on the words — *Et duo fortes—Qui me cervice locata, &c.* expounds *locata* by *sub me locata, vel accommodata*; I rather think it should be expounded by *elocuta*, meaning their hir'd necks; or, which he could buy for his mony; were he but as rich, as he wishes to be: in which his desire and the employment of it, if fulfill'd, the Poet jeers at the rich and poor in doting on the pleasures of the *Circus*.

17. — And a Speedy Painter.— *Et aliter Qui multas facies pingat cito*— *Pitbaus* in his *Var. Leſſion*. on this place says, that the best copie which he used, had here *Qui multas facies*—, not *multas*; and therefore says, that one may suspect it should be *maltha*; and so, says he, *Scaliger* thought. Whereby, it seems, that here should be understood, the matter or colouring which Painters used. But if we consider the Ingredients of it, as it is commonly describ'd, which were as is shew'd (*Sat. 5. Illustrat. 6.*) a kind of lime mortar, sand, water, pitch and wax; we may probably suspect, that they would be loath to have their Conjecture thought to be as unseemly.

SATYRE

SATYRE. X.

A R G U M E N T.

*Loe here mens Prayers turn'd to Curse,
 The most being always vain, or worse !
 Some Wealth desire, by which they are.
 But the more fill'd with Vice or Care.
 Some on the Gods for Honour call :
 Though thus they but Renown their Fall.
 One has sought Eloquence, and sped :
 Yet has the Tongue, chopp'd off the Head.
 By War another would win Fame :
 Much some have won, and won more shame.
 Some desire Length of Life, though vain ;
 But length of Torments too they Gain.
 Some Beauty wish, on which oft wait
 Sweet Admiration, and sow'r Fate !
 Loe, the wrong Prayers of Men too blind !
 To Pray Right, Pray for a Right Mind.*

IN all the World, which between *Cadiz* lies
 And Eastern *Ganges*, few there are so wise
 To know true Good from feign'd without all mist
 Of Error. For, by Reasons Rule what is't
 We fear or wish ? what is't (1) we e're begun
 With foot so right, but we dislik'd it done ?
 Whole houses th' *Easie* Gods have overthrown
 At their fond Pray'rs, that did the Houses own.

What hurts in Peace, in VVar what hurts we crave :
 By flood of Speech, by Eloquence some have
 Procur'd their Ruine. One was spoil'd at length
 By trusting to his wondrous Armes tried strength.
 But more are choak'd by Gold with too much speed
 And care stor'd up, which does as much exceed
 All Patrimonies, as the *British* whale
 The *Dolphin*. VVhiles then *Nero* did prevail,
 His whole dire Band of Souldiers did beset
Longinus, and the Rich *Seneca's* great
 Gardens, and the brave *Lateran's* delight,
 Rare Structures. Seldome did they Cock-lofts fright.
 If thou dost carry but a little Plate
 By night, the Sword and long-staff thou fear'st straight.

A wagg'd

A wagg'd Reeds shade by Moon-light terror brings:
 Before a Thief, who travails Empty, sings.
 Our first desire tis to most Shrines most known,
 That our full wealth and store increase, that none (2)
 In the whole *Forum* have so large a Chest.
 VWho's Poised yet from Earthen Cups? But Best
 It is, to fear That, when thy hand does hold
 Gemm'd bowls, and *Setine* sparkling in large Gold,
 Dost thou not praise (3) that wise man then, which still
 Laugh'd, if he had put his foot but o're his Sill?
 And th' other too, that wept? Yet at the Rout
 Easie it is to Laugh out a sterno Flout.
 But strange, methinks, it is, th' other should Crie
 Allways, (4) and still find tears to fill his Eye!
 Splenetical *Democritus* did make
 His Lungs with a perpetual Laughter shake;
 Though his rude *Thracians* never saw such things,
 As Litters, Rods, Chairs, (5) Robes for Lords and Kings.
 But had he seen a *Prætor* in a high
 Chariot, i'th' dusty *Circus*, to ev'ry eye
 Strut in (6) *Jove's* Coat, and from his shoulders down
 To trail a spreading rich-imbroyder'd Gown,
 Large as *Sarranian* Tapestry! Or e're
 Seen th' Orbe of Crown, which no one neck can bear!
 A (7) Publick Servant sweats for't; who does ride
 I'th' *Consul's* Chariot to abate his Pride.
 Adde (8) th' Eagle rais'd on Ivory Scepter; There
 The Cornet-winders, Troops of Servants Here
 Marching before; At's (9) bridle white-gown'd friends,
 Whose Hope on's Doal, yet in His Chest attends.
 Ev'n Then at ev'ry turn just cause, to flout
 He found: whole Wisdom puts it beyond doubt,
 That brave Men, great Examples, may sometimes
 Be born mongst sheepish Dolts, and in gross Climes.
 He jeer'd the People's Cares, and Joys, and Tears
 Sometimes; At *Fortune's* threats he felt no Fears;
 He sent (10) a halter to her, and held out
 The middle Finger. Wherefore the dull rout
 Craves what is Vain or Deadly: and thus bows,
 Fixing with (11) wax to the Gods knees such Vows!

Pow'r Subject to great Envy headlong throws
 Some: Their (12) branch'd Pages and extended rows
 Of Honours, like a flood, their States quite swallow;
 Down come (13) their Statues and the Halter follow.
 Then th' Axe their Chariot-wheels with banging stroak
 Splits out, and their poor horses Legs are broke.
 Hark, the Fires snap: the Rout's ador'd Head lacks
 Nor Blast, nor Furnace: Huge *Sejanus* cracks!
 Of the (14) worlds second Face are form'd strange matters,
 Water-pots, Basons, Frying-pans and Platters!

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

Crown'd (15) be the doors with Bays! A Bull chalk-white
 And large, led to Jove's Capitol! O sight! (16)
Sejanus Dragg'd! O joy! His Lips, his wan
Face saw? Believe't I never Lov'd the Man.
 But, under what Crime fell he? who detected?
 What signes? what witness was there? Quite neglected
 These Questions are. A tedious Letter came
 From Caprea. Oh, I aske no more of Fame.
 But now on whom does Remus his Rout waite?
 Fortune Leads them still: the condemn'd they Hate.
 For, the same People, (17) had but Nurtia blest
 Her Tuscan, and the Prince's Age oppress'd
 Whiles then secure, had with rare change of Fate,
 Proclaim'd *Sejanus* their *Augustus* straight.
 For, since we sold no Suffrages, All live
 Neglecting Cares; and They, which once did give
 Th' Empire, Rods, Legions, all things, now contain
 Themselves, and but two things strive to obtain,
 Bread (18) and the Circus. Many, I hear, must die!
 'Tis sure: (19) our small Furnace breaths Flames! And my
Brutidius look'd half-pale, as he met
 At Mars his Altar! I'me afraid (20) our Great
Ajax o'come Revenge will take, as ill
 Guarded! Lets run then straight, and with some skill,
 Whiles on the bank he lies, on *Cæsars* foe
 Trample. But let our Servants eyes too know
 As much, lest they deny't; and by the neck tie us,
 Hale us before the Judge, and for life try us.
 These were the Speeches, which then pass'd about
Sejanus; These the whisperings of the Rout.
 Wouldst thou be now saluted like the Great
Sejanus? Have his wealth? Give one the Seat
 Of Justice, or an Army? Be th' Admir'd
 Guardian to th' Prince (21) with's *Chaldy-Heard* retir'd
 To *Caprea*, his Court-Rock? Sure, your Band
 Of Foot, your Darts, you would have; Nay command
 The Horse-troops (22) and *Prætorian* Camp! why, still
 Wish this. They would have Pow'r, that would not kill.
 But what is of so rare and rich account,
 Whose Evil does not still the Good surmount?
 Wouldst choose the dragg'd *Sejanus's* robe to wear,
 Or (23) Rule, at *Gabu* and *Fidena*, bear?
 And at empty *Vulva* freely speak,
 Though a course *Ædile*, and false measures break?
 What then he should have wish'd, thou dost confess
Sejanus knew not. For, whiles he did press
 After too great Honours and wealth, his Fate
 Rais'd but more stories in his Tow'r of State,
 Whence to a greater Ruine after all
 With a huge Pitch-pole he was forc'd to fall.

The *Craffi*, the *Pompeii*, what o'rethrew?
 Or *Cesar*, who the tam'd *Quiritians* drew
 To's scourge? wast not High Place sought by the worst
 Arts, and Great Vowes obtain'd of Heav'n and Curs'd?
 To *Ceres's* Son-in-Law (24) few Kings descend
 Unslain; few Tyrants with a Dry death End.

Demosthenes or *Tullie's* Tongue and Fame
 He (25) craves all *Pallas's* Feast-days without Shame,
 VVhose young three-farthings wit can yet scarce prate,
 On whom a Keeper and small Satchel wait:
 Yet both these Oratours sell by their Tongue;
 From their exundant wit their Ruine sprung,
 VVit chop'd off *Tullie's* Hand and Head: but ne're
 Did Silly Lawyers blood the Pew besmear.
 O (26) *Rome* redeem'd, deem'd lost, yet Happy born,
 VVhen as thy *Consul's* Robes by me were worn.
 He might have scorn'd *Antonie's* Sword, if still
 He' had writ no better. I'de write lines as ill,
 Rather then Thee, Divine *Philippick*, Bold
 Though fam'd, which art, after the First, unroul'd.
 He perish'd too, whose tongue *Athens* admir'd:
 At (27) whose Curb the full Theater retir'd.
 Yet was he born with adverse Gods and Fate,
 VVhom his course blear-ey'd Father, that did wait
 On glowing Ir'n and smoak sent from his trade,
 From Coal, (28) Tongs, Anvil, upon which are made
 Good Swords; from all his black *Vulcanian* tools,
 Unto the *Rhetoricians* fatal Schools.

The spoils of VVar, (29) a Coat of Maile fix'd high
 On Trophie's Snags, a Beaver hanging by
 One joint from a cleft Helmer, a Beam maim'd
 Chariot, a Gallie's Flag by conquest sham'd,
 And on High Arch a drooping Captive, vain
 Opinion counts a blifs more then Humane!
 The *Roman*, *Grecian*, and *Barbarian* raise
 Themselves to Toile and Danger for this Praise.
 The thirst of Fame does so much more Infire
 The Breast, then Vertue: which who does desire
 VVithout Reward? Yet former times can show
 Kingdoms lost by the glory of a few,
 VVhose Aime was Titles, that should never die,
 Fix'd on proud Tombs, wherein their ashes lie:
 Which the wild Fig-tree yet, for all their State,
 Shrewdly casts down; For, Tombs too have their Fate,
 Weigh *Hannibal*: of's Dust how many pounds
 Find ye? To Him yet *Africk* yields not bounds:
 On whose West-shoar th' *Atlantick* waves do beat
 The Eastern stretching-out to *Nilus's* Hear:
 To *Ethiopia's* Inhabitants
 It runs too, and (30) to th' other Elephants.

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He adds *Spain*; Next, the *Pyreneans* show
 Him way: Nature opposes th' *Alpes* and Snow.
 He digs through Rocks; with Vinegar he eats
 Through Mountains. Now in *Italy* he fears
 Himself; and yet ev'n There more must be won:
 Nothing, alas, says he, as yet is done,
 Unless our *Punick* Pow'r forcing *Rome's* Gates
 In their *Suburra* on our Ensign waits.
 O goodly Face and Picture! A one-Eyed
 Gen'ral does a *Getulian* Beast bestride!
 Well, what's his End? O Glory! A Defeat
 He has! Flies into Exile! There this Great
 Strange Client waits at Court his Moan to make,
 When the *Bythinian* Tyrant's pleas'd to wake.
 Yet, neither Swords, nor Stones, nor Arrows can
 Drive this tumultuous Soul from this Wild Man:
 But That, which just revenge at last did bring,
 For so much blood at *Canna* shed, That Ring.
 Go Mad-man; Pass the dire *Alpes*; to please fools!
 To be a Declamation for the Schools!
 To the *Pellæan* youth one worlds small Ground;
 Poor wretch, he Sweats in the worlds narrow bound;
 As if *Gyarian* Rocks inclos'd him, or small
Seriphus. Yet when *Babylons* brick-wall
 He enters, a Tomb serves him. 'Tis made known,
 VVhat Dwarfs our Bodies are, by Death alone.
 Men once believ'd, *Athos* was sail'd about,
 And all that lying *Greece* dares story-out;
 That those Ships pav'd the firm Sea, which did bear
 Chariot-wheels. We believe deep Rivers were
 Drunk up and dried, whiles the *Mede* din'd; Nay, things
 Which (31) *Softratus* does chaunt with moistned wings.
 How yet left the *Barbarian* *Salamine*,
 VVhole whips once made *Corus* and *Eurus* whine?
 Such in th' *Æolian* Dungeon they ne're found;
 Earth-shaking *Neptune* too his Shackels bound.
 'Twas well he Stigmatiz'd him not. What God
 VVould be at such a frantick Masters Nod?
 But how return'd he? Ev'n in one small boat
 Through shoals of Carcasses, which still did float
 In waves of blood; His Prow was almost tird.
 Loe, the Reward of Glory so desir'd!
 Give length of Life, O Jove, give many years;
 VVith (32) face direct, This only, pale with fears,
 Thou begg'st. Yet what continual Ills, how strange,
 Greive Age? Chiefly a Face, by deform'd change,
 Unlike it self! No Skin, but a foul Hide
 Behold! Bagg'd cheeks, with wrinkles deep and wide!
 In (33) *Tabracha's* large Shades a Gran'ame-Ape
 Just such in her old mumping cheek does scrape.

Young men do differ much; Some are more Fair
 Then others; Some then some far stronger are.
 There's but one Face of Age! Limb and Voice grows
 Feeble; Th' Head's bald: Moist is the Baby-Nose.
 With Gums disarm'd, alas, their bread they press;
 VVife, Children, and themselves they do distress:
 They'd tire the Soother *Coffus*. VVine and Meat
 Yield not the Palate th' old delight and heat.
 Lust they long since forgot: which would'st thou know
 Now, yet a broken belly would say, No.
 No Art or Time repairs thee. When the true
 Moisture of Life is gone, can'st hope for new,
 Now Sick and Old? we justly do suspect
 Such as do pleasure without strength affect.
 Behold the loss now of another part;
 For what delight is there from Voice and Art
 Of rare Musitian, (34) though *Selenus* 'twere,
 Or such as use th' Imbroider'd Cloak to wear.
 In the large Theater he needs no choice
 Of Seat: he scarce hears Corners, or the voice
 Of Trumpets. Loud they bawl, to make him know,
 VVho's at his door, or how the hours do go.
 In his cold Veins the little blood's ne're hot
 VVithout a Fever. All Diseases got
 Into one band do dance about him: though,
 If you inquire their names, He sooner show,
 How many Adulterers *Hippia* had; how many (35)
 Sick in one *Autumne Tharmison* did bane ye:
 How many Associates *Basilus* defecated:
 How many woeful VVards rich *Iru* cheated:
 How many Towns He Owns, who went snip, snip,
 As his quick Sizzers my young beard did clip.
 One's Shoulders weak; another's Loins: One Cries-
 Out on his Hip. He has lost both his Eies,
 And Envies those, that have one left: This lingers,
 And his pale lips take food from others fingers.
 At sight of Meat, one with mouth drawn awry,
 Like the young Swallow yawns, to whom does fly
 The hungry dam with food in mouth. Yet, then
 All loss of limb, far worse is Dotage; when
 One does forget his Servants Names, A known
 Friends Face, that Supp'd with him last night; his own
 Children, whom he has long brought up. For by
 A Cruel VVill, These he does quite deny
 To be his Heirs: his State is all convey'd
 To *Phiale*, so far she's lov'd away'd
 By th' Art of her Rank Tongue. She long did use
 To serve in the fit Prison of the Stews:
 But though the sense and wit be still intire,
 Yet must they Bury Children; see the Fire

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Of their Lov'd VVife and Brother ; (36) view they must
 Urnes fill'd with their dear Sister's Bones and Dust.
 Thus are they punish'd, that live long ! Still New
 Slaughter does in their House the Old insue.
 'Midst Complaints and daily greif this they behold ;
 And thus still in Fresh Mourning weeds grow old !
 The *Pylian* King (may *Homers* Great word go)
 VVas for long life next Pattern to the Crow.
 Happy, no doubt, that could so long withstand
 Death, and now (37) count his years on his Right hand !
 That drunk so oft new wine ! Yet hear his strain
 A little, how of Fate he does complain,
 And his Life's Threed too long, when he saw stout
Antilochus his Beard burn ! He cries-out
 To's friends, why Live I still ? And asks in rage,
 VVhat Crime condemn'd him to so long an Age ?
Pelevs his dead *Achilles* thus bewails :
 And He that Mourns, whiles his *Vlyses* Sails.
 Had *Troy* stood, *Priamus* with happy fate
 Had come to *Assaracus* his Ghost in State,
Heñor and's Brothers clad in sad attire
 Bearing the Body to its fun'ral fire,
 'Midst th' *Ilians* Tears ; *Cassandra* first had lent
 Cries, then *Polyxena* her Robe had rent :
 Had he but died, e're *Paris* had begun
 To build bold Ships, by which *Troy* was undone !
 VVhat Good then brought his Age ? His Age saw All
 O'return'd by Fire and Sword, Great *Asia's* Fall !
 The (38) Crown lay'd by, his Age more Arm'd then Bold,
 Before *Jove's* Altar falls, like Oxe grown old ;
 VVhich to his Masters knife, his weak neck now
 Holds out, now scorn'd by the ungrateful Plough !
 Yet died he like a Man : but his wife, which
 Out-liv'd him, grin'd and bark'd like a grim bitch.
 I hast unto our Own, and here omit
 The *Pontick* King, and *Cræsus* taught just wit
 By Sweet-tongu'd *Solon*, who said, still attend
 In long Life not the Glory, but the End.
 The Exile, Poison, and *Minturnian* Moor,
 The Bread at Conquer'd *Carthage* begg'd by poor
Marius, drew hence their Cause. VVhat thing more blest
 Had Nature e're produc'd, or *Rome* at best,
 Then that brave Man, if having led about
 In all the Pomp of VVar his Captive-Rout,
 H' had breath'd-out his rich Soul, when he intended
 From his *Teutonick* Chariot to have descended ?
Campania's Providence on *Pompey* threw
 A happy Feaver : but the Fates withdrew,
 Great *Venus* so wrought ; till *Rome's* and his own Dread
 Fortune chop'd-off his Sav'd and Conquer'd Head.

Lentulus and *Cethegus* such divorce
Ne're knew; (39) *Catiline* lay an intire coarfe.

At *Venus's* shrine a careful Mother's proud
Hope begs, for Sons softly, for Girles aloud,
Choice Shape. O choice Desires! Ne're blame my Pray'r,
Says she, *Latona's* Glad *Diana's* Fair.
Lucretia yet forbids to wish a Face
Like Hers. *Virginia* would exchange her grace
Of shape for *Rutila's* bunch-back. A lad
Too fair still makes his fearful Parents sad.
Beauty with Chastity so rarely goes!
Though a Course House such holy manners shows,
As once did grace the *Sabine* Dames! Nay, though
Kind Nature with a Bounteous hand bestow
Chast Disposition and a modest Face
VVarm with a Blush; (For, what more Noble grace
Can Nature's greatest Pow'r to Youth impart,
Nature above all Guardians Care and Art?)
They are not suffer'd to be Men! Rich Lust
Dares bribe the Parents! Guists they so much trust
A shape-less Lad no Tyrant e're did make
His dear Court-Eunuch: *Nero* did not take
A Noble Club-foot-stripling; ne're contract
VVith one throat-swoln, gor-bellied, or Crump-back'd.
Go now, rejoyce in thy fair Son, on whom
VVorse dangers wait. E're long he shall become
A Publick Stallion, and such vengeance fear
As th' Husbands rage exacts. For, He shall ne're to
More scape the Net then *Mars*, by Luck or VVirt
That Greif sometimes Acts more, then Law thinks fit.
This the Sword kills: on bloody whips that venters
And some (40) Adult'ers the quick Mullet enters.
But thy *Endymion* shall love only some
Choice Dame; But when *Servilia's* guilt does come,
He'l Please whom he Loves Not. Then Jewels go;
On such moist Youth what will they not bestow?

A *Hippia* or *Catulla* let her be:

In this point yet the worst of them is Free.

Does shape yet hurt the Chast? Good it did none

T' *Hippolitus* and grave *Bellerophon*.

The repuls'd *Cretian Phadra's* blood straight flow'd

To' a Blush; and *Sthenobea* no less glow'd.

Both shook themselves to wrath. Then womans spight

Is worst, when Shame too does their Hate excite.

Choose what thou would'st advise Him, whom the Great

Empress resolves to Marry. This so Neat,

Good, Noble Youth is hal'd, poor wretch, to Fate,

By *Messalina's* Eies. She Drefs'd does wait

In Crimson veil: The *Tyrian* Marriage-Bed

Is in the open Gardens richly spread.

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Ten (41) hundred thousand Sesterces, as due
 Portion by Ancient Rite, she'll make good too;
 The South-sayer, with those that Seal, attends!
 This thou thought'st known but to some trusty friends,
 She'll Marry in all Form. Now advise right:
 Unless he yields, he dies e're Candle-light.
 If thou committ'st the Crime, the Delay's small:
 Till the Facts known to Rome, Rout, Prince and all.
 The shame of's House *He* shall know last; mean-while
 Obey; unless a few-days-life seems vile.
 Choose yet the best, thy judgment can afford;
 This fair, white Neck must feel the sharp-edg'd Sword.
 Shall men then Ask for Nothing? If thou'lt Sway
 Thy thoughts by mine, leave't to the Gods to weigh
 VVhat to us for our Good they may commit:
 They'll give, not things that Please, but things most Fit,
 To them Man's dearer, then to Himself. By strong
 Passions and blind Desires we led along
 Ask VVife and Children: But before we crave,
 They know what VVife and Children we shall have.
 Yet that thou may'st ask somewhat, and so bow
 At their dread Shrines, and (42) choicest entrails vow
 VVith a white Hoggs pure Safages, still crave—
 In a sound Body, a sound Mind, to Brave,
 That Death ne're daunt it; that does Death account
 'Mongst Natures Favours, and all Greif surmount;
 That knows no Anger, nor Desire; And more
 Esteems of *Hercules* his Cures and Soar
 Task, then of Love-sports, Feasts and the down
Sardanapalus Laz'd on. This renown
 Thy self may'st give thy self without more strife,
 Vertue's the only Path to a Quiet Life.
 The Gods are All Ours, if we're wise: but we,
 O *Fortune*, 'mongst the Pow'rs Divine place Thee!

SATYRE

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Tenth Satyre.

Dextro pede. Auspicia dextera and sinistra, why so called. Right-side parts of the body Strongest, proved from Experience, Authority, Reason. The Cause of Ambidexters. Publick places of safety for the laying-up of Treasure. Opes; different acceptions of it. Gelasius. The Nature of Tears. Toga Picta; the several names of it. Prætor; the ancient use of the word. Tunica Jovis; whether it were the same with toga palmata. Servus Publicus. The Roman Eagle; the Fashion and Matter of it; sometimes taken for a Legion. The Colour of the Toga. Σιμαλίζον. λαταδουλιζον. Digitus Infamis. Medius unguis. Genua incerare Ducum. Tabula Patronatus. Scalæ Gemoniæ. Gemonidæ. Nurtia. Panem & Circenses; approved as the best Reading of that passage. Tesseræ Frumentariæ. Magna Fornacula. Castra Domestica. Potestas. Quinquatria. Minerval. That verse of Tully, O fortunam natam me Consule Romam, diversely censur'd. Frana Theatri, expounded by Heraldus. Aplustre; ἀπλουστῆ. The Fashion of a Trophie. Triumphal Arches. Barbarus, and βαρβαρὺς ἄβαρα. Alii Elephantes. Xerxes and Caligula's Bridges. Ennosigæus. Madidæ Alæ. Recto vultu. Tabracha. Aurata lacerna. Funeral Urnes; Their Capacitie and Matter. The Various Names of the Fingers; their Gesture in Adoration. Ætas; what number of years it signifies. The manner of Numbring with the Fingers, according to Astabasdus. The Latin Translation of his work rectified. The expression of the Number of Thirty, according to St. Jerom and Lilius Gyraldus, examin'd by a passage in Apuleius. Masters expressed their Commands by the Gesticulations of the Hand. A Table of the Ancient Finger-Arithmetick. Tiara; the Matter, Colour and Different Fashions of it, shew'd from St. Jerom, Sidonius Apollinaris, and Antoine le Pois. Juvenal excus'd about that passage, -- Jacuit Catilina cadavere toto, The Punishment of Adultery, with a Muller. Πιστῆλαιος. Habitations for Pleasure anciently in Gardens. The usual Portion of the Daughters of the Nobility. A Southsayer and Witnesses present at Marriage-Contracts. Divina tomacula. A white Hog, a Sacrifice at Weddings. Tomacina. Τιμάχην. μοῖρα and τὸ χοῖον.

1. ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ Hat is 't, we e're begun with
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ foot so right? Quid tam dextro
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ pede concipis? The Poet in
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ this excellent Satyre shews,
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ that there is no man in the
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ World, or, as he describes it,
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ between Cadix in the West
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ (by mariners now called
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ commonly Calis-Malin, as Or-
 telius notes in his *Thesaurus*) and Ganges at the
 East-Indies, so wise, that he can preserve himself
 from mistake in his desires; but that, if he begins
 any thing (which the Poet expresses by the word

concupis proper to *Vota* the subject of this Satyre,
 not by *concupis*, as some less properly would have
 it) he repents of it, though begun never so hap-
 pily, or as the Poet says, with so *Right a foot*.
 Which expression *Lubin* here thinks to be an allu-
 sion to their *Auspicia*, for so he speaks, *de dextero*
aut prospero auspicio; making those on the right hand
 to be lucky, and consequently those on the left,
 unlucky: whereas he might rather have said the
 Contrary, speaking as he ought, according to the
 Roman Custom. For though the *Græcians* and
Persians were of another opinion, yet amongst the
Romans, *In auspiciis qua sinistra sunt, bene eventura*
 C c putantur;

putantur; as Alexander ab Alexandro in his *Gen. Dier. lib. 5. cap. 13.* and Tiraquel on that place largely prove, nor omitting the reason: which was, because in taking their *auspicia ex celo*, which was the chief kind of them, the Thunder or Lightning that came from Heaven, was supposed to come from the right hand of the God, when it was on the left side of the *Auspex*; as, when it was on his right side, to come from the left hand of the God; whose face they supposed to be turn'd towards the *Auspex*. To the like purpose Donatus writes on that of Virgil. *Æneid. 2.* *Intonus levum*—, saying, *Quod dixit levum, debet prosperum intelligi: cujus ratio hæc est, leva in aliis contraria significant. In sacris autem signis idcirco prospera accipiuntur quæ sunt leva: quia sacrificantis, vel precantis latus levum dexterum est ejus, qui postulata largitur.* So likewise in the Singing of Birds, the Rule was, as Alex. ab Alexandro shews in the forecited place, *Semper cantus Officinis quum sinister est, secundissimus fuit.* He omits not some exceptions in the doctrine; but thus delivers it for the general; and therefore less warily did Lubin in general call *auspicium prosperum, dexterum.* Indeed, that which he adds is true; *Dextra cum erant numina favere credebantur, leva contra*; but this helps it not; because not *dextra* but *leva auspicia* answer'd to *destra numina*, and contrarywise *Dextra auspicia* to *Leva numina*. Which I thought fit to be taken notice of, to prevent otherwise an easie mistake in this argument. *Britannicus* before Him, expressed himself in these words, *Pede dextro id dicimur facere, quod nobis prospere cedit, contra sinistro.* Unde *Apuleius* in *Assino aureo*; *Sinistro pede profectum me spes compendii frustrata est.* In which expression there being no mention of *Auspicia*, it may seem, that he thought them not to be here intended. And surely the speech may seem to be founded rather upon the practice of Nature, then upon Phansie: and so because the *right-side* parts are naturally more strong, they in a superstitious expression called them more *lucky*. But all having not the same opinion of this opinion, that the *Right-side* parts are the stronger, it will be necessary, with ingenuous libertie, to consider the Opposition and Proof of this truth: to which, as I have heretofore publicly upon occasion expressed my self to incline; so after new examination I find my self to remain in my old Tenent. For, though it may be said, that such difference is not found between the *eyes* and such smaller parts of the body; it may as fairly be replied, that this comes to pass, not from any defect in Nature, but in Experience; nor that there is no such difference, but that it is not found; a due examination suteable to the subtle offices of those smaller and more curious parts, being not yet made; whereby the difference, though less sensible, might be attained unto. Or if for the subtilty it could not be discover'd, yet if the tenent shall be shew'd to be in the general a truth, all such particular instances, howsoever obscure, must consequently be concluded under the same doctrine. Yet even in the former subtle instance of the *eyes*, experience teaches us, that when we employ only one of them, the left eye in most men usually shuts it self, leaving the work or view to the *Right*, as to the more happily *Active*: Again, I see not how the general use of the *right* hand can be attributed only to Custom; but rather think it should be ascrib'd to God in Nature: which, had it given unto Man two hands, that they should be both used indifferently (if need requir'd)

then should all men as naturally, not use the *Right* till the *Left* hand fail'd, or use them both with a constant indifferency. *Plato* indeed would have his Citizens *Ambidexters*: but a City of that frame would have been long in setting up; and (to call an Old Phansie by a new name) this was but one of his *Utopianisms*. Nor can some hundreds of such pointed-out in Story prove a generalitie: rather the many millions otherwise disposed declare the first to be but an exception from the general rule of the *Creatour*; and by this argue in him a *Libertie*, not a Custom. And whereas it may be added, that if any priority were to be given to either hand, it were rather to be given to that hand, which is nearest the heart, the fountain of Life and Activitie: it may be replied, that the foundation of this reason, namely the Opinion concerning the situation of the Heart on the *Left side* (implied in this reason) is noted amongst vulgar Errors, by some of the latest and most curious Anatomists. For so *Bartholinus* a man of brief expressions, but of accurate judgment, in his *Anatomical Institutions. lib. 2. cap. 6.* observes in his Margin saying, *Error vulgi cor esse in sinistro latere*; and in his text says, *Est autem Cor quoad basin* (the upper part, so term'd by Anatomists) *exadde in medio.* In which place he also adds the occasion of the error, that is, the motion of the heart, more sensibly discern'd on the *Left side*: for which he alleadges two reasons; whereof one is because in the *Left* ventricle of the heart is contain'd the *vital spirit*, & a *sinistris est arteria magna: hinc vulgus putat*, says he, *cor in sinistro residere latere*: the other is, because the *micro cordis*, the point of the heart enclines a little towards the left hand, that it may give place to the midriffe: *ad dextram vero* (as he adds) *declinare non potuit, ob venam cavam, ibi per medium thoracem ascendentem.* And if any should farther urge (though I know none that have done so) that yet there were no more reason, why the *Right side* should have any priority, but only an equalitie of imparted strength, the heart being placed in the middle; or if there were any difference, the *left side* should rather have it, because of the *left ventricle*, the seat of the *vital Spirit*; (which is the most that can be urg'd from hence): I answer, that there is greater reason to overthrow this reason. For the fore-cited Anatomist, *lib. 4. cap. 1.* writing *de manu*, says, that the *Right hand* is the more prompt to motion for two causes; the first whereof is, because in the right side a man has a vein *sine pari* (without a fellow answering to it on the left side, and so an advantage to the right side) *qua forte in ambidextris gemina est*, says he, which peradventure is doubled (or, has a fellow) in those that use both hands equally: the second, as he says, is because the bones on the right side are more weighty, as some by experience have found; [*quia ossa graviora in scapulis, humero, & tota manu dextra esse aliqui habent pro certo & comperto*] which, as he says, might be from the impression of the more plentiful heat in the Mother's womb, *cujus pars dextra calidior.* Where he farther adds the authority of *Aristotle* preferring the right hand before the left, affirming the first hint of motion to be in the right side, and saying, that accordingly a man when he begins to go, naturally moves his right foot first, and so, that a bird taking his flight does likewise first move the right wing. And whereas he alleadg'd the experience of some concerning the weight of *right-side bones*, though he

names

names none, he may peradventure intend the Author of the Commentary upon *Melancthon's* learned book *de Anima*: which exposition was begun by *Maginus* and finish'd by *Causpigerus*, both Philosophers and Doctors of *Physick*; one of which at the end of the 4th chapter of the second Tract, handles this rare problem (for so he calls it) *De Brachio & Manu*. Where he avouches, that the point cannot be unfolded by Philosophical reasons, but by an *anatomia*, (or, ocular inspection) anatomical section, as he speaks; urging, that if we weigh the bone of the right arm (the bone between the elbow and the shoulder) in one scale, and the bone of the left arm in another, we shall find the Right to be the weightier. Which natural gravitie, says he, is increas'd by frequent exercise, and consequently has the advantage of larger nourishment. This he proves also from the example of the *amazons*, who searing-off their Right breast, had all the strength, which nature would have sent thither, convey'd into their right Arm; urging for it the authority of *Hippocrates* (*lib. de Aere, aquis, & locis*). He shews a reason likewise of *Ambidexters*; saying, that such singularity of example comes to pass, when the bone of the left arm is as heavy as the other; as, we may add, that in whom it is heavier, such persons become left-handed. And for the generalitie of the tenet concerning the strength of the right-side parts, he farther urges the authority of the same *Hippocrates* (*lib. 3. de Morbis*): who surely was a man, as also *Aristotle*, which would not be easily cheated with a Tradition. And for mine own part I think that the Opinion of the Ancients was not deliver'd from hand to hand as a bare tradition; but that the more curious and Inquisitive Men took with them also the Motives of the Assertion. Which I think may be made good from the learned *Macrobius*; who in his *Saturnals* (*lib. 7. cap. 4.*) handling this Argument delightfully ascends to the reason of this Assertion; attributing it unto the Liver, which as he says, is *concretus sanguis*, and *caloris domicilium*: from which Habitation of Heat seated on the Right side of the body, *quoad majorem partem in dextro hypochondrio*, as *Bartholinus* says, in his *Anat. lib. 1. cap. 14.* is the advantage of the Right-side parts, the colder part of the nourishment being convey'd (to the left-side) to the Spleen; *nam ideo omnes dextra partes*, says he, *calidiores sunt, & debiliores sinistra, quia has regit calor visceris sui, illa contagione frigoris sinistra obinentis hebetantur*. Which passage though it be read thus even in the latest Editions, yet the intent of the Author shows plainly, it should be a little mended; as indeed it rightly is by my worthy friend *John Price*, Dr. of the Law, in his learned *Observations on Apuleius his Apologie*. p. 125. where occasionally he observes and corrects the transposition of the pronouns in this passage of *Macrobius*; and for *has* reads *illam*, and *he* for *illa*; without which emendation, though seeming small, the Author should speak contrary, to what he had spoken before. Thus then the Right-side parts have an advantage from the Liver, the Left a disadvantage from the Spleen: yet I think not, as some, that the Spleen is but the receptacle of excrementitious blood; but that it is *Sanguificationis organum*, preparing blood, though a grosser, *ad nutrienda viscera infimi ventris*: whereas the Liver prepares a better blood, and for all the other parts of the body; as *Anatomie* teaches us. The preeminence then of the Right-side parts being an ac-

knowledge'd truth amongst the Ancients, was easily corrupted into a superstition; which made them think, That progression only to be in hope successful, which took its beginning from the Right foot.

2. —That none in the whole Forum have so large a Chest. —*Ut maxima tota Nostra sit arca foro*. The Prayers of many men implying as their desires, so their delights; have been their destruction, says the Poet; some having perish'd thus by Eloquence; some by strength; nay, though they had the experience of it, as *Milo* (intended here); who in his younger days doing strange acts, was in his after-age, as he pass'd alone through a wood mistaken in an oak; which being half cleft, whiles he ventur'd into the rift thinking to rent it through, his strength fail'd him, the parts return'd together, and he was detain'd a prey for wolves, finding to his cost, that old *Milo* was not young *Milo*. But more, says the Poet, are destroy'd by Riches, which some so hoard-up, that their wealth as much exceeds all patrimonies; that is, the Sufficient though moderate, Inheritances, which their honesty and contented Ancestors left them, as the *British* whale (noted by *Pliny lib. 9.* to be of a vast size) does exceed the Dolphin. On which passage the *Scholias*t says, *Metaphora in Tiberium & Divites*; by which expression not very clear, I guess he meant, that their Treasures exceed their ancient Inheritances, as much as Emperors and Great Ones exceed mean men. Yet, as the Poet shews, Riches have but made the Owners the more subject to the evillie of Tyrants; whereas the *Cænacula* or cocklofts, where the poor dwell, are neglected by the Officers sent out for booty. For such by-respects was *Longinus* destroy'd by *Nero*; so likewise the *Laterani*, so the rich *Seneca*: who in the 4th year of *Nero*, as *Tacitus* (*lib. 13.*) reports, had *Sequesterium millies* (that is, *millies centena millia Sequesterium*, as it comes from *Sequesterius*, or a hundred thousand *Sequesteria*) which reduced to our money, amount to 781250*l.* and yet he enjoy'd and increas'd this estate about four years longer in the favour of his Prince. Of his wonderful riches see *Budæus de Asse lib. 5.* and for his avarice and monstrous summes for the Interest of money amongst the *Sceni* here in *Britain* (the Inhabitants of *Northfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge-shire* and *Huntington shire*); see our learned *Mr. Camden* in his description of them; attributing to Him no small part of the Cause of that war, which *Eodicia* the wife of *Prasutagus* so famously maintain'd against the Romans. But, says the Poet, though the poor man drinks safer in his earthen pot, then the rich, who drinks his sparkling *Serine* wine in his golden bowles adorned with precious stones, but not without a fear of being poisned; yet every one desires to have the largest Chest in the Forum. Wherein he implies a custome amongst the Romans concerning the disposing of their wealth; the Publick Treasure being kept in their *Ædes Saturni* (as *Macrobius* tells us in his *Saturnals lib. 1. cap. 8.*) a steep place for safety by the *Capitol*; as *Alex. ab. Alex.* (*Gen. Dier. lib. 2. cap. 2.*) well notes. The wealthy Senators did store up their Treasure in Iron-chests placing them at *Mars* his Temple in *Foro Augusti*; till that place was robbed, as *Juvenal* mentions, *Sat. 14.* and then they placed them at the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, which was in *Foro Romano*. They thought their Money the safer being committed to the ruination of their Gods; as *Brodam* observes, *lib. 4. cap. 17.* The *Scholias*t here

says, that for a time, the *Senators* did store-up their money in Chests in *Foro Trajani*; and that the place is self, where their Chests were, was thence call'd *Opes*. Upon which passage the diligent *Pinhaus*, cites a place *de arca Senatus* from a letter of *Aurelian* to the Senate mention'd in *Vopiscus*, *Est præterea vestra autoritatis arca publica, quam magis referam esse reperiri, quam capio*. *Herodian* in the first book of his *History* tells also, that in the burning of the Temple of *Peace*, a great mass of money, lay'd-up there, was lost. See more of this argument in *Georgius Longus*, *de Annulis Signatoriis*, cap. ult. and *Marcellus Donatus* on *Sueton's Domitian*, cap. 7. And here we may note, that the Poet makes a difference between *Divitia* and *Opes*: between which, as *Lubin* notes, *Cicero* distinguishes in his *Lælius*, saying, *Expetuntur Divitiæ ut utaris, Opes ut Colaris, Honores ut lauderis*; so that *Opes* is an Overplus or Stor'd Wealth; according to which difference I render that of our Poet, *Divitiæ ut crescant, ut Opes*.—That our full wealth and store increase. I may here add, that *Servius* on *Virgil* makes *Opes* only in the plural number to signify Riches; in the singular, *Help*; and likewise that *Cornelius Fronto*, *de Differentiis vocum*, tells us, that *Locuples* is called so à copia locorum, *dives quia dividendi facultatem habet*, and *Opulentus ab Opibus*.

3.—That Wise man then which still Laught.—*Quod de Sapientibus aliter Ridebat*.—For this cause *Democritus* was call'd *Gelasinus*, or the Laugher. So *Gelasini* are taken for the fore-teeth, because they are shew'd in laughter; and *Gelasinus* is, as *Suidas* tells us, that *Wrinkle* or *Line* in the face, which is made in Laughter; according to that of *Martial*, lib. 7. *Nec grata est facies cui Gelasinus adest*.

4.—And still find tears to fill his eye! *Mirandum est unde ille oculis succederet humor*.—To believe that *Heraculus* did continually weep, may, as I think, well deserve to be laugh'd-at. Yet whither the eyes can be commonly prepar'd with such store of moisture, though the Interpreters here pass-by the doubt, *Philosophie* may resolve it. Which teaches us, that a *Tear* is but the moisture part (i.e. of our food (meat and drink): which moisture is in all creatures the necessary vehiculum of the more solid and drier part of the food. And this moisture being with the blood alter'd in the Liver is convey'd into the veins: a great part thereof passing into urine, some more attenuated vapouring through the pores, and some turning into Sweat, the rest is convey'd unto the brain; so that the matter of tears is not from the eyes, but only deriv'd unto them from other parts. Thus then as there is continual food, so a continual humour, which waits but for the compression of the heart; unto which when the blood and spirits, as in sorrow, retire, the brain being forsaken of that heat, grows cold, and the over-plus moisture being left without a guid, of its own accord flows-out. And thus tears in respect of their matter are not only in men, but also in beasts; which notwithstanding never weep, the compression of the heart (the efficient cause of ordinary tears) depending upon the intention of the will: whereby in persons of a tender constitution, as in Women and Children, they are more plentiful and easie; as in persons hot and drie they are more scarce. Yet we must take notice, that some tears, which in respect of their efficient cause, we may call extraordinary, are not

from the compression, but contrarily from the dilatation of the heart, as in excessive Joy: in which the heart opening it self, as if it would entertain what it delights-in, sends-forth such heat and spirits to the brain, that the moisture there dissolves into tears. There are also prolific causes of tears, as violent strokes, diseases of the head, the use of mustard, onions, great colds, large draughts, and the like: which may peradventure not exactly distinguish tears into voluntary and involuntary; which last are tears rather materially, then formally; and in such cases we use to say, that the eyes waters, not that it weeps.

5.—Robes for Lords and Kings. *Prætecta ex Trabæ*.—In defect of peculiar words for the expression of these Antick properties, we render them by some of their most eminent acceptions. The *prætecta* was a white gown with a Purple border about it, the Wear of different persons according to the different ages of the Roman state. For, *Lampridius* (in *Alex. Sever.*) says, *Prætextam ex togam pilleam nunquam nisi Consul accepit*; yet it was worn also by such as had born some eminent offices; also by Noble-mens Sons; nay afterwards permitted to other mens Sons also; but the purple of this last was but a false one made of the juice of herbs; as *Salmuth* notes on *Panciroli*, lib. 1. Tit. 43. The *Trabæ* was a garment of three sorts, One only of Purple consecrated to the Gods; the second of Purple on White worn by Kings; the third of Purple and Scarlet (a Scarlet on a Purple, as some express it) worn by the *Augurs*. Where we may note, that the *trabæ* was afterwards, as *Ansonius* describes it (in *extrema Gratiarum actione*) adorned with gold: but this addition was not till *Gratian's* time, neither is mention'd by *Sueton*, as *Aldus Manutius* thinks, *de quasitis per epist.* lib. 3. *Epist.* 3. *Tribunal*, which the Poet adds here, and which is commonly render'd a judgment-seat was properly the upper end of the place of judgment, and rounding, in the fashion of a Semi-circle of a Stately Capacity, wherein was placed the *sella curulis*, in which the *Prætor* sat in judgment. And therefore I render it *Chaires*; the fashion of which *sella curulis*, or rather of a double-one, from some ancient expression is set-forth by *Amoine le Pois*, as I remember.

6.—In *Jove's* Coat.—*In tunica Jovis*. O how would *Democritus* have Laughed, says our Poet, at the vanity of the world, if he had seen but the pomp of the *Prætor* at the *Circensian* Games strutting in *Jove's* coat, and but beheld his *aulea Sarrana toga pillea*, the Purple or Tyrian tapestrie (as the Poet flouts at it) of his embroyder'd gown, and the huge crown of Gold; which yet was not so great, as that an *Atlas* could scarce support it, as some tell; for how could it then have been held-up by a publick servant, behind the *Consul*, as he rode in Triumph! Where *Lubin* notes, that the *Prætor* and the *Consul* is here the same; proving out of *Pedanius*, that the *Consul* and whosoever had anciently the Government of the Armie, was called *Prætor*. In which recited passage of *Juvenal*, the *Scholias* expounds *tunicam Jovis* by *togam palmatam*; and *Lubin* says, *in tunica Jovis*, i. e. in *palmata trabæ*, and afterwards, i. e. in *pillea ex triumphali togâ*. But concerning the *toga pillea*, we may take notice, that it had diverse appellations according to different reasons;

reasons; as first it was call'd *purpurea*, because the ground of it was purple, but it was called so, when as yet it was not *pilæ*, as *Festus* tells us; besides this name was less proper, as agreeing also to the *paludamentum*, or garment, which the Lord General did wear, as also to the *trabea*, which was proper to the *Gods*; which the Reader may take notice of to prevent easie mistakes. Secondly, it was call'd *roga pilæ*, because it was embroyder'd. Thirdly, *palmata*, from the form of the embroydery; though some have thought it called so, because it was worn by them, who for victory over the enemy had deserv'd the *palme*: but to speak more strictly, it was embroyder'd with *palme-branches*, or a part of the victory in the work of it, like to those garments of *Helena* in *Homer*, which *Pliny*, lib. 8. cap. 48. takes notice of, and to this purpose, saying, *pilæ vestes jam apud Homerum fuisse, unde triumphales nata*. Fourthly it was call'd *roga triumphalis*, being the garment which he wear, that rood in *Triumph*; and, which added to the honour of it, it was fetch'd from the Temple of *Jupiter*. Which diversity of names the Reader may likewise observe to prevent mistake. And this garment was allow'd not only to the *Consuls*, but also to the *Prætor* setting-out the *Circensian* shews: nay, sometimes to private persons at the same shews, as to *L. Æmilius*, who had overcome *Perseus* the *Macedonian* King, as *Pliny* notes de *Viris Illustribus*. But here we must consider the *Scholias*'s and *Lubin*'s exposition, who take *tunica Jovis* for *roga palmata*; as *Dempster* also on *Rosinus*, lib. 10. cap. 29. takes *tunica pilæ* and *roga palmata* for the same; which, though none here take notice-of, yet methinks it seems insolent, that the Poet should speak so negligently and confusedly, as to call *roga*, *tunica*. Besides here were then a *sodain* and unseemly *tautologie*; for he has no sooner said, *In tunica Jovis*, but he presently adds; *Et pilæ-aulæ roga*: but This, I think, implies them rather to be different things. Wherefore to express mine own opinion, I think that he intends here two several garments, *roga* and *tunica*; the use being general to wear both; the *tunica* as a less and shorter under the *roga*, which was a large garment somewhat like a mantle, or for this stately use here intended, like a peice of hangings, as the Poet jeeringly amplifies it. For thus the plain *roga* (for assemblies) being white, the *tunica* also was of like cloth, and thus to the *roga pilæ* there belong'd also *tunica palmata*. So speaks *Livy*, lib. 10. Decad. 3. *Massinissam primum regem appellatum—roga pilæ et tunica palmata donat*. So *Florus*, lib. 1. cap. 5. *Roga pilæ tunicaque palmata: omnia denique decora*

et insignia quibus imperii dignitas eminet. And that the *tunica* also might challenge the addition of *Jovis*, I think there is as good reason, as for the *Roga*. *Julius Capitolinus* is clear in this argument (*in Gordiano*) *palmatam tunicam et rogam pilæ primus Romanorum privatus suam habuit*. Whereby he implies, that both the *roga* and the *tunica* were before fetch'd from the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; which I think to be intimated in that also of *Servius* on *Virgil*, *Eclag. 10. Triumphantes omnia habent Jovis insignia*. The form of which dresse of *Jupiter*, his coat, we may understand from the form of the *Latus clavus*, or *tunica laticlavus*, the Senator's Coat, which was worn also by Lord-presidents in their provinces, and had the name from broad nails heads figur'd on it, which, as the gown also that was answerable to it, was call'd *pilæ*, *palmata* and *triumphalis*: according to the degrees of Honour, for which it was allow'd. *Lazius* thus presents the *Latus clavus*. *



Juv. Sat. X. Illust. 6.

7. A Publick Servant sweats for 't, &c. *Quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus, &c.* In the same Chariot behind him that triumph'd was a Servant carried, who held up a weighty crown, to imply the deserts of him that triumph'd: yet by such a course companion they did temper the glory of the business. Where it may be observ'd, that the servant is called *servus publicus* (as by *Julian* in an *Epist.* is mention of *Aug. duplens*): for so the servants of the *Magistrates* were called, or of the State; being bought, as *Catanaus* notes, in the name of the Common-wealth, and imploy'd in publick Services, as in mending High-ways, cleansing the City-Vaults, or the like.

8. Adde the Eagle rais'd on Ivory Scepter.—*Da hunc & volucrem Sceptro qui furgit eburno.* He that rode in Triumph held in his hand a Scaff or

Scepter of Ivory, on which was express'd an Eagle, the Ensign of the Roman Empire, not express'd in a Flag or Banner, but in *Statue*, upon the top of the Scepter. It was carried in the War upon an half-pike, adorned with Silver (as *Arrian* tells us) the ground end of it being somewhat sharp, that it might be the more easily pitch'd into the ground. The Eagle it self was of Gold, as the same *Arrian* shews (in *Dissertat. Epist.*) and sometimes of Silver, as *Portius Latro* testifies (in *declamatione contra Caillinam*) and in the more ancient times rather of Silver, then of Gold; because, as *Pliny* says, Silver may be seen farther off. For the more lively expression, thou may'st see them, as they are thus presented by *Guillaume du Choul de Castrametation des Romains*, the one is (fol. 14. pag. b.) as it was carried by the Foot; the other (fol. 30. pag. b.)



as it was carried by the Horse; wherein, with a little advantage may also be observed the formes of their Military dress. * They had in War other Ensigns also, as the Wolf, the Horse, the Minotaur, &c.



taure, the Boar, as *Pliny* notes, *lib. 10. cap. 4.* but the Eagle was the chief; and in every Legion there was one Eagle; for which cause *Aquila* is sometimes taken for a Legion. *Marinus* in his second Consulship abolish'd all the other Ensignes, retaining only the Eagle.

9. —At's bridle White-gown'd friends. —*Niveosq; ad frons Quirites.* He speaks according to the fashion of the Triumph: at which the Clients of him that Triumph'd went for his greater honour by the sides

of his Horses, as he rode in his gilded Chariot drawn by four white horses; though the Spectators in the Theater also wear white gowns, as *Robertus Titius* notes in his Commentary on *Calpurnius* his *Bucolics*, *Ecolg. 7.* A bright white is noted to have been the colour of the ordinary toga, for the better sort; so *Aldus Manutius de quasius per epistol.* Yet the observation should go along with it (to prevent mistake) that it was the ordinary colour at publick meetings: but that at other Seasons, and in private,

vate, they wear what mean colours they pleas'd ; as I have shew'd out of *Panciro*. See *Sat. 3. Illust. 25.* Besides in latter times the meaner sort at public Meetings wear the *toga pulla*, a black gown ; though at the first that colour was worn properly by Mourners. And here we may take notice, that the Poet in the close of this description, intimates the baseness of the Romans attending on their great Patrons not for Love, but for the *Sportula*, which was safe enough in their Patrons Chests, till they were brought home by their Clients.

10. He sent a halter to her and held-out the middle finger.—*Cum fortuna ipse minaci Mandaret laqueum medium ostenderet unguem.* He expresses how the wife, the resolute *Democritus* scorn'd Fortune, though so honour'd by others ; particularly that he sent her a halter, as if he would bid her dispatch her self ; and held out in disgrace the middle finger, the rest of the hand being clinch'd, as *Diogenes* shew'd *Demosthenes* unto some strangers, which inquir'd for him, as *Diogenes Laertius* relates, *lib. 6.* So also *Caligula* form'd his hand, when he held it out for *Cassius Cherea* (Tribune of the *Prætorian Cohort*) to kiss ; who afterwards, in revenge was one of them, that slew him ; as *Sueton* in his *Caligula*, cap. 58. The Greeks call'd this *oxymachus*, and *oxymachus* being properly *prætentare* — an *gallina ova conceperint*, as *Alex. ab Alex.* speaks, *Gen. Dier. lib. 4. cap. 26.* and hence the middle finger is by *Perfius* called *infamis*, and by the Greeks *κατάπυρξ*. Another way of Disgrace was that which now the *Italians* call *far le fiche* : which gesture if it were here understood, *medius unguis* would not signify the middle finger, but the nail of the thumb placed between the middlemost and the forefinger. See *Ferrarius de Veter. acclamationibus*, *lib. 2. cap. 22.* After which last form they made the *Fascinus* ; the picture whereof see, as it is presented by *Pignori*, in his *Mens. Isiac. fol. 17.* Thus *



11. Fixing with wax to the Gods knees such Vowes. *Propter quæ fas est genua incrare Deorum.* It was the manner of the Ancients, when they made their Vowes to the Gods, to write them in paper, (and some in waxen tables) seal them up, and with wax fasten them to the knees of the Gods ; (or to the thighs of them ; for so *Apuleius* speaks) the Ancients counting *That* the seat of Mercy. Unto which sense *Ruigerfius* draws the Greek Proverb, *Θῆναι ἐν γόνασι χάριται* ; implying when they would signify the uncertain event of any thing, that it lay in the knees of the Gods. When their desires were granted, the manner was to take away the paper, tear it, and bring unto the Gods what they had promised. Hence are the Phrases, *Vota concipere, tabellis inscribere, signare, assignare & figere, genua incrare deorum, insignare and vota solvere.* See *Ruigerfius* diligently handling this argument, yet intimated by the *Scholias*, both on that of the 9th *Sat.* *Quando ego figam aliquid*, and here also ; and likewise by *Lubin*, (see *Sat. 9. Illust. 13.*) and before them by *Marcellus Donatus* in his *Dilucidations of Livy*, *lib. 4. pag. 15.* See also *Turnebus*, *lib. 1. c. 21.*

12. —Their branch'd pages and extended rowes of Honour.—*Longa atque insigni honorum Pagina.* The Poet next shews, how that some are undone by too great Honours, which here are call'd *Honorum pagina* ; which might be generally understood of a *Genealogie* : but that the *Scholias* teaches us more particularly, that before the Statues of eminent persons there was placed a *Plate* or *Table* of Brass, containing all the Honours of him, whose Statue it was ; and therefore might aptly be call'd *pagina* : but in the time of the *Scholias* it was called *Tabula patronatus*. To which we may adde, what the diligent *Pithæus* notes here on the *Scholias*, that there are divers such inscriptions of Great mens honours at this day to be seen upon ancient stones, some of which are presented by *Onuphrius* in *Comment. Fastorum*.

13. Down come their Statues and the halter follow.—*Descendant statua restemque sequuntur.* Thus were used the Statues of *Sejanus*, to whom many were erected in the time of his Prosperity ; but upon his fall pull'd down, dragg'd about, broken and melted, together with the Chariot and horses, which, with his image, were in statue erected to his glory. In which description the Poet speaks in a bitter jeer, as if the horses had not been statues, but sensible of the execution. This custome was in part intimated before, *Sat. 8. Illust. 3.*

14. Of the Worlds Second Face.—*Ex facie toto orbe secunda*, thus from the most eminent part, he calls the statue of *Sejanus* ; he being the Colleague of *Tiberius* (in his first Consulship) the Emperor of the Roman World. And by way of honour they did use to swear by *Sejanus* his Fortune, and sometimes jointly by *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* his Fortune. *Rutilius Gallus* is in the like manner by *Strabo* called *proxima cervix* in relation to the Emperor, in that passage — *stat proxima cervix Fonderis immensi*—, as being the second neck to *Cesar*, that helped to bear up the weight of Government. And here by the way we may gently observe a slip in the *Scholias*, concerning the melting of this statue : for on the words *Jam strident ignes*, he says, *conflatur statua, ut pecunia inde fiat* ; whereas in the Poet himself the intent in the melting of it is satyrically express'd to be, for the making of water-pots, basons, frying-pans and platters.

15. Crown'd be the dores with bayes.—*Pone domi lauros*— The Poet speaks here in the person of the People applauding the Emperors happiness in the destruction of an enemy ; and so, as in a testimony of Joy, they bid one another crown their dores with bayes, according to the custome, which has been mention'd before ; and thus *Britannicus* takes it, and, as I think, rightly. But *Lubin* would have it be spoken by the people to the Emperor, bidding him to be crown'd with bayes, after the manner, says he, of one that triumph'd, and so also sacrifice a white bull to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the Colour and Figure being acceptable to him, as representing the shape, under which he comforted with *Europa*. Which last passage about the sacrifice we may admit as true and proper ; but not so the former : concerning which we may take notice, that the General, he that triumph'd, did at the first wear a garland of *Mirtle* ; as *Pliny* says, *lib. 5. cap. 30.* in after-times one of bayes, and at the last he had a golden Crown (as *Agellius* notes, *lib. 5. cap. 6.*) which, being of great weight was by a Publick Servant held over, or above, the head of the General, *supra illius verticem*, as *Alexander ab Alex.* expresses it, (*Genial. Dier. lib. 6. cap. 6.*) saying

saying also, that according to some, he had in one hand a scepter, and in the other a Bay; wearing on his head, as others add, a lighter coronet, not solid or of Gold, but gilded, *inaurata*: which was of Bayes immixt with gilded labels, as *Dempster* on *Rosinus*, lib. 10. cap. 29. describes it, in those words of *Tertullian*, lib. de coronâ milit. cap. 12. *Triumphî laurea foliis struitur, hac adumbratur lemniscis, inauratur laminulis*. When he came to the Capitol, he layd down his Laurel, and in after-times the weighry crown of Gold also in the bosom of *Jupiter*, (as acknowledging his victory unto Him) or else it was hang'd-up in some Temple, as a sacred Thing. Which things being consider'd, the word *domi* here used, does sufficiently implice, that the bayes here mention'd were to be employ'd at their houses; and so, though a bay-garland was the wear of him that triumph'd, such a custome seems not here intended; but rather, according to *Britannicus*, the use of Laurel in adorning their doors. The people then speak here, both as exciting *Themselves* to this duty of Joy, and the Emperor to his duty of Thanks, in the accustomed sacrifice of a white bull. And, because the massy crown was not worn by the General, when as the Poet says, *Quid si vidisset prætorem ferentem—aulæ toga, magnæque coronæ orbem*, it must be observ'd that *ferentem* is to be applied only to *aulæ toga*; for he that did wear the robe, did not sustain the crown: wherefore only those words *Quid si vidisset* must be repeated and applied to *magnæ coronæ orbem*; for otherwise the Poet should contradict himself, saying, that the Triumpher did wear the crown, and yet that he was not able, but another was necessary, though not without swear, to carry it for him. According to which distinction, though not taken notice of here by the Interpreters, I have by equal points divided the sentence; and so made the difference clear: without which this passage would be obscure and absurd.

16. —O fight! *Sejanus* dragg'd! —*Sejanus* ducitur unco Spectandus! The manner was in the disgraceful execution of some great offenders to draw them to the place of execution. Where the Reader may observe, that the Poet spake before of the drawing of *Sejanus* in statue with a halter; but that here he speaks of the drawing of *Sejanus* himself unco, as he speaks, with a hook. Which punishment some farther describe to have been thus perform'd; The offenders were, first drawn to Mount *Aventine* on the South part of *Rome* on the (East) side of *Tiber*, where near the Temple of *Juno Regina*, as *Alex. ab Alex.* (Gen. Liber. lib. 3. cap. 3.) says, was a place called *Scala Gemonia*, which had their name, as some think, from one *Gemonius*, who as they say first suffer'd there, or as others from *gemendo*. According to which latter reason (and probably the better) we may render them, *The groaning stairs*: women with child by reason of their pains being in somewhat a like manner called by the Romans, *Gemonida*. To which stairs say some, (for, diverse in this argument speak less diligently) the offenders being dragg'd, were cast headlong into the River; implying the place to have been on some steep of the *Aventine*, from whence the body might be so cast down. But *Rosinus* makes the casting of the body into *Tiber* and to the *Gemonies* distinct punishments proceeding commonly from distinct condemnations: for so he speaks by way of division (lib. 9. cap. 31. *Aliquando etiam contumelia causa cadavera in Tiberim, aut in Scalas Gemonias projecta*. Which though

he barely mentions, yet it may be proved clearly from that of *Sueton* concerning *Tiberius* being dead (cap. 74.) who was so dreadful alive and so odious being dead; that the People, as the *Historian* there speaks, —*ad primum nuntium discurrerent, pars Tiberium in Tiberim clamitarent; pars terram matrem deosque Manes orarent, ne mortuo sedem ullam nisi inter impios darent*: alii unum & *Gemonias* cadaveri minarentur. Yet it must likewise be acknowledg'd, that on some both punishments (and therefore it is most likely) by one condemnation, were executed as *Britannicus* here notes saying, *Damnati unco traherantur in Scalas Gemonias, interdum & Tiberim*. For proof whereof he urges that of *Lampridius* in the life of *Commodus*, *Corpus ejus ut unco traheretur, & in Tiberim mitteretur, Senatus & Populus postulavit*. Which if it does not reach home to the proof of what he intends, I may add the authority and description of *Sueton* concerning the death of *Vitellius* (cap. 17.) where he says, that his hands being bound behind him, and, *injectione cervicibus laqueo* (a halter being cast about his neck) he was *in forum trahitur*; and after other exprellions adds, *tandem apud Gemonias minutissimis illibus excarnificatus atque confectus est*; that he was drawn with a halter, and at the *Gemonies* dispatch'd; (not by being so hew'd in small peices as commonly the most render the word *excarnificatus*, especially with the addition of *minutissimis illibus* in the Author; for how could he then be afterwards *unco trahitur* if he were hew'd so small? (for so it presently follows in the *Historian*, *& inde unco trahitur in Tiberim*); but, as the learned English Interpreter of *Sueton* does aptly expound it, *with many a small stroke all to mangled he was and killed in the end, and so from thence drawn with a dragee into the river Tiber*. Whence we may observe somewhat differently from *Britannicus*, who said, *Damnati unco traherantur in Scalas Gemonias*, that when he was drawn into the Forum, it was *laqueo*; but that *unco* is not mention'd to have been used, till he was a carcass; and that the *Scala Gemonia* were not such a precipice, whence the body was thrown headlong into the River; but that there was so much distance, that from the *Gemonies* the bodie was afterwards dragg'd with the hook into *Tiber*: whereas had the place afforded an instant fall for the carcass into the river, the *unco* had been rather a Delay, then a Dispatch. The Map of *Rome* (either Old, or New) presented by *Bertellius* a *Paduan* in his *Theatrum urbium Italicarum*, may clear this doubt by the view of the *Aventine* Mount, on which now stands the Temple of *St. Sabina*, as is shew'd by *Andres Palladio* in his brief, but pithy treatise in Spanish call'd *Las Antiquedades de Roma*, p. 113.

17. —Had but *Nurtia* blest'd Her Tuscan —. —*Si Nurtia Tusco Favisset* —. *Sejanus* was a Tuscan, more particularly a *Volsinian*, as *Tacitus* testifies, *Annal. 4.* and *Nurtia* was the Goddess of the *Volsinians*, as *Livy* testifies, (*Decad. 1. lib. 7.*) and others. By which *Nurtia*, the *Scholias*t says, *Fortune* is understood: which is agreeable to *Marianus Capella* (*de Nuptiis Philologia*) who also says, that *Fortune* was signified by *Nurtia*: both which might be true, and both here aptly intended: the Poet meaning that if *Fortune*, especially the *Volsinian's Fortune* had favour'd her own Country-man; *turbæ Remi* (for so the best copies have it, though some read *turbæ tremens*, and some *fremens*) the base Romans, that judge of things by the event, would, of the same materials, have made of a Traitor an Emperor.

18. Bread and the Circus.—*Panem & Circenses*. The Poet says, that whiles the degenerating Romans had left one kind of baseness, the *Selling of their Suffrages*, which was their custom before the Libertie of the Commonwealth was quite oppress'd by the Monarchie of the *Cæsars*, they were fallen to another, a servile sloth: caring for no publick affairs, or the glory of their Country; but, so they might have but *Victuals and Pleasure*, the pleasure of the *Circensian Shews*, too basely they reckon'd themselves in a happy case. Where we may observe [what the Interpreters take not notice of] the Poet's Satyricall expression of the People; who, as he says, *effugit curas*, and yet presently adds, *anxius optat*; seeing them indeed, as having left-off Cares, but for worse cares, and more vain. But some, as the Author of the Manuscript Commentary, would have *Pana & Circenses*, expounding it by the *Lupercalia* dedicated to *Pan*, which sports indeed were filthy, and so might please corrupt minds: but these pleasures were too short and cursorie, to give satisfaction to a whole People; and far from the general warrant of Copies. Some others would have *Pannum & Circenses*, because at the *Circensian Games* the Factions of the Chariotiers were distinguish'd by the Colour of their Cloth: but of this there will be occasion to speak towards the end of the 11th Satyre; yet, for the Present, as *Britannicus* rightly notes, *Pannum* and *Circenses* were in effect but the same thing, and so would be but a tautologie; besides the Poet expressly says — *Duas tantum res anxius optat*. The most receiv'd Reading is *Panem*, and illustrated from that of *Tacitus*, *vulgus, cui una ex Rep. annona cura*: and so the *tessere frumentariae* are here thought to be understood; which were certain tokens, which being brought to the Overseer or *Præfessus frumenti dividendi*, the poorer sort did monthly receive an allowance of corn, as *Sueton* also implies in his *Augustus*, cap. 40. They were called *tessere* from their fashion, they being little square peices of wood; though afterwards there were some round, *opaleia iuxta Eurara*, as *Dio* (in *Tiro*) shews; the forms of which *Pignoris de Servis* expresses in Sculpture. They had certain marks on them, as *Turnebus* notes, *Advers. lib. 19. cap. 26. Theodorus Martilius* on that of *Persius* [Sat. 5.] *Tesserula possidet*, makes the difference between the round ones and the square ones, *Ille rotunda ut spargerentur in capita: ha quadrata quia distribuuntur*: so that the square ones were deliver'd to every one, and were their set or ordinary *tessera*; but the round ones were *missilium tessera*, [though improperly call'd *tessera*] such as upon a more especial and Princely bounty were scatter'd among the People.

19. *Magna est fornacula*. The Poet here mentions the speeches, which passed about the fall of *Sejanus*, implying that many more were likely to suffer death, because, as the report went, *Magna est fornacula*! Which some understand plainly of a great furnace prepar'd, with horror to destroy *Sejanus* his associates, and that by the Poet in a Satyricall jeer it is by way of contraries called *Magna fornacula*. Indeed the *Scholias* seems to take notice of this opposition, saying, *Multas habet fornax quos exurat*; seeming to avoid the inconvenience of the speech, by making it, though but *fornacula*, yet to be call'd *Magna*; not in respect of the proper capacity, but in regard of the effect: seeing that what a great one could do at once, this to as full purpose should do in continuance. But this, methinks, were to slow for the rage of a

Cæsar; and *Britannicus* not liking, it seems, that exposition, says, *Magnam est incendium, hoc est, res maxime excidit & furoris movetur*: yet others, I think, speak a little nearer to the truth, who take *fornacula* for the Emperor's flaming revenge. From which last exposition we may select a perfect sense, if with the Poet we retain the literal exposition by an *Oven or Furnace*; but according to these last Authors, understand the figurative sense. Yet thus far I will differ from them; that whereas They would have *fornacula* to signifie the rage it self; I rather think it to signifie, the breast, the Seat of the rage or revenge: for otherwise the rage must be call'd, as suitable to the *fornacula*, a little rage; which is both false and absurd; because against the principal intent of the Poet: but being applied to the breast, by saying *That was but small*, is truly Satyricall, expressing the narrow size even of an Emperor's breast, but the vast Rage and fury flaming thence: according to which sense, as if he had said, *Magna est fornacula nostra*, I render it, *Tis sure, our small Furnace breaths flames*; that is, our Emperor's breast, though but of the size of another man's, is outrageously hot. I may add here, that whereas the Person speaking here adds a farther reason of his Fear, to wit, that his friend *Brutidius* look'd pale, as he met him at *Mars* his Altar, *Lubin* notes upon the words, *ad Martis*] *Ultoris scilicet*; as if he would intimate That to be a farther Cause of his fear; which, methinks, is too nice; for, no doubt, he look'd pale, before he met him there.

20. I'me afraid, our great *Ajax* o'recome revenge will take, as ill Guarded—! *Quam timor, vitæ ne penus exigat Ajax Ut male defensus—!* *Britannicus* understands this as spoken of *Brutidius*; that is, I fear least my friend *Brutidius* like *Ajax* when he was overcome, will kill himself, and so escape worse torture, as some in the reign of *Tiberius* did. But the *Scholias*, and so the most, understand it of *Tiberius*, who, as he that speaks here fears, will become as outrageous upon occasion of this impudent treason of ignoble *Sejanus*; pretending also that he has been no better defended by his Subjects in this his danger, then *Ajax* was in his cause, wherein he fail'd; and that therefore he will fall upon man and beast, like disdainful and raging *Ajax*. And this exposition I the rather choose, first, because the other exposition does not in part agree to *Ajax*; for though *Brutidius* might, as he did, kill himself, yet *Ajax* did it not to scape a worse torment: Secondly, because I conceive it more natural, in a great and sodain fear, for a man to forget the danger of Others, and provide for himself; and so the person here speaking should seem, for a time, more solicitous for Himself, then for *Brutidius*. And indeed thus congruously and presently it follows, *Curramus Præcipites &—calceamus Cæsaris hostem*; let us with all speed do some act, whereby we Our selves may be beyond all suspicion of confederacy: and one most eminent act of this kind he thinks to be, to trample on the carcass of *Sejanus*, whiles he yet lies on the banke of *Tiber*, *Dum jacet in ripa*. Where we may observe, as we did before on this Satyre, *Illustrat. 16.* that there was some space between the *Scala Gemonis* and the River; a high præcipice over a River being not properly call'd *ripa*: which is, as it is commonly thought, so call'd from *elra, idum*; and therefore low, that the water may beat against it. *Lubin* therefore speaks distinctly, whiles he says, *in ripa*] *Sub scaltis Gemonis inssepulius*; making the bank;

banke a diffinit and lower place, then the *Scala Gemonia*.

21. —With a *Chaldie* Heard retir'd To *Caprea* his Court-Rock? — *Augusta Capream in rupe sedentis Cum grege Chaldaeo* —? The Poet here sportingly asks a Roman, if he would now choose such a Lot as the Best of *Sejanus*, to have also the worst of him; and so whether he would, at *Sejanus* his price, be as it were Protector to the Aged Emperor; who ignominiously retir'd with a rout of *Chaldeans*, that is, *Diviners*, and such leud Impostors (to whom he was mainly addicted) unto the obscure Island *Caprea*, called, at this day, by Mariners, *Capri*, and here by the Poet, *Augusta rupe*; lying in the *Fyrrhene* Sea, near *Surventum*, on the South East side of the Entrance of the Bay before *Naples*. But here we must take notice; that some read *angusta rupe*; which though it were true, it being but a small or narrow rock, yet *angusta* is the more Satyricall; his Imperial, or Court-Rock; the Poet so terming it, because *Tiberius* had remov'd his Court thither, where he did live in all impuritie. Concerning *grege Chaldaeo*, see *Drusius* his Notes, p. 89. on *Sulpitius Severus*, lib. 1. and also his Observations, which he there cites, lib. 8. cap. 22.

22. —And *Pratorian* Campe. — *Et castra domestica*. The *Pratorian* Guard, appointed for the safety of the Prince's person; over which *Sejanus* had the Command, and was the first, as the *Scholiast* says, that placed them *juxta aggerem, id est, Diocletianus*, he means *Therma*. The *Castra Pratoria* are by *Reinow*, lib. 1. cap. 13. placed *extra murum pomarium*, at the North-East part of *Rome* beyond the wall of the City; and so presented by *Bertellius* in his map of *Old Rome*. *Britannicus* makes these souldiers and *egregios equites* here mention'd to be the same; adding that the Romans call'd these more especially *Stratorem*; or the men of war.

23. Or Rule, at *Gabii* and *Fidene*, bear? *An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas?* Were it not better, says he, to be a poor Magistrate, at some obscure Town, or but a Market-Clark, where one might have freedom and safety, then to dwell in Honour and Danger? where it may be observ'd, that the word *Potestas*, properly signifying Magistracy, is here used for the Magistrate himself; as likewise by *Pliny*, lib. 9. cap. 8. *Injuria potestatum inhospitalis*.

24. To *Ceres* Son-in-Law, &c. *Ad generum Cereris, &c.* Few Princes there are, says the Poet (he means unjust ones, as he expounds it, by adding *tyranni*) who attain to Kingdoms by fraud or blood, that without blood descend to the grave, or Lower, to *Pluto*, who married *Proserpina* the daughter of *Ceres*, as it is in the fable. Many such passages the high-spirited Romans did oft let fall in their writings, even in the times of the Empire, having still a remembrance of their old Libertie, and a quick sense of the encroachment made upon them by the power of their own Citizens now become their Emperors.

25. He craves all *Pallas* Feast-days without shame, Whose young three farthings wit can yet scarce prate On whom a keeper and small fatchel waite.

Totius Quinquatribus opat Quisquis adhuc vno partam colit asse Minervam, Quem sequitur custos angusta vermula capsa. He shews, how that old and young have vain and dangerous desires; and that even boyes but newly put to School, and attended-on by other boyes, which carry their fatchels for them, though they

have scarce gotten more then three-farthings-worth of learning, will yet at the *Quinquatria*, a Five-days-feast instituted to the honour of *Minerva*, the Patroness of wit, earnestly pray, to be as famous for Eloquence, as *Tully*, or *Demosthenes*. In which point some things are needful to be clear'd. The name *Quinquatria* some think to come from *quinque* and *ater*, this feast being kept for five days after the *Ides of March*; the next day after which, was accounted, *dies ater*, or an unlucky day; yet this feast strictly began neither on the *Ides*, nor on the day immediately following; the *Ides* of that Month being on the 15th. day, and the *dies ater* consequently on the 16th. But the *Quinquatria* begun on the 19th. of that Month, and ended on the 23d. day; as appears from the *Roman Calendar*, in which the first day of this feast is not'd with the letter N, implying it to be *dies nefastus*; which oftentimes signifies *unlucky*, and so might be taken for *dies ater*, which would quite cross this exposition: but in the *Calendar*, *nefastus* was such a day, as the *Prator* late not in Court, and so was, as we say, not a *Law-day*. Yet others admitting *quinque* to imply the number of the days of the Feast, more easily account *atria* but a terminative addition to *quinque*; as *Agellius* in effect implies, lib. 2. cap. 21. and likewise the *Scholiast* seems to intimate: whose Copie, though it be here corrupt, yet sensibly yields these words, *Atria abundat*. It may be next observ'd, that on the first day of the *Quinquatria* was *Minerva's* Birth-day; and that on That day School-masters receiv'd their *Minerval* or Pay, as is noted in the *Roman Calendar*. But whereas the words which follow, namely, *colit asse Minervam*, are commonly understood of the School-boy; *Jacobus Nicolaus Loensis* in his *Miscell. Epiphyl.* lib. 2. cap. 13. expounds it of the School-master himself, thinking it unfit, that such desires (as, to prove equal to *Tully* or *Demosthenes*) should be attributed to Children. He shews then that School-masters did offer their first Gain, from their Scholar unto *Minerva*, whose Image was in their School, citing for proof, that of *Tertullian* (*Lib. de Idololatria*). *Quis Ludimagister sine tabula septem Idolorum; Quinquatria tamen frequentabit?* but *Junius* has it better thus, *Quis Ludimagister si non tabularia Idolorum, Quinquatria tamen non frequentabit? Ipsam primam novi discipuli stipem, Minerva & nomini & honori consecrat.* *Loensis* then adds, that such was the ambition even of a School-master, though he had but a boy, to carry a fatchel of books for him; and therefore he reprehends *Politian* among others for embracing the common opinion. But though we should grant, that in the School there was the Image of *Minerva*, and that the School-master might invite her favour, with the first gains, which he had of every new Scholar; yet he proves not that this is intended in this place: and some things seem to prove the contrary, if we consider the latter part of the expression of the person. For if it be thus expounded, of the School-master, it were ridiculous to say, that he had one to carry his fatchel after him. Besides, that *Capitius* was a servant attending children to School, is most known, as *Britannicus* rightly notes upon *Ulpian*, *titulo, de manumissis vindicta*, and he is here called, *vermula*, implying, that he was the Son of a maid-servant; and so being born in a rich man's house, attended upon his young master to the School. Which particulars do not so sort with the ordinary condition of Schoolmasters in those days. Likewise it was not then a likely way of advancement for School-

masters to aim at *Tullie's* honours: neither do I think, that the singularity of *Quintilian's* example could be a sufficient temptation to move any wise man to such a mounting appetite. We may observe also the words *angusta capsa*; which to apply to the Schoolmaster, were probably to make him have as little store of learning, as of books, if a small satchel could contain his provision, which yet was convenient for a boy. But I may not omit, that the Scholiast here by *uno parcam — asse Minervam*, does in a first exposition understand some earthen statue of *Minerva* (*figulis Minerva signum*) bought at that vile price; and so does *Lubin* on the words *Eloquium ex sumam* say, — *Minervam, qua minime unius asse precio comparari potest, colit et veneratur*: by which last words it is clear, that he speaks of the statue of the goddess, and the price of that statue. Yet afterwards on the words, *uno asse*, he expounds it not of the statue, but differently from himself (though truly in respect of the sense) by *mercede*, the Schoolmasters pay; referring us for that purpose to *Sat. 9.* and adding, *Parum enim preceptoribus dabatur*. But the Scholiast better weighing the matter, adds — *aut qui tenuis adhuc eloquium habet*, taking *Minerva* here not for the Goddess or her statue, but for her Gift, Wit and Eloquence: and so does *Britannicus* rightly expound it by — *qui adhuc primis elementis inhaeret*, or to express it in the Poet's phrase, that had yet no more learning, than he had purchas'd with three farthings. The reason of the former uncertainties and mistakes in the Interpreters was, as I conceive, occasion'd by the meer mention of *Quinquaria* and *colit*: for, they seeing a sacred feast mentioned, wherein they especially worshipp'd *Minerva*, and farther hearing the Poet say, *colit Minervam*, took *colit* for *veneratur*, and so *Minerva* for the Goddess, or her statue. Whereas *Minerva* signifying here Wit and Eloquence, *colit* signifies only the Dressing or trimming of it by Study, not a Worshipping of the Goddess's Statue. And whereas at the Feast they did pray to *Minerva*, that is implied, though not here, as they probably mistook; but in the precedent verse, in the words *optare* and *optat*, sufficiently expressing, by the repetition, the fervour of their devotion, According to which examin'd sense I render it, whose young three-farthings-wit can yet scarce prate, that is, who has yet no more Eloquence, then he could purchase *uno asse*.

26. *O fortunatam natam, me Consule Romam.* *Quintilian* (*lib. 9. cap. 4.*) gives a rule against this manner of like sounds; though the like be found again, as *Rigabius* notes, in *Tullie's Epistles*; *Res mihi invisa, visa sunt Brute*. This as a fault the Scholiast calls *cacemphaton*; and *Tullie's* adversaries leerd him for this: which fashion of figure was, it seems, quite out of request in *Juvenal's* time also; for I suppose he speaks but according to common opinion. Yet *Turnebus* (*Advers. lib. 7. cap. 19.*) dislikes this dislike both in *Quintilian* and *Juvenal*, shewing that it was an acceptable elegance with the Ancients, as in that of *Virgil. 3. Aeneid.* — *Tules casus Cassandra canebat*. But if a *Musitan* shall judge this Controverſie, I may in defence of our Poet referre it to *Pedro Cerone* a Spaniard, in his ample work, *de la Musica, lib. 12. cap. 6.* where he reprehends this verse for the doubling of the parts, *natam, natam*, and for the termination of the verse in the syllable *am*; this found *am* being pronounced three times in this one verse. The like fault he finds with the beginning of that *Epistle* of *Cicero* to *Lentulus Praefectus*, *Ego omni officio*; in

which three words the vowel *O* is sounded four times; and delivers it as a rule in *Musick*, that the frequency of *Unison* is less acceptable to the ear. See him, p. 674. The Poet here adds, that he would indeed rather be the Author of such a silly verse of *Tully*, then of the best Oration, that e're he made, namely his second *Philippick* (against *Antonie*); for this unhappily cost him his life: though (I may add) *Juvenal* himself ventur'd far enough (in his libertie of Satyre) against this Rule of his own Wildome.

27. At whose curbe the full Theater retir'd. — *Ex pleni moderatam frons Theatri.* *Theatrum* has been here commonly taken for an Assembly of Auditors: but the Learned *Heraldas* in his *Adversar. lib. 2. cap. 16.* accurately and largely endeavours to shew, that it ought to be taken properly for the Theater it self, that being the place among the Greeks where usually the People met and heard their Orations concerning the weighty affairs of the Commonwealth. To this purpose he alleges *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Isocrates*, *Heliodorus*, and that of *St. Luke, Act. 19. vers. 29.* where, in the tumult, it is said, that the People rushed *in to the Theater*. This exposition is follow'd by *Lubin* and *Antonius* (which last proves it farther out of *Tacitus* and *Justin*) but without any mention of *Heraldas*; to whose observation I may only add this, that both these Opinions put together do indeed make up a perfect exposition. For, to take the Theater properly, will not admit a right sense, it being unfit to say, the Theater retir'd: again, to take the word only for an Assembly, without reference to the Theater, is to neglect that point of Antiquitie, which necessarily here presents it self. But to take it figuratively for the Assembly in the Theater; does both reconcile the Interpreters, and fully clear the place.

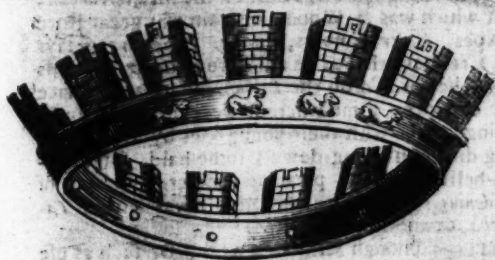
28. From Coal, tongs, anvil, upon which he made Good Swords. — *A carbone et foveis gladiosque parante Incude*. That *Demosthenes* his Father was a Cutler or one that made Swords, *Juvenal* here affirms; and by way of disgrace *Demosthenes* was therefore called, *μακρογλωττης*, by *Aeschines*; yet *Theopompus* in *Plutarch* as *Brodau* notes in his *Miscellan. lib. 4. cap. 26.* acknowledges that he was both an honest and a wealthy man. And *Demosthenes* himself in his Oration *κατ' επος* says, *ο γδ πατρις υαριστης διο ιππαστην τρυφει ο μακρο γλωττης, μακρογλωττης εσθ' οτακτορα η διο*; over which great number of Servants, some of his freed-men, or his *atriensis* had the oversight and charge, as *Brodau* thinks. Which I note to shew both what warrant *Juvenal* had for his speech, that he might not be thought to speak enviously of so brave a man, as also in what sense it is to be understood. And this Orator also the Poet here makes another example of humane misery: who after all his glory of Eloquence, when the *Macedonian* had overcome the *Athenians*, and, to spare the City, requir'd *Demosthenes* to be deliver'd to him, that he might be punish'd, was glad, so to escape cruelty, to poison himself.

29. — A coat of mail fixt high On Trophie's snaggles. — *Truncis affixa trophais Lorica*. The manner in war was, where the Conquerer in battle put the enimie to flight, to erect a Trophie in memorie of it: which they did by cutting down a tree, lopping off the branches, fixing it in the ground, and then hanging upon it the spoils wonne from the enimie; among which he reckons *aplustra*,

or *amplustras*, which is taken for the ornaments of a ship, as the flag and the like; being deriv'd, as Festus has it, from *amplius*, quia *amplius erant quam necessaria*, (which I note only because the word is less obvious) some in a like sense, from *a* and *navis*, being things not absolutely necessarie in the ship, that is, such things as belong'd to the ship, yet without which they might sail. Scaliger brings it from *a* *navis*, and so from *a* and *navis*, quod non facile contunditur; others by an anaphora from *navis*. An ancient expression of a trophie thou may'st here see. * Almost the like is in a silver coin



of Vespasian for the overthrow of Jerusalem. Du Choul. p. 10. de la Relig. des Ancien. Rom. The name *Trophie* was from *τροπή*, a turning back. In the like manner (that we may here explain it) they did use to raise triumphant Arches of marble in the form of three huge gates, like a stately Palace, (as Panciroli speaks) upon occasion of winning some new Country or City to the Roman State: on which Arches were Inscriptions sometimes in brass with the Triumphant Conqueror and the sad Captive expressed, according to the Poet, — *Et summo tristis captivus in arcu*. In like manner also there was bestow'd on him that won in a Sea-fight, a Naval Coronet; as on him that first scald a fort, a Naval Coronet, which Antiquity thus presents to us. * Now,



Juv. Sat. X. Illust. 29.

says, the Poet, after these vanities it is, that the Gracian, Roman and the Barbarian General labour so much; where by barbarus induperator is understood the Persian; and in this Saryre afterwards by Barbarus is simply meant Xerxes, though Britannicus expounds it by Vespasian. But in ancient times, as in the Age of Demosthenes and somewhat before him, the use was, when they said absolutely *Βασιλεὺς Περσέων*, to understand the Persian King; as *Lilius Bisciola*, *Hor. Subseciv. lib. 1. cap. 21.* copiously and learnedly shews, discoursing on this word.

30. — And to th' Other Elephants. — *Aliosque Elephantas*. The Poet's next instance is in Hannibal, who, as he says, was not content with all Africa, though reaching from the Atlantick Ocean, wherewith it is wash'd, (perchance, says Pirhaeus his copie, not *perfusa*, as the common ones have it) even to Nilus, and compassing in the South the *Æthiopians* and Their Elephants: but he would needs fetch another compass Northward, in respect of Carthage and the Mediterranean, through Spain, the Pyreanean Hills, and the Alps; nay, and aim to place his Ensign in the very Suburra, a chief street of Rome. Whereas then some here tell us, that he pass'd from France over the Pyreanean Mountains into Spain, it is without proof. For, as *Livie* relates it, he came first to Spain, upon *Carteia* (now *Cartagena*) and, after many famous actions, pass'd the Pyreanean Mountains into France: otherwise he had pass'd those Hills twice, without necessity, which had not sort'd with Hannibal's wit or Speed. But alas, says the Poet what was the end of this fierce Man? He was put to flight, and of a Conqueror became a Client to *Prusias* the Bithynian King, at whose Prætorium, or Court, he was glad to wait for a hearing, till as he says, the tyrant pleas'd to awake: and when at last the Romans sent to this his great Patron for their enemy Hannibal, this fierce and unhappy man, to escape shame, dispatch'd himself with poison, which he carried always about him in a Ring, as the Poet implies. In which relation some things may be a little consider'd; as first that expression, *alios Elephantas*; by which he understands the Elephants of *Æthiopia*, which is in the South of Africa, there being another according to an ancient and less examin'd opinion, in Asia: though the opposition here implied is not between the diverse *Æthiopia*, but the Elephants of most note, that is between the East Indian and the African. Some read here *aliosque elephantas*; but this is too obvious an epithet; whereas, according to the other reading, *Statius* (*lib. 10. Thebaid.*) speaks of the *Æthiopians* themselves, as *Juvenal* here of their Elephants, *Æthiopesque alios*. Secondly we may consider the manner of Hannibal's passage over the Alps, the Poet saying, that he made his way through mountains with vinegar: which has relation to *Livie*, who (*Decad. 3. lib. 1.*) says, that when Hannibal's forces were to make a passage through a rock, they cut-down huge trees, made a great pile of them, set them on fire, using the advantage of the wind, *ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt*; and that with vinegar pour'd upon the fire they did rot the stones. Which passage I mention not for the probability of it (it being more warily omitted by *Polybius*, as fabulous) but to save the Reader from vexing his phantasie at the guess of the device. Lastly we may note, that the poet calls Hannibal *Lusemum*, which is because in that dangerous passage, he is said to have lost an eye: and thus indeed according

according to this jeer, he is presented in picture by Opmeer in his *Chronologie*. p. 140. * yet I think not

brought back again, that is, turn them with a mark, that so they might be known and shamed, *Herodotus* (lib. 7.) says; that he caus-



HANNIBAL Carthagenensis

Juven. Sat. X. l. 30.

as the *Scholiast* relates it, that the loss of his eye came by Lightning; but rather as *Livie* thinks, who better ascribes it to his distemper through heats and colds, moist air and night-watchings.

31. Which *Softratus* does chaunt with moistned wings — *madidis cantat quæ Softratus ulis*. The Poet having touched upon the vanity of *Alexander* the Great born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*, and his death (by poison) at *Babylon* in the height of his Conquests, adds the Lot and folly of *Xerxes*, who, as he says, sail'd about Mount *Atbos*, as the old world thought, and digg'd a chanel through it (as some have it) of a mile and an half in length, and so broad, that two ships might meet and safely pass by one another. Besides, the Poet *Softratus* relates, that he did other strange things; namely, that he scourged the Winds (*Corus*, the North-West, and *Eurus* the East-wind) for throwing-down his ship-bridge almost a mile in length, on which he drove chariots over the Sea between *Europe* and *Asia*. Yet this was inferior to *Caligula's* bridge of ships between *Baia* and the piles at *Puteoli*, above three miles and an half in length, as *Sueton* relates in his life, cap. 19. See *Saryre* 2. *Ilust.* 1. The said *Softratus* adds, that *Xerxes* ridiculously cast fetters into the Sea, and so shackled *Neptune* *Ennosigæus*, so called, because his waves beat-upon and shook the Land, or as *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. 17. gives the reason out of *Anaximander*, because of the Earth-quakes attributed to *Neptune*, the waters or great showers getting into the rifts of the parch'd Earth together with the Air likewise there inclosed, causing terrible vapours; as he describes it. The same mad *Xerxes* commanded them to give the Sea 300. Strokes with a scourge, and to box it, not without a frantic execration. And whereas our Poet says, it was well that he did not *Stigmatize* it, as they used fugitive servants, when they were

ed this also to be done. In which expression those words concerning the Poet *Softratus*, *madidis alis*, are somewhat differently understood, *Rigaltius* expounding them by *sudantibus axillis*; and so anciently the *Scholiast* saying, *Madidis — ideo, quia omnes qui cum sollicitudine recitant, necesse est ut a la eis sudent. Sic Horatius, — sudor ad imos Manabat talos*. But this acception of *ala* for *axilla* here does not prevail; and it seems somewhat affected and remote to take it so: for though *Softratus* might take pains in his poetical descriptions of *Xerxes* his Expedition; yet to express his study of supposed recitation, by his sweating under the arm-pits, seems an overplus. Others, though they give no reason of their refusing that exposition, understand better, I think, whiles figurative of his poetical wings, that is, his wit moistned with wine, by which he chaunted-out lofty phantasies.

32. *Hoc resto vultu solum hoc & pallidus optat*. The *Scholiast* and *Lubin* understand by *resto vultu*] *leto & tristi*, and *omni vite tempore*; I rather think it expresses a countenance directed to the God, to whom they pray'd; and so signifies, that when they pray'd for long life, they did it confidently; that is, without blushing, thinking That to be but a fair request, as being but their desire to worship the Gods here on earth, as long as they might; according to which sense I render it, with face direct—

33. In *Tabraca's* large shades—. *Tabraca* is a City in *Africa propria*, as *Ortelius* describes it, now call'd the Kingdome of *Tunis*, on the *Mediterranean*; near which was a Wood, wherein was great store of Apes, as *Strabo* notes, lib. 17. *Pofidonius* (says he) relates, that as he sail'd from *Cadiz* towards *Italie*, he touch'd on the *Lybian* shoar, at a place full of Apes: some whereof were in trees, some sitting; some with their young ones by them, and long dugges hanging-down; some bald, some broken-bellied; as he pleasantly describes it out of *Pofidonius*. Surely we may add, 't was either *Tabraca*, or another *Tabraca*.

34. — Though *Seleucus* 't were, Or such as use th'embroyder'd cloak to wear. — *Sirvè Seleucus, Aut quibus aurata mos est fulgere lacerna*. In the description here of old men, the Poet says, that whereas in young men there is great variety of faces, in old men there seems none; probably he means by reason of their wrinkles, in which respect they seem all alike; alike indeed in feebleness, and some alike in the unseemliness of too moist, or childish, a nose, aptly here call'd, *madidi infantia nasi*; alike in many other irksome infirmities, which even *Coffus* could not, by any wit of Covetousness, command himself to endure, though he would almost endure any thing, cogging with the rich and childless, in hope of an estate. Besides, says the Poet, an old man is in a manner deaf,

deaf, not hearing Musick, though never so sweet or loud; no not *Selenus* a prime Musitian, or such, as according to the fashion of those times, did use being clothed, for the delight of the Spectatours in a rich embroydered garment, to walk and sing upon the Stage. For in the Theater they did use the *Lacerna*, call'd by *Britannicus*, *palla aurata*, and by some, *tunica tularis*. This custome is expressed by *Tully*, or whosoe're is the author *ad Herennium*, lib. 4. saying, *ut citradus, cum prodierit optime vestitus, palla inaurata indutus, cum chlamyde purpurea coloribus variis intertextâ, &c. cum corona magnis fulgentibus gemmis illuminata, cytharam tenens exornatissimam auro & ebore distinctam, &c.* Horace also (*de Arte Poetica*) implies it in these words, *sic prisca morumque & luxuriam addidit arti Tibicen, traxitque vagas per palpia vestem*. Where we must take notice, that the garments, which these Musicians used, were not all of the same fashion or length; for some were short, as the *chlamys* is described to be; some moderate, as the *palla*; some longer, as sometimes the *lacerna*; some trailing on the ground, as that describ'd by *Horace*. Whence we must most probably conclude, that such variety of expression could not proceed from a carelessness in such excellent authors, but from a true variety and libertie in the fashions of the garments.

35. —How many Sick in one Autumn *Themison* did bane ye. *Quot Themison agros autumnio occiderit uno*. The Poet accusing old age of innumerable maladies, expresses it with the wit of an unexpected comparison, saying that a man may as easily number *Hippias*'s paramours; or tell how many patients the Physician *Themison* (commended by *Pliny* and *Celsus*, though here jeer'd-at) kills ye familiarly in one Autumn; or how many wealthy Provincials *Basilus* an unjust governour has undone in his province, by turning them out of their estates to enrich himself; or how many innocent Wards *Irus* a known Guardian has cosen'd; and (to omit some impurities) how many Towns *Licinius* (or, as by some he is called, *Cinnamus*) is now Lord of, who, when my beard (says the Poet) was first cut, was but a barber, and now of a barber is become a Senator, says the *Scholias*t. In which description the Poet repeats the words, which he used, of this *Licinius*, in the first Satyre, fixing them on him, as a constant jeer. Which singularly witty and unexpected comparison in this passage justly applauded, is a little severely entertain'd by some offended with the number of the instances; whereas the number of them, which here are jeer'd-at, is compriz'd in so few lines, that it may justly invite commendations, for the delightful art. The Poet adds one more, and the worst infirmities, Dotage: which makes a man, by an unnatural Testament, disinherit his own children, giving all to a *Phiale*, a leud housewife (for some impure offices) though such a one, as the Poet fitly speaks, that has lived always in the jail of the Stews.

36. —View they must Urnes fill'd with their dear sister's bones and dust. —*Plenaque sororibus urnæ*. The usual manner of the Romans was to burn the bodies of the dead, then gather the ashes and the bones, and put them in pitchers or pots (which were called *urnæ*, vessels containing 4 gallons and a half a peice) sometimes of earth and sometimes of brass, as *Panciro* (*lib. 1. Tit. 62.*) more particularly observes; and so place the better sort in stately vaults belonging to great families, I omit here the recital of any other Rites concerning

their funerals, it being an argument purposely and largely handled by many. I may only mention the device, which they used, as some teach us, in burning the body to preserve notwithstanding the ashes and bones from mixing with the ashes of the wood, with which it was burnt. Which, some say, was perform'd by wrapping the body in a sheet made of a kind of flax, call'd *asbestinum*, and *asbeston*, inextinguishable (and mention'd by *Pliny*, lib. 29. cap. 1.) it being of that nature, that it is not consum'd, but only cleans'd, by the fire.

37. —And now count his years on his Right hand. —*Atque suos jam dextra computat annos*. The Poet shewing that old age is oftentimes the occasion of much misery, instances in *Nestor* King of *Pylos* (in *Arcadia*, as *Strabo* says) who, though he lived, as some say, almost 300. years, and consequently for age was the nearest to the long-liv'd crow, which some report to live 900. years; and that so according to the custome he reckon'd his age upon his Right hand: yet when in his Old age he saw his dear Son *Annilochus*, who was now grown a man and bearded, unhappily slain, and his beard burn (as the Poet says) in his funeral fire, then he bewail'd and accused his Old age. The like, says he, did also *Pelem* in his Old age, who liv'd to mourn for his Son *Achilles* treacherously slain with darts by *Paris* and *Deiphobus* in *Apollo's* Temple, when he thought to have been married to *Polyxena*; the like also did Old *Laertes*, who mourned for his Son *Ulysses* wandering at Sea for ten years space. In which passage the Poet intimates a point of Antiquitie, concerning the art of numbring upon the hands: but the Interpreters telling us only that there was such a custome, but not searching out the manner (excepting only that they say, that they reckon'd on the Left had unto 100. and afterwards on the Right unto 1000.) it will be neither unpleasant nor unprofitable to clear this obscurity; diverse passages in ancient Authors both Greek and Latin intimating it, and some places in *St. Jerom* being not to be understood without it. He indeed in His time mentions it, and *Cassiodorus* (in *Variis*); the learned *Beda* also discourfes of it, and in latter times some more searching men have touch'd upon it, as *Rhodigine*, *Lylius Gyraldus*, and *Christophorus Scobar* (in an Epistle to *Matthæus Barrelius*; it is the 24th. in the Century of Philological Epistles publish'd by *Goldastus*) and of late *Johannes Woverius* in his *Polymatheia*, c. 7. but above all and anciently *Nicolaus Smyrnaeus Astasidas*, who has written a little Treatise in Greek publish'd by *Morellus*, to wit, *ἱερογώνων τῶν δακτυλίων μυστῶν*, some chapters whereof are set-down by the learned *Cassinius*, *de Eloquentia*, lib. 9. cap. 8. where he expresses, *Vermiculatos digitorum flexus*, as *Martianus* speaks, and as *Cassinius* terms it, *rationem numerandi puidiusculam*. In the description whereof I shall need only to examine what *Astasidas* and *Gyraldus* say; these two being the most diligent in this argument: but of those I take the first for the truth, as writing both anciently and purposely; though some things in the last also I shall observe. But first it will be necessarie to set-down the names of the fingers, by which they have been anciently called. The Thumb then is called *Pollex*, *pollux*, ἀντίχρῳ and μίγας. The Fore-finger, is called δακτύλιος, *Index*, and *Salutaris* (as by *Capella*); because with that stretch'd-forth the Ancients did use to express themselves in Salutation. It was likewise call'd λικάρδι from λείχω, (to lick); though some expound this by the Middle-finger. It is by some

some called *prior digitus* (as by us usually, the *Fore-finger*): so *Apuleius* (in *Asino*) expressing the manner of *Adoration* says, *Admoventes oribus suis dexteram priore digito in erectum pollicem residente*; holding their thumb upright and the end of the fore-finger resting upon the top of it, they moved it to their lipps. The *Middle-finger* was called *medius*, *medius unguis* (as some say, but see in this *Satyre*, *Illustrat.* 10.) *ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέσου, infamis*, *famosus*, *verpus*, and *καλὸς ὄντις*. The *Ring-finger* (next to the *Little-finger*) was anciently called *annularis*; though strictly that finger only on the left hand should be so called, because of a vein commonly supposed to come to that finger on the left hand, from the heart: for which cause anciently it had the ring put on it in marriage. But, by the way, the learned *Bartholinus* (in his *Anatomie*, lib. 4. cap. 1. notes this opinion concerning such a supposed vein as false and contrarie to *Anatomie*. (See *Satyre*, 6. *Illust.* 3.) This finger was term'd also *δακτυλίος*, *παγκύστιος*, *ἐνθάτος*, *λαρεῖς*, *medicus* and *medicinalis*, because *Physicians* commonly stir'd their compositions with that finger. The *Little-finger* was called, *minimus*, *minusculeus*, *ultimus*, *μικτός*, *παρεῖς* and *auricularis* or *αὐρικός*. As for the Order of them, *Astasbasdas* reckons the *Little-finger* first, the *Ring-finger* as Second, and so forward; and for the Custom to it self, he says that they reckon'd *Unities* and *Decades* on the *Left hand*; as on the *Right*, *Hundreds* and *Thousands*. By which rule we may presently judge of their Opinion, who in this passage attribute 90. years to the life of *Nestor*; making an Age to signifie but 30. years; and so allowing him but three ages, all can arise but to 90. years: whereas the receiv'd Opinion makes him almost 300. years old, counting to every Age, 100. years, which must needs be the true Opinion. For, had he been but 90. years of Age, how could he be said to reckon his years on his *Right hand*; on which they did not reckon till they were an hundred? To omit, besides the great disproportion between 90. and 900. and so between His Age, and the Age of the *Crow* according to the vulgar opinion: for I know that some *Naturalists* allow to the Age of the *Crow* not much above 100. years. Again we may by this judge of *Lubin's* words, who says, if we stand to this exposition of three by thirtie years to an Age, that then this verse, which we now expound, must be thus understood; to wit, that they reckon'd *Decads* unto fifty on the *Left hand per dextram* (with the *Right*, I think he means) and then the other four from sixty to ninety on the fingers of the *Right hand per sinistram* (with the *Left*.) In which expression, though he does not allow of that exposition concerning 90. years, yet what a supposition does he make, in the manner of reckoning, without warrant? And how expresses he the fashion of the reckoning, as if it had been made on the one hand with the other? when as there was no such matter, the expressions being made on each hand single, and after This manner which follows. The *Little-finger* being contracted, or a little bended, the other four being extended and erect, did on the *Left hand* signifie *One*, and on the *Right*, *One thousand*. The *Little-finger* and the *Ring-finger* being bended and the other three being erect, did on the *Left hand* signifie *Two*, on the *Right*, *Two thousand*. The *Little-finger*, the *Ring-finger* and the *Middle-finger* being bended, the *Fore-finger* and the *Thumb* being erect, signified on the *Left hand* *Three*, on the *Right* *Three Thousand*. The *Ring-finger* and

Middle-finger being bended, the other three being erect, signified on the *Left hand*, *Four*, on the *Right*, *Four Thousand*. The *Middle-finger* only being bended, and the Other four erect, signified on the *Left hand*, *Five*; on the *Right*, *Five Thousand*. The next number, *six*, in the *Latin Translation* of *Astasbasdas* (as it is printed in *Confinus*) is expressed thus, *Incurvatis infami & annulari, reliquis exporrectis*; but this is the expression of the number *Four*, mention'd before; and so would be a confusion of the descriptions. The *Greek copie* has it thus, *τὸ ἐνθάτος πάλιν τὸ ἐνθάτος οὐκ ἐκτετακμένον, &c.* In which expression, if rightly consider'd, there is mention but of one finger, the particle *ἐ* being there only *exergetical* (or, *explicative*) and so but a farther expression of the former name. And thus *Astasbasdas* uses it in the very precedent expression of the number *Five*. where the *Latin Interpreter* rightly render'd it, *tertio mediove contracto*; the *Greek* being there, *τὸ τρίτον ἐ μίαν συστακμένον, &c.* the third and middlemost, for the third or middlemost. Thus *ἐνθάτος* and *δύτης* are here the same; and so *δύτης* signifies in the *Greek copie* in the former expression of the number *Four*, where it is thus, *πάλιν συστακμένον τὸ δὲ, τὸ μίαν ἐ τὸ παγκύστιον ἵπυς τὸ δύτης ἐ τελευ, &c.* where apparently *μίσ* is the same with *τελευ*, and *παγκύστιος* the same with *δύτης*. and therefore the same also with *ἐνθάτος*; and the *Ring-finger* is according to *Astasbasdas* the *Second* in order. The *Latin Interpreter* therefore instead of saying, *Incurvatis infami & annulari*, should have render'd it, *Annulari rursus, five secundo incurvato, &c.* According to which truth of the *Greek Copie*, the *Ring-finger* being bended, and the other four being extended, signified on the *Left hand*, *six*; but on the *Right*, *Six Thousand*. And though I believe that *Gyraldus* had not seen *Astasbasdas* his copie, because of the many differences that are between them, if compar'd: yet he agrees with him in this truth, saying that *Six* is expressed *Complicato solo annulari, nisi medium ut puto perperam quidam existimant*: in which last also he said rightly, the bending of the *middle-finger* alone being not the expression of *Six*, but of *Five*, as is before shew'd. The three next expressions differ but a little from the three first, being made with the same fingers; but whereas in the first three they were but a little bended towards the *palme* of the hand, in the three next they are bended lower towards the *wrist*. *Gyraldus* expresses it worse; saying, that in the three first the fingers are inclin'd *ad manus volam*; but in the three last, *digito palma affixo*. But to proceed; The *Little-finger* being bended towards the *Wrist*, the rest being erect, signified on the *Left hand*, *Seven*; on the *Right* *Seven Thousand*. The *Little-finger* and the *Ring-finger* being so bended (towards the *wrist*) signified on the *Left hand* *Eight*; on the *Right*, *Eight Thousand*. The *Little-finger*, *Ring-finger* and *Middle-finger* bended to the *wrist*, signified on the *Left hand*, *Nine*; on the *Right*, *Nine Thousand*. The next expressions are of *Tenns* and *Hundreds*, and I confess, exceeding difficult to be understood, yet not doubting of pardon from the ingenuous Reader, if my guess mistake the descriptions, in so abstruse a point of Antiquitie, we may thus proceed. The *Thumb* being stretch'd forth, yet not erect but obliquè utique (*ὡς αἶψα πρὸς*) and the *Fore-finger* being bended till it came to the first article or joint of the *Thumb*, both making the figure of a *σ* (*sigma*) the other fingers being stretch'd forth and join'd together, did on the

Left

Left hand signifie *Ten*, but on the *Right*, an *Hundred*. The *Fourth*, or *Fore-finger* being stretch'd forth straight, The *Three* Other fingers bending a little towards the palme of the hand, and the *Thumb* both resting upon those bended-fingers and also placed close to the *Fore-finger*, did on the *Left* hand signifie, *Twenty*: but on the *Right*, *Two Hundred*. The *Fore-finger* and *Thumb* [in porrectum subinclinatis] being stretch'd forwards with a little bending downward (& in summo apice sibi appropinquantibus) and almost touching, the other three being stretch'd forth and join'd, signified on the *Left* hand, *Thirtie*, but on the *Right*, *Three Hundred*. Yet *St. Jerom's* description of this number differs from this, he making the *Fore-finger* and the *Thumb* to join; whereas according to *Astabasdas* they should not quite touch one another at their tops, to express *Thirtie*; but they should only almost touch. But *St. Jerom* expressing Marriage by the number of *Thirtie*, says to *Jovinian*, *Ipsa digitorum Conjunctio, quasi molli osculo se complexans & foderans, maritum pingit & uxorem*. Yet, though I justly honour the learning of *St. Jerom*, in this point I had rather adhere to *Astabasdas* making it his bus'ness to search this argument. And though I see *Gyraldus* agreeing with *St. Jerom*, swaid, as I guess, by his Authority, and so describing it by *summo indicis, pollicis summum exosculante*, yet I believe, that the expression used by *Astabasdas* may be confirm'd also by ancient authority, and more ancient then *St. Jerom*, by above 200. years; namely from *Apuleius*, in his *Apologie*, and indeed by the business it self mention'd there by him. For, endeavouring there to clear himself from the slander of his Adversarie, who had accused him of procuring by evil means the affection of rich *Pudentilla* (whom he got for his wife); urging that he had wrought upon her dotage, she being, as he said, *Threescore* years of age; *Apuleius* tells him, that he, belies her by *Twenty* years, and that he might at least have made a more handsome lie. For, says he, *Si triginta annos pro decem dixisses, posset videri pro computationis gestu errasse: quos circulare debueras digitos, aperuisse. Cum vero quadraginta, qua facilius exteris porrecta palma significatur, ea quadraginta tu dimidio auges, non potes digitorum gestu errasse, nisi forte triginta annorum Pudentillam tatus, binos cuiusque anni Consules numerastis*. Which very obscure passage in that Author, this doctrine rightly consider'd may clearly enlighten. If, says he, thou had'st said, *Thirtie* years for *Ten*, thou mightest have been thought to have erred in the hand-gesture of the account, or number; leaving the fingers open, which should have made a Circle; that is, which should have *Met* (or, clos'd). But seeing that *fortie*, which are expressed more easily with an open hand, are by thee encreas'd by half as much more; this could not be an error in the gesture of thy fingers: unless perchance thou thinking *Pudentilla* to be but *Thirtie* years old, did'st reckon every year for two, according to the number of the *Consuls*. Wherein he clearly supposes the number intended to be expressed, to be *Ten*, and the number mistaken for it to be *Thirtie*; and consequent *Ten* to have been expressed with the fingers (the *Thumb* and *Fore-finger*) clos'd, and *Thirtie* to be expressed with the fingers (the *Thumb* and *Fore-finger* (not meeting, or) *Open*. Thus, says *Apuleius*, had *that* been thy Lie, it might have been a mistake by the small difference in gesture on the fingers, between *Ten* and *Thirtie*; but the Lie being between the number of *Fourty*, which

is express'd with an open hand, and *Sixtie*, which is expressed with a closed hand (as will appear in the description of it) is so gross, that it is inexcusable: which justifies *Astabasdas* his expression of *Thirtie*, by the fingers not closed into a perfect Circle. Besides it may be observed, that *St. Jerom's* description of *Thirtie* is in a manner the same with *Astabasdas* his description of *Seventy*. Of which differences in the computations of *St. Jerom* and *Apuleius*, the learned Bishop, *Marianus Victorinus* takes notice, in his *Scholia*, upon *St. Jerom*, lib. 1. *Adversus Jovinianum*. num. 7. whence we must admit that there were varieties, though but voluntarie diversities, of computations in this kind of *Hand-arithmetic*. Yet we may observe, for the more clear understanding of this difference, that *Beda* expresses 10. by making the top of the fore-finger touch the upper joint of the Thumb; and expresses 30. by making the tops of those two fingers to touch. But to proceed with my Author (*Astabasdas*) as the observer of the more ancient way, the four fingers being stretch'd forth, and (pollice superinducto indici) the Thumb being form'd above the fore-finger like the γ (gamma) and looking towards the upper and back part of the hand, signified on the left hand, *Fourty*; but on the *Right*, *Four Hundred*. The four fingers being stretch'd out and the Thumb form'd like a γ and inclin'd toward the inward part *ἐν τῇ σιδεὶ τῇ ἀριστερῇ, ad pectus sive artum indicis*, signified on the *Left* hand, *Fifty*; but on the *Right*, *Five Hundred*. The Little-finger, Ring-finger and Middle-finger being stretch'd out, and the Fore-finger so encompassing the Thumb (ut index contingat media junctura primum & secundum articulum) that with the middle joint of it (on the inside part of it) it touch the first and second joint of the Thumb, that is, as I conceive, lying between them, and so that the frons indicis, the inside part of the top of the fore-finger touch the mons pollicis, the inside and lower part of the Thumb, signified on the *Left* hand *Sixtie*, on the *Right*, *Six Hundred*. The three foresaid fingers being extended as before, and the Thumb join'd (in a circular fashion) with the uppermost part of the nail of the Fore-finger, signified on the *Left* hand, *Seventy*; on the *Right*, *Seven Hundred*. In which expression of *Seventy*, the Fore-finger and the thumb circularly touching, shew, that in the expression of *Thirtie* the same fingers do not meet, but only almost join. The foresaid fingers being join'd and erect, yet so that the upper parts of them looking to the palme make fashion of an angle in them, the thumb lying upon the radix or inside bottome of the Middle-finger, and so fitted to the palme, and the Fore-finger winding about the first joint of the thumb, till the end of it rests upon the mount of the thumb, signified on the *Left* hand, *Eighty*; and on the *Right*, *Eight Hundred*. The Thumb being erect, the Fore-finger bending downwards, and the other three being extended, signified on the *Left* hand, *Ninty*; on the *Right*, *Nine Hundred*. In which last expression he begins the description saying, *manu palmi instar contracta*; which gesture of the hand, how it should stand with the rest of the description, I do not well perceive; unless he means either the compression of the hand, by bringing the mount of the thumb and of the little finger to enclose toward one another, or else that the three outward fingers should, though erect, bend in the middle-joint in form of a right angle, & then the uppermost parts of them from the angle be extended. But I thought it better to express it without such a difference, as

seem'd hardly consistent with all the rest. In many of which descriptions *Gyraldus* differs much; among other things saying, that one express'd on the Left hand; is on the Right, a *Hundred*, and so forth: and though he takes notice, that some and the more Ancient writers (though he names them not) say that on the Right hand it signified a *Thousand*, does notwithstanding choose the other opinion. *Petrus Colvius* also in *Apul. apol.* 11. Nor. p. 267. says that they reckon'd on the Left hand until they came to 100. and then reckning on the right hand till they came to 200. they return'd again to reckon on the left hand. *Beda* in handling the way of Computation upon the Hand [but not this of *Astafasdas*] is very large and diligent. But this to the less curious will perchance be too much; though by this we may see the devises of the Ancients, that would make use of Curiosity to Expedition and Thrift. Yet we may not omit, that in proceeding farther in this art [of which I have seen no more of *Astafasdas* his Copie] it is implied in an Epigramme, in the Greek *anthologie* [lib. 2.] that the Ancients after they had reckon'd *Nine Thousand*, began again to number on the Left hand; as *Lubin* here notes, and *Rutgersius*, in his *Var. Lection.* lib. 4. cap. 9. referring his Reader to *Brodemus* on this last point. And as the Ancients did thus number upon their hands, so by the hands gesticulation they did express their commands unto their Servants; and hither some draw that of the *psalm.* 123. v. 2. *As the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a Maiden unto the hand of her mistress;* &c. as particularly *Pignorius* notes, de *Servis.* p. 71. For the quicker apprehension and delight of the ingenious Reader, I have express'd here in picture the summe of this Art, *A Table of the Ancient Hand-Arithmetick*, so far as I have described it [*Astafasdas* his way] doing it without pattern; yet by the precedent descriptions, as well as in such an obfcuritie my Guests could direct me to give directions for the performance, only the reader may take notice, that for brevity sake I have in the third column of the Arithmetick-Table omitted the forms of the fingers, they being the same as in the second column, excepting only, that they are on the right hand, as in the second on the Left. *

38. The Crown laid-by.—*posita—tiara.* The Poet's next instance is in *Priamus*, who might have been brought to the Sepulchers of his Ancestors, so to *Assaracus* [his great uncle] his Grandfather's brother with honour, his Sons carrying the hearse, and his Daughter *Polyxena* renting her garment, according to the manner of mourning; if he had died whilst *Troy* flourish'd. But alas, says he, living long he saw the confusion of his Kingdome, and in the hurry of the destruction he was fain to lay-by his Crown, and putting on arms, though not able to use them, was slain before the Altar of *Jupiter*, even like an old Oxe past Service; *ut vetulus bos*: where *vetulus* was rightly added by the Poet; for otherwise he had spoken improperly, there being a Law both amongst the *Gracians* and *Romans*, *de non mactando bove aratore.* See *Cassaub.* *Arben. Animadvers.* lib. 1. cap. 8. yet, says the Poet, the Lot of *Hecuba*, the wife of *Priamus*, was far worse; for [as the fable has it] she was turn'd into a bitch; the fiction being occasion'd by her bitter speeches against the *Greeks*. In which passage *Priamus* his Crown is by the Poet called, *tiara*; which was a *Persian* ornament for the head, yet it belong'd also to the *Trojans*, as *Tiraquel* observes on *Alex. ab. Alex.* [lib. 1. cap. 28.] from this of *Juvenal*. In which place *Alexander* says of it, *tiara, pileus erat, ex qua ridimienta, quibus maxilla velan-*

tur, desuebant, qua Phryges in solennibus utebantur saepe; agreeing thus with the description of the *Phrygian Mitra*, as *Juvenal* speaks, *Sat. 6.* where I describ'd it, *Illustrat.* 58. likening it there to a round capp. For, such *St. Jerom* says it was [*Epist. ad Fabiolam*] *rotundum pileolum, quasi sphaera medna sit divisa, et pars altera ponatur in capite.* By the Scholiast on that passage, *Sat. 6. v. 514.* it is called *galea sacerdotis*; but the Priest's *tiara* was not acuminate. It was of Silk [*byssinum* ; some say, of several peices of cloth] and the colour of it was purple, according to that of *Ovid. Met. 11. fab. 5. Tempora purpureis tentat velare tiaris.* The King's *tiara* was for state adorn'd with precious stones, according to that of *Valerius Flaccus, lib. 1. Argonaut.*

*Ad viridem gemmis et Eoa stamina sylvæ
Subligat extrema patriam cervice tiaram.*

There were indeed two sorts of it, as *Johannes Hartungus* notes [in his *Locorum Memorabilium, Decuria 3. cap. 8. num. 21.*] the one depressed and somewhat prominent over the brow, in token of subjection; the other upright and acuminate, worn only by Kings, [as *Seneca* says, de *Beneficiis, l. 6. c. 31. Xenophon. Anab. 2. and Suidas*] the Priest's being not acuminate, as *Savaro* also notes on *Sidonius Apollinaris, lib. 8. Epist. 3.* yet whereas *Savaro* there, on the word *myrrhotos*, says that *mitra* and *tiara* is the same, he had spoken more warily, if he had said, that they are sometimes so taken. *Dempster* on *Rosinus, l. 6. c. 35.* describes it to have been of the fashion of a half-moon, according to that of *Sidonius Apollinaris, Flellis Achemenius Lunatam Persa tiaram;* and farther shews that in war they used to adorn it with peacock's feathers. *Justin. l. 1.* seems to make this wear an invention of *Semiramis*, who dressing her head with this ornament, did to avoid suspicion of some farther intended novelty by this novelty, command others to wear the like, observing always the foresaid difference. See also concerning this ornament, *Cerda*, on that of *Virgil, Æneid. 7. Hoc Priami gestantem erat.* I will here only add, that *Antoine le Pois* in his *Discours sur les Medailles antiques*, at the end of his work, on pag. H. figur. 6. presents this ensuing expression for a form of the *tiara*. *



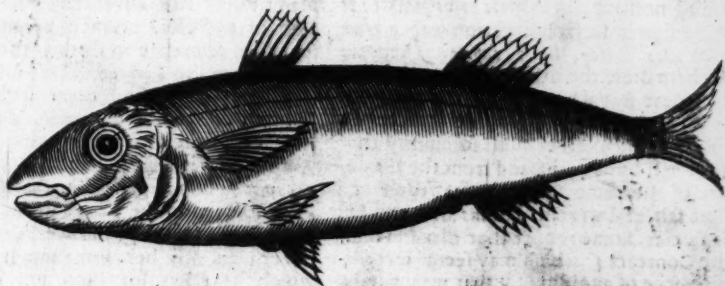
39. *Catiline* lay an Entire carcase. *Jacui Catilina cadavere toto.* *Juvenal* in a manner passing-by the misery of long life in *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, who after 69. years of age (of which he was 57. years a King, and of these for 40. years a warrior against the *Romans*) was utterly overthrown, and, to scape shame, glad to be kill'd by one of his soldiers; passing-by also the example of *Craesus* the *Lydian* King, who had like to have been burn'd alive by his conqueror *Cyrius*, passes to the

examples of some *Romans*, as of *Marinus* and *Pompey*. The first of which by living long was fain to flee for his life, and in the *Minturnian* fens hid himself; which fens are not, as some tell us, in *Switzerland*, but in *Latium* (now call'd *Campagna di Roma*) by the River *Tyrris*, as *Plutarch* informs us in the Life of *Marinus*; and *Strabo, lib. 5.* yet he was taken; and though he got out of prison and fled into *Africa*, again he was in danger of his life, and in such distress that at the remaining ruins of *Carthage* he begg'd bread: whereas if he had breath'd-out his triumphant

triumphant Soul, or his Soul enrich'd with victory [*animam opimam*; so call'd from *spolia opima*, which were properly those spoils, which the General himself won from the General of the Enemies] as soon as he ended his triumph, that is, after his glorious riding with his multitude of captive *Tentons* passing before his chariot to the Capitol; in the very instant of his descending from his Triumph; he had been as happy, as ever was Roman. The second [*Pompey*] after a long glory was overthrown, and at last had his head cut-off; concerning whose death the Poet saying, that even *Lentulus*, *Cicero*, and *Catiline* were in that respect less unhappy, is reprehended by some learned Critics; *Pompey*, as they say, dying for his Country, but some of those traitors being justly strangled in the jail. Besides, to count him the more unhappy, because *His* head was cut-off, and *Theirs* were not, seems to Them but weak; for, according to That reason, say they, even they that dy Crucified, should be accounted more happy. But, to speak gently, let us not crucify an Author, extending him otherwise than he would. Is *Juvenal* the only man that calls *Pompey* unhappy? Or, does he call him so for fighting in defence of his Country? or rather because his Cause and Merit was not attended with better success? Or does he here otherwise call *Pompey*, though innocent, unhappy, then before he did *Nestor*? whom he proposed indeed as an example of unhappiness in old age; yet not because he came against *Troy* in behalf of *Greece*; but because coming thither, he was fain to see the sad funeral of his flourishing Son, who was slain. In like manner the Poet does not compare those conspirators with *Pompey* in respect of their cause, but only of the manner and consequence of their destructions: in which respect he thinks it more unhappiness (setting aside other respects) to die with a divided carcass, then with a whole one. Nor is this speech without sufficient reason, the whole body

being not usually so trivially exposed to scorn, as the head, when divided from the body, has often and wretchedly been, as is well known in the death of *Tully*; as likewise of *Galba* (as I have shew'd, *Sat. 6. Illustrat. 67.*) and what degree of this contempt *Pompey's* head escap'd, was rather by the humanity of the Conqueror, then of the Executioner. So that in this respect even he that died as an ordinary malefactor might be term'd less unhappy, whiles he fear'd not any thing beyond the execution; and though he endur'd death, yet not a jeer too. But whereas some here tell us, that *Catiline*, who intended a funeral fire for Rome, came to his own intire; it is not without a mistake: the bodies of *Traitors* being not burnt; as I have observ'd, *Sat. 1. Illustr. 51.* they holding it profane to burn them; or the body of a vestal, if she became dishonest. See *Sat. 4. Illustr. 3.*

40. And some Adulterers the quick Mallet enters — *quosdam mæchos & mugilis intrat*. Our Author speaking here against the vain desire of beauty shews, that though a doating mother wish beauty for her children, allcading that even *Latona* was glad, that her Daughter *Diana* was fair, yet the known example of *Lucretia* might make one wish otherwise; as also of *Virginia*, who might indeed have wish'd to have been rather a *Rutilla*; who was, as *Pliny* says (*lib. 7.*) deform'd, crook-back'd, and above 97. years of age. In like manner says the Poet, beautiful Sons are but the more obnoxious to Great ones; and as they are often entertain'd by wanton Ladies, so sometimes have their predecessor *Mars* his luck, they are taken, but more dearly pay for their pleasure; being by force, according to the nature of Jealousie, clyster'd with a Mallet to express the terrible punishment no farther; the outrage of which revenge may easily be understood from the form of the fish here presented. * The *Athenians* by their Law punish'd adulterers after the like



Her. Sat. Illustr. 40.

manner with a raddish, as *Casaubon* notes in his *Ani-madversions* on *Athenaus*, *lib. 1. cap. 5.* though sometimes by expilation of the Seat-part, as *Alexand. ab Alex.* observes in his *Gen. Dier. lib. 4. cap. 1.* which punishment was therefore called, *μαγισματις*. Even beasts hate adultery, and punish it; as *Bisciola* notes, p. 1110. The Poet here adds farther a Mother's answer, to wit, that *Her* fair Son shall not be liable to such danger, as applying himself only to some choice and secret ones: but, says the Poet, when guifts come he will be a servant to a course and deform'd *Servilia* also. For in this case, says he, Covetousness working upon him and Lust upon them, they shew the ut-

most of their behaviour, their freest carriage, not sparing their alluring presents, whether she be a prodigal *Hippia*, or a covetous *Catulla*. For, whereas some by these names understand, whether she be rich or poor, it does not agree either with the persons, or the fault here spoken of: both *Hippia* and *Catulla* being names used in this our Poet for persons as well of wealth, as Wantonness; and the poorer sort being not equal to the means of such desires.

41. Ten hundred thousand *Sesterties*, as due Portion by Ancient Rite—. — *Et ritu decies centena dabuntur Antiquo*—. The Poet shews next that beauty in a man may sometimes be his destruction, though he be

innocent, as it was to chast *Hippolitus* by refusing the foul desires of his Mother-in-Law *Phadra* the daughter of *Minos* King of *Creet*; and also almost the destruction of chaste *Bellerophon*, who likewise rejected the temptations of *Sthenobaa* the wife of *Prætus* King of the *Archives*. But in a nearer (a Roman) instance, it was the unavoidable confusion of the comely and Noble *Cains Silius*, who was designed to be Consul: whom the enflam'd and impudent Empress *Messalina* so doated-on, that having seperated him from his wife *Julia Syllana*, she would needs be married to him. And *Claudius* the Emperor her husband being gone but to *Ostia*, she in all formalitie put-on the flame-colour'd marriage-vail; and the marriage-bed (which was called also *lectus adversus*) was in honour of the *Genius* (as *Festus* gives the reason of it) richly adorned with Purple and prepar'd in the *Lucullian Gardens*. Of which custome of the Ancients habitation in Gardens for their pleasure, see *Brissonii Sele& ex Jur. Civil. antiquit. lib. 3. cap. 13.* Besides, she made good the Portion, which by ancient rite she ought to bring; which was decies centena millia *sestertium* (as it comes from *sestertius*) that is, a thousand *sestertia*, or 78121. 10s. as I have reduced it, *Sat. 6. Illustrat. 17.* But some think not that this was the usual portion in ancient times, but that the Poet only notes-out the invidious wealth of that age, which so exceeded the honest slenderness of former ages and estates, that now they thought this summe a Legal, solemn and necessary portion, according to that of *Seneca*, *Pantomima decies sestertio nubant.* Yet the Interpreters generally take it according to the first exposition, which seems to be the intent of the place, only with this caution, that it was the usual portion for Women of the *Senatorial* blood, as *Britannicus* observes. Besides this, says the Poet, the Southsayer and Those that Seal were present: for before marriage they writ-down in Tables, by way of record, the form of the Contract, unto which Witnesses did always set their Seals, and are accordingly here called *Signatores*. The Southsayer also was there according to the Custome of their Superstitious enterprizing nothing, *nisi auspicio prius sumpto*: & the most luckie sign in such observation was a crow (as *Alexan. ab Alex. notes, lib. 2. cap. 5.*) because when one of them dies, the other remains perpetually without a mate. But what was the conclusion of this solemn adultery? for they made Adultery a Wedding; pleasing themselves in all solemnity that day and night; till by a command from the Emperor they were in the same Gardens seiz'd-on and both slain; but fair and wretched *Silius* first, and before *Messalina's* eies. Some report that *Claudius* himself seal'd the Contract (which may seem incredible) upon pretence of avoiding by that means some dangers, which were said to be portended. See *Sueton, in Claudius, cap. 29.* Thus, had *Silius* not done this, *Messalina* had been his death; and for doing of

it, *Claudius* was. But whereas some say, that if he destroy'd *Messalina*, *Hymen's* burning tapers from her bed should light him to his urne; the Poet makes her rage more swift, saying he should have died before the lightning of the tapers, *perendum erit ante lucernæ.* Besides, if he had not obey'd her, there had been no preparation of wedding tapers.

42. —And choicest Entrails vow with a white hogge's pure sausages— *Vouesq; macellis Exa & candiduli divina tomacula porci.* The word *tomacula* comes from *τῆμα*, because the ingredients of them were cur, or minc'd, and are call'd *divina*, sacred or pure, because used in *re divina*, in Sacrifice. And this offering was of a white hogge; Swine seeming to have been the first kind of Sacrifice, as *Varro* conjectures, *lib. 2. de re rustica, cap. 4.* who accordingly says, that by the *Gracians* it is derived from *δῶδ', immolare*. Thus a hogge was a Sacrifice unto *Ceres*, and at the concluding of a league of Peace (as with a little difference *Sueton* says of *Claudius, cap. 25. Cum regibus sedus in foro scit, porca casa*) as also at the celebration of Weddings, Kings and eminent persons, particularly in *Hetruria*, as likewise the new Bride and Bride-groome, sacrificed a hogge. Such also, says he, was the custome of the Ancient *Latines*, and the *Greeks* in *Italia*. The reason whereof, as we may guess, was for the plentifulness of Swine; for so *Xenophon, de Rep. Laced.* tells, how that of every litter of piggs, there was one due to the Priest; that when so ever he pleas'd to offer to the Gods, he might not want a Sacrifice; and for the like reason probably, That offering might figure-out the fruitfulness of marriage. These *tomacula* are by *Varro* in the fore-cited place, called *tomacina*; but *Scaliger* there thinks it to be but a mistake of the transcribers, and that it should be written *tomacula*. The *Greeks*, says he, call them; *τῆμα* and *τῆμα*. *Scalig. Annot. p. 220.* The Poet concluding this Satyre says, that if men would be wise, that is, aske for inward blessings, the Gods would be all for us: but we, says he, are all for outward things, and so make Fortune the Governess of our affairs; implying that Man's Folly had advanced Fortune to the estimation of a Deity. Which peradventure the Poet speaks in reference to story; the first Temple that was erected to Fortune being built by *Ancus Marcius*. But though the Romans were such early worshippers of her, the *Gracians* did not so esteem her. For, as *Pacuvius* says (in that verse cited in the Author to *Herennius, lib. 1. Fortunam insanam esse & cecam, & brutam perhibent Philosophi.* And although *Virgil* indeed in the Roman devotion says, *Æneid. 8. Fortuna omnipotens & ineluctabile fatum*, yet *Homer* never mentions her. For though he names *μοῖρα*, which he takes for Fate, yet in no part of his large work does he once mention *τύχη*; as the accurate *Macrobius* observes, *Saturnal. lib. 3. cap. 16.*

SATYRE. XI.

A R G U M E N T.

*In thy Expence, not by thy Mind,
But by thy Purse be still confin'd.
Our Poet here does thus well fit
His Feast and Friend with Thrift and wit :
Which Country-Bliss he so rehearſes
We have the Feast too in his Verſes.
The Earthen Diſh Vertue of Old
And Fame ſo Sav'd, it ſtill does hold :
Whiles Ivory, Marble, Carver's Skill,
Trimme Waiters, Muſick, nay the fill
Of Luſt, like Dainties which the Taſt
Receives, do rather Pleaſe, then Laſt.
Yet as from Riot, ſo from Care
At Feaſt be Free. That's Wiſdomes Fare.*

I F *Atticus* ſup pompouſly, 't is State :
If *Rutilus*, 't is Madneſs. For, what's ſtraight
More Jeer'd, then Poor *Apicius* ? [a] Ev'ry walk,
Ev'ry Feaſt, Bath and Theater does talke
Of *Rutilus*. For whiles his Strength Intire
Might wear a Helmet, whiles his blood's yet fire ;
(The *Tribune* nor Compels, nor yet withſtands)
He (1) writes the Fencers Laws and high Commands.
More maiſt thou ſee, whom Creditors to catch
At laſt, at th' Entrie of the Shambles watch.
Theſe Live but for their Palate, and Hee's ſet
On Riot moſt, that ſtill is moſt in debt,
And ſoon muſt fall ; you may ſee through the rent.
Mean-while for Cates they ſearch each Element.
No Price deterrs him : nay, if you look near,
Thoſe dainties pleaſe him Moſt, that are moſt dear.
Not hard 't is then to Pawn, for Coin to waſt,
Chargers, or 's Mother's Image (b) firſt defac'd ;
And ſpend four hundred Selterces on ſome
Rare Diſh : To th' Fencer's (2) Mixt fare thus they come.
There's Difference in Like Charge ; In *Rutilus*
What's VVaſt, is Bounty in *Ventidius* ;
And from his VVealth draws Fame. But him I'll ſlight
That knows how much *Atlas* exceeds in hight

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The Other *Libyan* Hills : yet ne're descries
 That an Ir'n Chest and a small bag, in size
 Differ. That Rule, *know thy self*, Heav'n did send
 For Man to fix in Mind, and still attend ;
 VWhether thou 'dst Married Live, or be a grave
 Senator. For, *Thersites* ne're did crave
Achilles's Armour : which not without stain
Vlyses sought ; Or, if thou would'st maintain
 A shrew'd Cause, trie if thy speech strongly flow,
 Or th' art some *Curtius* or a *Matbo*. Know
 The measure of thy Cheek : [c] and this still trie
 In all things, though but when a fish thou 'dst buy :
 Nor for a Barbel wish, when in thy Chest
 Th' hast but a Gudgeon. For, thy Purse once press't
 With want, and Thou with Riot, what's th' Event,
 Thy State and Goods being on thy Belly spent,
 Which swallows th' use, Principal, [d] Heards and Land?
 Their Ring Such part-with Last ; Then *Pollio's* Hand
 VWith naked finger begs. Such Riot ne're
 Should count Death Quick and Sow'r : Age These should Fear
 Thus they proceed : Mony they Hire at *Rome* ;
 Wast it before the Owners : Then whiles some
 Scrap 's Left, and th' usurer looks Pale, who shunne
Rome, straight to *Ostia* or *Baia* runne.
 To Leave the Burse [e] is now as to decline
Suburra's heat for the cool *Esquiline*.
 Only this greif such fugitives does daunt,
 They must (3) the *Circus*, for a whole year, want.
 Not the least Bluth These have : So few do stay
 Jeer'd Modesty, which fain would flie away.
 This day, my *Persicus*, thy self shalt see,
 If these fair Rules do n't with my Life agree ;
 If a close Glutton [f] Husks I praise, and Crie,
Make Gruel, Cook ; but whisper, *Sweet-meats buy*.
 For since by promise th' art my Guest, Ile be
Evander, Thou *Tirynthius* to Me ;
 Or that Less Guest ; yet *Venus* was his Mother :
 Water sent One to Heav'n, and Fire the Other.
 Hear now my Dishes in no shambles sought :
 From mine own field at *Tibur* shall be brought
 A main-fat, tender kid, that ne're durst croppe
 A leaf of Grass or th' humble willow's toppe ;
 More Milk then Blood he has. Wild Sperage too
 We 'il have ; My Plow-man's VVife her spindle threw
 Aside, to gather it. The nest of hay
 Yeilds large, warm Eggs, and th' Hens, that did them lay.
 Then (4) Grapes long-kept, yet fresh as on the vine :
 The *Signian* and the *Syrian* pear shall join
 In the same baskets : Apples too, of smell
 So fresh, the *Picene* they would fain excel.

Thou

Thou need'st not fear them: VVinter's cold has dried
 Their *Autumn*: Their raw juice they've laid aside.
 This Cheer our Senate once thought Riot; and
 Hearbs from his small Plot *Curius* his own hand
 Gather'd, and Dress'd o're his small fire; Now such
 Fare a foul shackel'd Ditcher (4) scorns to touch;
 Of a Sow's Dainties he has learn'd the smack
 From Cooks's shops. Flitches hang'd on a thin rack
 Men kept for High Days once. To Kinsfolk met
 On Birth-days they did Goodly Bacon set,
 And fresh meat, what their Sacrifice could spare.
 Some Kinsman three times *Consul*, or some rare
Gen'ral, that once had the *Dictator's* pow'r,
 Went to These (5) Feasts before the Common hour,
 Home from some well-tam'd Hill shouldring his spade.
 O, when the *Fabii* and rough *Cato* made
 All quake; when the *Fabricii* and *Scauri* were
 Rome's Awe; when a remiss Censor [b] did fear
 His stern Colleague: No man did care to know
 What Pearls in th' Ocean in the Tortoise grow,
 VVith which our *Trojans* could brave Pillars dress,
 For (6) Supper-beds, once without backs and Lefs:
 VVhose Brals-Front shew'd an Ass's vile head Crown'd,
 At which, good Sport, the Country boyes oft found.
 As was their House and Stuffe, so was their Food.
 Our Souldier in the Arts of Greece Then rude,
 VVhen in some Cittie's spoils he found rich Plate,
 The work of some rare hand, did break it straight,
 To glad his steed with trappings, and (7) on Crest,
 Ingrav'd, shew'd the tam'd wolf by Rome's fate blest;
 Our Twins too, as under the Cliffe they were,
 And naked *Mars* with glistering Shield and Spear
 Hov'ring aloft, unto his foe design'd
 To Death; Their Silver in their Armour hind [i]
 Their frumenty they serv'd in *Tuscan* dish:
 VVhich Blifs Brave *Envie*, though but small, might with
 In Temples too Majestie more appear'd,
 And Rome a voice almost at Mid-night heard
 From the VVest-Shore, (8) when the *Gauls* came. For thus
 The Gods turn'd Prophets and admonish'd us.
 Then Earthen *Jove* so car'd for *Latian* state,
Jove, whom as then no Gold did violate.
 Those Times did tables of our Own tree know,
 VVhich did at home and for the same use grow,
 If an Old Nut-tree some fierce East-winds spight
 O're-turn'd. Now Rich Ones sup without delight,
 The Turbet, the Buck relish not, nay, rare
 Ointments and Roses stink, unless there fair
 Orbs on rall, yawning, Ivory Libards stand,
 VVhich are [9] those Teeth *Syenes* Gate sends, and

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The Swift *Moores*, th' *Indian* too more black, and those
 Th' *Arabian* Beast breaks-off, when a tooth grows
 Too weighty for his head. Fierce appetite
 This Gives. For, they a Silver-foot do flight
 As on the finger an Ir'n-Ring. VVith Care
 I shun a proud Guest then, that does Compare
 Me with himself, and scorns small means ; (10) so free
 Am I, from but an Inch of Ivory,
 In Chels-board or Chels-man. Of simple bone
 Are my knives-handles. Yet my meat's ne're known
 To stink : A Hen ne're cuts the worse. No rare
 Carver I have, (11) Chief of the School of Fare
 Train'd-up by *Trypherm* the Learned; who
 Carves large Sow-teats, th' Hare, Boar, the VVhite-Breech too,
 The *Scythian* Pheasant, the huge Crimfon-wing,
 And the *Getulian* Goat. The Goodly Thing,
 A wooden Feast carv'd with dull knife does sound
 Through the *Suburra*. My raw Lad ne're found
 Art to carve Goat or Turkey; still he's rude :
 To steal a mouthful he's with skill indued.
 Plain glasses of mean Price a homely lad
 Shall bring : yet against cold he's safely clad
Phrygian he's none, nor *Lycian*, nor bought dear
 Of Huckster. Call in *Latin* y' have his ear.
 My youths are dress'd alike with cut, plain hair ;
 Yet gainst this feast-day comb'd with some small care.
 One's a course Shepherd's Son, a neat-heard's th' other,
 That sighs, so long 'tis since he saw his mother.
 Their Cottage and known kids he longs to see ;
 One of such Face and Ingenuitie,
 As might grace those, whom the bright Purple-coat
 Adorns. Lust has not yet made hoarse his throat :
 He smooths not yet his skin, nor, with fear, pale
 Makes at the Baths his Oil-horn a Chast veil.
 VVine he shall fill thee upon those hills made,
 From which he came; under whose top he plaid.
 He is the Grape's Own Country-man. Perchance
 Thou'lt look some *Gaditanian* wench should dance
 Leading a Chaunting Round of Girls, whose Art
 Once prais'd makes them descend to some worse part :
 VVhich Brides do by their Husbands side behold,
 Though shameful before Them to be but Told !
 Th' Excitement of faint Lust ! The Rich man's quick
 Nettle ! This makes the Other Sex more sick
 Of Passion; which enlarg'd does in a trice
 By th' Ear and Eie admit in feebling vice.
 An humble house knows not these Sports : (12) the Rich
 Shall hear Shell-Musick and the Leud words, which
 A Hireling's ear in the rank stews annoy :
 Let Him such words and th' Art of Lust enjoy,

VVhose

VVhose (13) Pavement of round *Spartan* Marbles grows
Slipp'ry with drunken Spaulings. VVhere wrath flows,
Vice Scares. Dice and Adult'ry mean men shame:
The Rich, for These, Pleasant and Trimme we name.

Other delights to day attend my cheer:
The Founder of the *Iliads* thou shalt hear,
And losty *Maro's* Lines, for whose rare skill
VVe doubt, who's Best. VVhat though they're read but Ill?
But turn-back Bus'ness Now; Cares from thy breast
Expel; and give thy self a grateful rest.
Since this day thou 'lt be free, talk not of rent
For Mony; If at day-break thy wife went
Abroad; and not till night return, nere let
Thy breast for more suspicious tokens fret:
Though thou wert mov'd at her Hair, Face, Ear, Gown,
All sorrow at My threshold straight lay-down.
House, Servants, what they've broke or lost, what tends
To Grief, forget; chiefly ungrateful Friends.

But Now (14) the Towel and Great *Cybel's* shows
Grace her *Idean* Feast. In Pomp at Those
Our *Horse-spoiler* [15] the *Prator* sits. Offence
Bee't none, I'll say, to Our People grown immense,
The *Circus* holds all *Rome* to day. (16) A shout
Methinks, I hear: The *Green-Coat* wins, no doubt.
Should That fail, sad thou 'dst see This City, just
Astonish'd, as at *Canna's* fatal Dust,
Our *Consuls* being O'recome. Youths There may sit,
VVhom Noise, bold wagers, and such Joys be fit.
Our wrinkled skin must drink-in the Spring-Sun,
And [17] scape the busy Gown. Thy Age has won
Leave, without blush to th' Bath to go Thus soon;
Though a full hour [18] as yet it wants to Noon.
In five Such days thou 'dst Tire. Loathing attends
Ev'n Such a Life! Delights Rare use commends.

F f

ILLU-

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Eleventh Satyre.

Stratio. Regia verba lanistæ. Gulosum fistic. Nummus; the value of it mistaken by Calderine and Merula; likewise by Britannicus and Cælius Secundus Curio. Miscellanea ludi. Ludi Miscelli. Hordearii. Bulga. The art of keeping grapes fresh a long time after their gathering, shew'd from Varro, Apicius, and later Experience; also of keeping them long upon the Tree, yet fresh, according to Palladius. The Flesh of Sacrifices sold. The superstitious persuasion of the Ancients about an Asses Head. Barthius his conjecture concerning Rupes Quirini. Deus perdens. Aius Locutius. Porta Syenes. Chess-play; the Antiquity of it. Check-mate; the derivation of the word, according to Gregorius Tholosanus. Pergula. Testarum crepirus. Diverse kinds of Applause, per Testas, Bombos and Imbrices. *mosæens*. Crotalum. Pitysmæ. Orbis Lacedæmonius. Laconicum. Megalesia. Spectacula Mappæ. Prædo Caballorum Prætor. The Circentian Factions. Color Venetus. Effugere togam. The hour of Bathing. Convivia tempestiva.

1. ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ E writes the Fencers Lawes and high commands. *Scripturus leges & regia verba lanistæ*.
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ H ♦♦♦♦ The Poet speaking here against the Luxury of his Times (that we may here together clear some lesser doubts) says, that ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ the same thing is not the same thing, being not done by the

same person, as it was anciently said; for thus Ex-pence in Rich Atticus is Fit; as most waste in poor, though Noble, Rutilus, and Apicius. Of whom, says the Poet, every publick Meeting talks; amongst which he reckons *Strationes*, publick places; for though the word properly signifies the Act of stand-ing, yet it has passed also into other significations, being sometimes taken for an harbour or safe road for Ships, or for the place where Souldiers for a time make their abode; likewise for the place of Judicature, where many met, as Onuphrius Panvinius notes, in his book *De stationibus Urbis Romæ*, where he cites this passage of Juvenal; and farther shews, that in the times and use of the Christians, it signified their standing at Prayer on the Lords Day, and between Easter and Whitsontide; it being not lawful at that time to pray kneeling; whence those Prayers were called *Strationes*; as also their solemn Pro-cessions in after-times, and meetings to that pur-pose, at certain Churches. But, to omit other par-ticulars concerning this acception, we may farther take notice, that Britannicus reckons amongst the old Roman strations, their *Porticus*; which acception being here very applicable, I choose to render it, Every Walk; this most probably expressing mens most usual behaviour there. The Poet adds con-cerning Rutilus, that whilst his Limbs were young

and strong, being fallen to poverty, he unworthily turns Fencer. In which passage the common copies, and so Lubin also, have, — *dum valida ac juvenilia membra fisticinus gatea, dumque ardens sanguine fertur*, &c. *Scripturus leges*; which, as Rigaltius rightly says, is senseless; and therefore mends it by read-ing, — *dumque ardens sanguine* (meaning *juvenilia membra*) and referring *fertur* to that which follows, namely *Scripturus leges*; that is, he is carried, or with a fierce desire becomes a Scholar to Fencers, or gladiators. Which place is in the like manner corrected by Rugerius, in his *Var. Læ. l. 2. c. 17*. The Poet here farther expresses, that the noble, or rather ignoble Rutilus was not by any Nero (*nullo cogente Nerone*, as he speaks in the 8th Satyre) or, as here, by the Tribune (who at the Consuls choice of Souldiers, made the Romans present their names) compelled to such a practise or rudiments of such false Souldery: yet, says he, as he compels him not, so he forbids him not: implying, that it was a foul default in the Roman Government, that no Law forbid such persons such behaviour. But in the ex-pression of the behaviour it self, the Poet says, that he did write, that is, write-out and study *leges & regia verba lanistæ*: which the Scholiast expounds by *superba & delicata*; such as were, *attolle, declina, percuti, cede, urge*; implying the several points of art for offence or defence. The master or instru-cter of the Gladiators was called *Lanista* (see Sat. 3. *Illustrat. 21.*) who taught others the art of Fencing, and hired out such for money to perform their skill, though with extreamest danger, when such shews upon occasion were set forth by the Great ones. Britannicus more particularly thinks, that Juvenal does here allude to P. Rutilus mention'd by Valerius lib. 2. who taught Souldiers the use of Armes, and by

by conference and practice with the chief Masters of the Gladiators train'd up in the School of C. Aurelius Scaurus, brought the Art of Fencing to Rules of a singular subtilty.

2. — To th' Fencers mixt fare, thus they come. — *Sic veniunt ad Miscellanea ludi.* The Poet farther expressing the luxury of his times, shews that some, though deeply in debt, would notwithstanding watch in the Markets for the choicest provisions, and that therefore their Creditors did there watch for them: nay, says he, though one might be said to look through their estate, as through a wall that were cleft; yet will they search every element for rarities. In which last expression, some by *elementis* understand *elementa literarum*; the letters of the Alphabet, alluding to the story, which Spartianus delivers of Geta, who had his dishes serv'd up according to the first letters of their names, as *anser*, *aprugna* and *unus* together; *so pulrus*, *perdurix*, *pavus*, *porcellus*, *piscis*, *perna*, together; *so fassianus*, *fata*, *ficus*, and the like, together. Which vanity, though in after-time it was a truth, yet here such acceptance of the word *elementa* were very remote; and more usually it is taken properly for the Elements. Yet whereas the Poet says *omnia*, Britannicus by way of correction says, that they could not search all the four elements, because not the fire, and therefore only the other three; for fowl, fish, and beasts: which though absolutely and in exactness it be a truth, yet the reprehension was unnecessary; the nature of the speech intending by all, not simply all, but all such (and therefore only such) as did at all yield food. And such gluttons, says the Poet, though they pawn their silver dishes, nay and most ignobly in their extremity deface their Mothers Image, with the more secrecie to pawn it; yet will they for a gluttonous dish (*gulosum fidele*) be at the expence of 400 sesterces. For, so I render *quadringentis nummis*; taking a Sesterce as it comes from *sestertius*; *nummus* and *sestertius* being the same: which 400 *sestertii* (if we reduce them to our coin) the *sestertius* being 1d. ob. q. q. amount being multiplied by 400. to 3l. 2s. 6d. the price of one wanton dish of meat. Which size of expence though mad enough, is yet by some, though not without error, made far worse: *Calderine* taking *nummus* for *denarius*, which is four times as much; and so the sum would arise to 12l. 10s. But both he and *Merula* are reprehended, for the misinterpretation of *nummus*, by *Budeus*, *de Asse*, lib. 2. who in a folio Edition, p. 40. says clearly in the Margin, *Idem nummus & sestertius*. Which I the rather note, because in the same Excellent Author, pag. 45. by some mischance at the present, (I doubt not) it is said in the Margin contrary to his Text, *Nummus & sestertium idem Romanis*: which does both thwart his own learned proofs, and also the clear testimony of *Seneca*, *Epist.* 95. — *adeoque falleris, ut quæ maxima habentur, divitia, gratia, potentia, sestertio nummo æstimanda sint.* In which place he uses *sestertius* and *nummus* by way of apposition, the one being the explication of the other. But *Britannicus* vastly multiplies this error, expounding here in *Juvenal*, *quadringentis nummis*, by *intero censu equestri*, that is, 3125l. immanely mistaking *nummus* for *sestertium*, that is, 1d. ob. q. q. for 7l. 10s. 3d. and *Calius Secundus Curio* spares not to say, *Continet ea summa ad decem millia coronatorum.* As for *Calderines* error confounding *nummus*, that is, *sestertius* with *denarius*, I may sufficiently shew it, by presenting the two coins themselves (agreeing indeed in metal, being both silver, but differing in value, as in fashion) as they are set out by *Gabriel*

Simoni an Italian Antiquary, in his *Illustratione de gl' Epitaphi Antichi*. See *Sat.* 1. *Illust.* 33. But to goe on with our Poet, by such mad expences, says he, they come at last *ad miscellanea ludi*; which word *miscellanea* some expound by a confusion of their estates, making it the same with *conspicere*, *deficere*, *solvendo non esse*, *omniatque miscere*; to which opinion the learned *Rigaltius* seems to incline; with the best advantage expounding it thus, *Sic, qui luxu conturbato pereunt, ut immiserellâ consummatissimâ gladiatores*; that is, as I conceive it. Thus their Spend-thrifts come to their destruction by luxury, as the Gladiators probably do, when they come to a combat. This is granted to be true, but if seriously consider'd, neither very agreeable to the use of the word *Miscellanea*; nor to the Grammatical sway of this place. For, the Poet having said immediately before, that it is no hard matter for such prodigals, to pawn their best goods and waste the Money in good Cheere, it were no clear inference, to say, *Thuciamores* come to the combat; but, to say, that by such much good cheere, they come at last to forty choise satirically. Yet *Joseph Scaliger* (*de Entodori Temp. lib. 3. p. 149. De primo Agone Capitolino & aliis Agonibus*) in a more special acceptance makes *Miscellanea* the same with *Ludi Miscelli*, Games instituted by *Caligula*. (See *Sueton* in his Life, cap. 20. in *Gallia Lugdunensi ad aram Cæsaris*: and so makes the sense to be this, *sume ex senatoribus, mimi, sine ludii* Which exposition was heretofore brought by *Marcellus Donatus*, on *Sueton's Caligula*, cap. 20. where he expounds — *ad Miscellanea ludi*, by saying, *ad ludos miscellos, ex variis ludorum generibus confectos Lugduni præbuit, & Caligula*. According to which acceptance the sense will be, that such bankrupt Nobles did at such shows ignobly at last become fencers, *Ludi* (truly written with the long, or double J, for *Ludii*) or, *gladiatores*. This interpretation, as it may be admitted without inconvenience, so without necessity, because without proof. For that *Miscellanea* and *Ludi Miscelli* were the same, it is said indeed, but not proved. The *Ludi Miscelli* according to some are said to be such shows, *qui ad nulum certum genus ludorum scenicozum referri possunt*, whereby they are acknowledg'd to be an uncertain kind of *ludi scenici*, and so *Lazius*, lib. 11. *De Rep. Rom.* makes them to consist *ex variis multiformibusque ludicris*. By which expression they cannot extend to *Gladiatores* here intended: besides, that this exposition of *Scaliger* is not so much as taken notice of by *Lubin*, who takes *Miscellanea* here for the horch-parch or course diet of the *Gladiatores*, which upon diverse motives, I think to be the best exposition. First, for the probability, for, as the wrastlers had their *olympis*, as is mention'd, *Sat.* 2. *Illustrat.* 10. for the advantage of them in their exercise, so it is very likely, that the *Gladiatores* had some course diet to practice them to hardness. Which may probably appear from the name *Hordearii*, (mention'd in *Pliny*, lib. 18. cap. 7.) given to the *Gladiatores*, and it seems, from their feeding upon barley-bread. Secondly this exposition is the rather to be entertain'd for the authority of the Scholiast before *Lubin*, expounding it so, by *cibus gladiatorius*; and giving the reason of the name; *quia omnia quæ apponuntur eis, miscent, & sic manducant.* And lastly it may be preferr'd, for the singular congruity of this acceptance; for, the Poet having before spoken of *Rutilus* his Curiosity in diet, shews how by That he comes at last to a baseness in diet; and so, Satirically opposes

(as I think) *galosum sibile* and *miscellanea*. In the former exposition *Ludii* must be the nominative plural; in This, the Genitive singular: according to That, it must be, *Ludii veniunt ad miscellanea*, they come to act as Gladiators at the *Ludi Miscelli*; according to This, *Veniunt ad miscellanea Ludii*. To th' Fencers mixt fare thus they come.

3. They must the *Circus* for a whole year want, — *Caruisse anno Circusibus uno*. The Poet shew'd the same expence not to be the same in the different persons of poor *Rutilus*, and rich *Venidius*; and that therefore every one should remember the great Rule, *Nosce teipsum*. Thus *Thersites* must not speak for *Achilles* armour; nor must a vain swelling Pleader, a *Curio* or a *Matro*, one of more Tongue than Law, undertake dangerous causes. *Bacce noscenda est mensura tua*, says the Poet; where *Lubin* thinks it should be peradventure, *bulga* (which signifies a purse) and so he refers it to that which follows: but this is without warrant of copy, and but needless; because presently after, he says, *in loculis*, which were but superfluously to say the same thing twice. But, to go on with the Poet, thus must expence be likewise measur'd; else *Pallio*, though a Knight, and so one who, by Law, may wear a Gold-ring, must be content to beg with a naked finger, and be afraid of long life (which others commonly desire) as being but the continuance of such bankrupts misery. But, says he, such spendthrifts usually fly from *Rome* to *Baia*, or *Offia*, Sea-towns; whence, if pursued, they may, by ship, fly their Countrey also, having, with their estate, lost likewise all shame; *Modesty* being as ready to forsake *Rome* (no body striving to retain her) as ever *Justice* and *Chastity* were to forsake the *Earth* (of which, see *Sat. 6.* in the beginning.) Only, says he, one vexation attends these wanton fugitives; that they must, alas, for a whole year, lose the pleasure of the *Circensian Games*. By which last passage, though it may seem ambiguous, the Poet intends not, that when they fled for their terrifying debts, they should return after one year, their danger being perpetually the same: but, by way of jeer, implies their daintiness, which was not able, forsooth, without great trouble of mind, to endure an absence from such pleasure, though but for a year; and how much less then, an unwilling and perpetual banishment. Which doubt I thought very necessary to point out, and a little clear, it being omitted by the Interpreters. And here we may take notice, that some copies have, not *Offia*, but *ostrea*, as if the spendthrift went to a new and greater gluttony: but this seems less probable, both in respect of the plenty of *Rome* that could have yielded that provision, as also in respect of their urgent want. The most receiv'd reading then is *Offia*: but whereas some tell us, that it was a Town near *Baia*, we may, to preserve our selves from such mistake, take notice, that *Offia* is at the mouth of the *Tiber*, about 12 miles from *Rome*, (not as *Lubin* says, 3 miles;) but the *Baia* is in *Campania* about 30 miles from *Naples*, towards *Rome*; which two Cities *Rome* and *Naples* being 125 miles asunder, though we would allow the distance from *Naples* to *Puzzolo*, which is 6 miles, and from *Puzzolo* to *Baia*, which is but the length of *Caligulas bridge*, not full 4 miles, and all the distance from *Rome* to *Offia* (which yet cannot be requir'd) we must needs grant the distance between *Offia* and *Baia* to be above an hundred miles. See *Cherubinus Stella* in his *Poste per diverse parti del mondo*, fol. 9. under the title, *Poste da Roma a Napoli*.

4. Then grapes long kept, yet fresh as on the Vine. — *Et servata Parte anni, quales fuerant in vitibus nos*. Juvenal inviting his friend *Perficus* to a Countrey entertainment, tells him (in Allusion to *Virgil, Eclog. 8.*) that he will welcome him with plain cheer, as *Evander* did *Hercules* (who was brought up at *Tyrnha* a City of the *Argives*) or as he entertained *Aeneas*, who, though he was less renown'd than *Hercules*, yet was high-born, containing *Lucina* within him, being the son of a Goddess, *Venus*: though at last he was drown'd, as the other (*Hercules*) was burn'd. Nor will I deal hypocritically, since our Poet, for I use not in my private life to bid my Cook, if any body by chance be present (*scorum alius*) to provide coarse victuals (as, *pultes ex farina*, gruel, or the like) sed in aure placens; but in his ear (or, secretly) bid him buy me dainties. In which passage some would have it, sed in ore placens: which, we think, were to lose the just opposition between *coram alius* and in aure; though, for a phatise, that Reading is pretty. Unsignifiedly, says the Poet, thou shalt have plain cheer, such as mine own field yields me at *Tibur* (now called *Tivoli*), 130 stadia, that is, almost 19 miles from *Rome*, North and by East. Thy dishes, says he, shall be kid and a hen, besides a salad, which shall be gathered by my *Villica*, or *Bailly's* wife, which orders my Countrey affairs (whereby he implies himself to have had a convenient estate.) Some fruit also, says he, thou shalt have, as apples, pears and grapes long kept, and yet fresh: which implied device of keeping grapes was effected, as *Varro* teacheth us (*de Re Rustica*, lib. 1. cap. 58.) concerning the *Aminean* and *Apician* grape, most conveniently by putting them in pot, and likewise by keeping them in new wine. Some sort of grapes they likewise kept by hanging of them up: such was the *duracine*, or hard-skinn'd grape, likewise the *Scantian*; and some again add the *Apician* also; according to which several waies of keeping them; they called some *uvae ollares*, others *pensiles*, as *Britannicus* notes. *Apician* in his *Epimelus* (his first book) in the Chapter entituled, *Quae in diu serventur*, teaches us to take river-water, and boyl it to a third part; then having put the water and grapes into a Pot, to pitch it close up, and set it in some cool place out of the Sun; whereby, when one would use them, one may take them out green. There likewise he tells us, that they may be kept without hurt, if they be cover'd in barley. Nor is our usage ignorant of some such devices; as may be seen by *H. Platt*, in his ingenious and delightful experiments of the Art of Preserving: where, Number, 64. he says thus; Clusters of grapes hanging upon lines within a close press, will last till Easter. If they shrink, you may plump them up with a little warm water before you eat them. Some use to dip the ends of the stalks first in pitch: some cut a branch off the line with every cluster, placing an apple at each end of the branch, now and then renewing those apples, as they rot; and after, hanging them within a Press or Cupboard, which would stand in such a place (as I suppose) where the grapes might not freeze: for otherwise you must be forced now and then to make a gentle fire in the room, or else the grapes will rot and perish. The same Author in the same work, number, 62. shews how to have grapes growing all the year, saying, Put a Vine-stalk through a basket of Earth in December, which is likely to bear grapes this year, and when the grapes are ripe, cut off the stalk under the basket (for by this time it has taken root) keep the basket in a warm place, and the grapes will continue fresh and fair a long time upon the Vine.

Palla.

Palladius likewise [*De Re Rustica*, lib. 12. Tit. 12.] shews how to keep them upon the Vine till the Spring. Now, if the Reader would know how long the grapes here mentioned in our Author, at his supposed feast, had been kept [though not after this last manner upon the vine, yet fresh, as if upon the vine] it is apparent, that they had been kept a quarter of a year: for, as *Lubin* notes, this invitation of *Perseus* was *Ut ex sequentibus liquet in hyme, vel etiam post, sub initium vasis*. Which, as I conceive, he speaks from that which presently follows concerning the apples, which he tells him he should have, and which, as he saies, he needed not to fear, their raw or Autumn-juice being dried up by the Winter's cold; implying that they had been kept from the time of the Vintage, [which was, as *Varro* saies, *De Re Rustica*, lib. 1. cap. 34. in the latter part of September] till the midst of December. But, peradventure, by some other circumstances, I think we may conjecture, that they were kept twice as long; for the Poet saies, that his husbandman's wife should lay aside her spindle to gather *Sparage* [or, as it is brokenly called from the Latin's *Sparagus*;] oltarly

implying, that the Spring was then so forward, as to yield it. Besides, near the end of the *Satyre* he tells his friend, that he thought he heard the shouts at the *Megalefian Games* [in the *Circus*;] which, though he speaks not without an hyperbole in respect of the place, he being then at *Tybur* many miles from *Rome*, as may appear by the cheer, and rural waiters at his Table, yet we may not, without incongruity, suppose him to speak so in respect of Time; but that it was then the season of those Games, which being admitted, it will aptly agree with the former reason: those Shews being celebrated on April the 4th. and some daies after; according to which it will follow, that these grapes were kept six months. Which I the rather thus strictly examine, to understand more perfectly the honest and pleasant skill of the Ancients; and particularly of our virtuous Author, wherewith they employed their innocent privacy. *Juvenal's* delight may be a little farther understood, by *Tybur* [now *Tivoli*] the place of his delight, as it is thus presented by *Bertellius*, in his *Theater of the Italian Cities*, p. 89.



Juv. Sat. X. Illust. 4.

This *Tybur* was famous anciently for the resort thither of the noble Romans in summer-time; and for one of the *Sibyls* which it claims, as also for the strange cataract of the river *Anio*.

5. Went to these Feasts before the common hour. — *Ad has epulas solite maturus ibat*. The Poet shews that even such moderate fare as he invites his friend unto, was accounted riot in the time of *Curius Dentatus*, the good *Dilatator* [mentioned, *Sat.* 3. *Illust.* 23.] whom the *Embassadors* of the *Samnites* found by his fire with his poor diet; such as now a-daies even He scorns, that is but a slave

wearing a fetter [as the manner was in their *ergastula*, that they might not run away] and but employ'd in ditching, or the like vile work. Yet now, saies the Poet, even such are acquainted with your City-wantonness, your dainties made of a Sow's belly; though the time was when bacon was a choice dish even on one's Birth-day: and, as for fresh meat, they had a bit peradventure, if they kill'd a Sacrifice. Where *Britannicus* notes out of *Valerius* [*de Institutis Antiquis*] that the flesh of Sacrifices was sold [and commonly at a double rate;] and yet to such homely fare, as bacon and the like,

even the Greatest men would resort, saies the Poet; such as had been *Consuls, Generals and Dictators*, and that, [as if to dainties] before the common hour, which was the 9th, or our three of the clock in the afternoon: which haste was accounted luxury, except on festival daies; on which they were permitted to prevent the ordinary hour. See *Sat. 1. Illustrat. 23.*

6.—Supper-beds, once without backs and Legs; whose brass-front shew'd an Ass's vile head crown'd. *Sed nudo latere & parvis frons area levis, Vile coronati caput offendeat asselli.* In the ancient and innocent times, saies the Poet, they did not adorn their supper-couches with pearls and curious shells; but they were *nudo latere*, either with plain and ordinary sides, or sides which had no backs rising from them, whereunto to lean for ease (as *Lubin* probably thinks:) besides, that they were not of that stately amplitude to which they are now grown. Moreover, in ancient times the bed had usually a brazen front, whereon was expressed an Ass's head adorn'd with a garland; about which the plain Country children used to dance. In which last passage *Scoppa* (in his *Collectan. lib. 1. cap. 27.*) reads *coronata asselle*; which very aptly and justly may be admitted, the literal difference also being so small, and consequently, so easie to be mistaken: for whereas the skull of this creature, according to the *Hebrurian* superstition, was thought to have power to preserve the fields (*ab incommendis*) from ill luck, or bites, it was more particularly the skull of the she-ass, as *Palladius* shews, *lib. 1.* For, shewing the means how to protect the field, or garden, he saies, *Item equa calvaria, sed non virginis intra hortum ponenda est, vel potius asina. Credunt enim sua presentia fecundare, qua spectant*: whereby it seems to have been done for fruitfulness, which belongs chiefly to the female.

7.—And on crest Engrav'd, shew'd the tam'd wolf, &c. Our souldier, saies the Poet, was heretofore wont in the spoil of a Town, to break what Plate he got, and adorn his horse and helmet with it: on which (helmet,) saies he, he did in engraven work express three things; the Wolf, which by the fate of the *Romane* Empire being happily tam'd, gave the Twins *Romulus* and *Remus* suck; secondly, the Twins themselves sucking the Wolf; and lastly, their great father, *Mars*, naked, as he was a Lover, yet arm'd with shield and spear, as he was a Warrior. Which, though it be briefly (as I conceive) the sense of this place, yet it will be necessary to see the entire passage of our Poet, which is this;

*Magnum artificum frangebant pocula miles,
Ut phaleris gauderet equus, calataq; cassis
Romulea simulachra fera mansuere iussa
Imperii fato, & Geminis sub rupe Quirinos,
Ac nudam effigiem clypeo fulgentis & hasta
Pendentisq; Dei perituro ostenderet hosti.*

The order and construction of which words (very necessary to be here taken notice of,) *Britannicus* makes to be this; *Miles frangebant pocula, ut equus gauderet phaleris, & cassis calata ostenderet hosti perituro simulachra fera Romulea iussa mansuere fato imperii, & Geminis Quirinos sub rupe, & nudam effigiem Dei fulgentis clypeo & hasta pendentis.* In which passage there are some varieties to be observed; *Barthius* (in his *Ablegmata, p. 55.*) instead of *sub rupe*, thinking it should be *sub rupe*, that is, *sub ubere Lupa*; *rumis* (in *Varro, de Re Rustica, lib. 2. cap. 11.*) signifying a teat, and so aptly implying the Twins sucking the Wolf: yet this is but conjecture; and

according to the common Copies, *rupes* is taken for *rupes Quirinalis*, and so the Twins are said to have suck'd *sub rupe Montis Quirinalis*. Yet *Barthius*, in this Conjecture, saies, *disi quisque, quia illa rupe digna simulachro Quirinorum adfingit. Nulla reperitur est*: whereas, if he had observ'd it, *Juvenal* himself saies, *Sat. 2. in valle Quirini*; which seems to be an expression of the same place; *rupes* and *vallis* being but as the top and bottom of the same thing. Yet it does not hence follow, that all the story of *Romulus* and *Remus* fell out in this place; as may appear both from *Sat. 1. Illustrat. 4.* as also from the many Monuments in *Rome* dedicated unto *Romulus* in several places; and more particularly from some statues expressing this intended story of the Wolf giving the Twins suck; whereof we may find one expression in the 8th. region of the City (according to *Onuphrius Panvinus* his description,) and another in the 10th. region; sufficiently shewing (as I conceive) that such testimonials were rather to disperse his fame through many places, than to fix it in some one. And so, to come nearer to the place here intended, it is most probable, that it was in the sixth region of the City; in which was *Mons, Vicus, Templum, Sacellum, Porticus*, and *Statua Quirini* (for this was his name given him at his Deifying, after his death:) and in this Temple there might be as probably an expression of the Wolf and the Twins, as there was in that Temple, which was in the 10th. region; though there was also in the sixth region a statue of *Romulus* of an exalted stature, 20 foot in height. And here, if conjecture might take place, I should think it should be, not *Geminis sub rupe Quirinos*; *Quirinos* being properly the name only of *Romulus*, as *Britannicus* notes; but *Geminis sub rupe Quirini*, the place by way of eminency being so called from *Romulus*. Again, some instead of *Ac nudam effigiem clypeo fulgentis & hasta Pendentisq; Dei*,—read, *Ac nudam effigiem clypeo venientis & hasta Pendentisq; Dei*, making *Deus* dependens the title of *Mars*, namely, *Mars* the Destroyer. But this wants the approbation of Copie; though some, which rightly retain *pendentis*, expound it but inconveniently, and differently from themselves. So *Lubin*; who, when he has rightly said upon, *Ac nudam effigiem*,] i. e. *Ut ostenderet hosti in casside sua effigiem Martis Dei*, saies a little after, on the words *pendentisq; Dei*,] i. e. *in clypeo sculpti, qui de sinistro humero dependet*; so that first he said the sculpture was in *casside*, and then again speaking of the same effigies, he saies that it is in *clypeo*. But *Britannicus* well expresses it, saying on *pendentis*—in *vertice cassidis*, and therefore adds, that it might aptly be called, *effigies pensilis*, according to which sense I render it, *Hov'ring aloft*. For, the more that one with such a sculpture on his helmet strikes at his enemy, the more does the arm'd shape seem to hover over the enemies head. But, with *Lubin* to apply *venientis* to *clypeo*, as if the effigies had been in the shield, would occasion an inconvenience: for then in the like manner it should be applied also to *hasta*, as if on that also had been the like expression. The sense therefore cannot be, that *Mars* came engraven on a shield and spear, but that he came arm'd with shield and spear, his shape and warlike furniture being engraven on the Souldier's helmet. Lastly, whereas *Lubin* expounds, *Ac nudam effigiem clypeo venientis & hasta*, by saying, *Qui nudus ad Iliam veniebat, &c. Qui alias clypeo & hasta armatus venit*: it is not the Poet's division, who expressly applies both these descriptions to him at the time; namely, that he was *nudus*, and yet *clypeo & hasta*

galea fulgens (glistering with shield and spear in the bright metal of the Souldier's helmet) and thus appear'd (as was said) both as a Lover and a Warriour.

8. From the West Shoar. *Littore ab Oceani*. Our innocent Ancestors, says the Poet, had homely cheer in as homely dishes, yet with so much felicity, that if thou art touch'd but with the least degree of envy; thou canst not but envy them; and then did the Gods, says he, more apparently in our Temples afford their presence and assistance, though there their statues were not of gold, but earth. Yet then were they indeed our best auspices; *Litir, sacerdotum more fugientibus*, says the Scholiast, according to his corrupted copy, but aptly mended by *Rugersius*, *Var. Lellion. lib. 2. cap. 16.* reading for *fugientibus, fugientibus*, divining, or foretelling our danger, by a strange voice heard at Mid-night, from the Sea-ward, when the Gauls intended our destruction. For, says he, *his monuit nos*, speaking of *Jupiter* mention'd in the verses following; who *thus* (that is, by a voice) admonish'd us: for which cause they erected an altar dedicating it to the God *Aius*, as *Tully* says (*de Divinatione, lib. 2.*) or as *Livy* has it (*lib. 5.*) to *Aius Locutius*; so called from his advertising them of their approaching danger. In which passage in the description of the way of the voice, some Copies have, *Littore ab Oceani*; or as *Schegius* in his *Præfissa, Epist. 5.* reads it by way of apposition, *Littore ab Oceano*, meaning the *Tyrrhene Sea*: but *Pulmannus* more aptly *Littore ab Occiduo*, from the West-Shoar. Which, though it intends the same thing, is yet a clearer expression, and more particular, pointing-out not only the way of the Voice, but partly also the enemy; the *Senones* being by some placed in *Gallia Lugdunensi*, North-West from Rome. See *Sat. 8. Illustrat. 23.*

9. Which are these teeth *Syene's* gate sends—*Dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes*. The Poet shews the moderation of their Ancestors, who were content with tables made of their own wood, which grew for such uses; yet not as some say left agreeable to our Author, for that same purpose fell'd, but of some old nut-tree, which by chance the wind had blown down (for so the Poet speaks, —*hoc lignum stabat in usus*;—*Annosam si Forte nucem dejecerat Eurus*) The easiness of the provision implying their neglect of choice. Then he expresses the place from which Ivory was brought; namely *Syene*, *Mauritania*, *India* and *Arabia*: the first of which is by *Ziegler* and *Ortelius* taken for *Asna*, as now it is called [anciently *Sena*, as *Leo Africanus* says] a City of *Egypt*, a little North from the Tropick of Cancer, and on the East of *Nilus*; though some have taken it for *Gueguere*, a place far more Southerly. But this *Asna* is here called *porta Syenes*, because it was a thorough fare or passage from *Ethiopia* to *Egypt*; being as for the like cause, *Cuma*, *Sat. 3.* is called *Fanua Baiarum*. *Syene* then in this place implies that Ivory was brought usually from *Ethiopia*. We may farther note, that the Poet in his description of the *Arabian Elephant*, says, that when his teeth are grown too big, he breaks them off: which he does, as some relate, by striking them into the ground or a tree, [and as some add] to lighten himself so in his flight, when he is pursued in *Saltu Nabathæo*; *stabilia* being here called *Nabathæa* [the chief City whereof is *Petra*] near *Syria*; according to *Britannicus*, from *Nabath* [or more truly, *Nebath*] the eldest Son of *Ismael*.

10. —So free Am I from but an inch of Ivory In

Chess-board or Chess-man. —*Ad eo nulla vitæ nobis Est eboris, nec tessellæ nec calculus ex hac Mæritia*. Great was the Pride of the Romans in our Poet's age, scorning a Table-foot of Silver, as much as an Iron-ring, says the Poet; yet an Iron-ring, as *Britannicus* notes, was worn by him that triumph'd, and brides more usually betroth'd with such, though afterwards luxury alter'd the business. But the Roman humour did in a table-foot more affect Ivory; which notwithstanding our Poet's simplicity so despised, that he had not, as he says, a Chess-board or Chess-man of that matter; *nec tessellæ, nec calculus*; *calculus*, though it have other acceptations, signifying here most conveniently, a Chess-man, as *tessellæ* the Chess-board, from the small squares, of which the surface of it is composed; the one half whereof is often of Ivory. As for the Antiquity of the Chess-play it is usually referred to *Palamedes*, as the Inventor of it at the siege of *Troy*; being a game, which did greatly delight the Ancients, as appears from their intemperate care at it; and their shame to be beaten at it; more especially from that story mention'd by *Seneca* [*de Tranquill. animi, cap. 14.*] of that famous Roman, *Canius Julius*; who being appointed to death by that fatal *Caligula*, when the *Centurion* who was haling others to the slaughter call'd also for Him, without the least fear being at Chess-play, fell to the telling of his Chess-men, and bid him that played with him, not to brag after his death, that he had beaten him; and then nodding to the *Centurion*, said, *Beare you witness that I have the better of him by one man*. The name of the Game, *Check-mate*, is derived according to *Gregorius Tolosanus*, in his *Synagm. lib. 39. cap. 4.* from the Hebrew [*QD Sephit* or *vallavit*, and *QD i. e. mortuus est*] signifying a blocking up of the dead: and accordingly he thinks this Game to have been an Hebrew Invention. This sport is anciently in part described by the Author of the Poem to *Piso*; but diligently by *Hieronymus Vida*, in his *Scæchia-ludus*. And whereas some have thought the Ancient game to have been much different from that which is now in use; the learned *Dempster* thinks otherwise, on *Rosinus, lib. 5. cap. 1.*

11. —Chief of the School of Farc. —*Cui cedere debeat omnis Pergula*. In Rome there were many, and in our Poet's time more especially one *Thyphrus* eminent for his skill in Carving, who kept a publick School [for that Art] called here *pergula* [à *pergenda*] either because it was of a gallery-fashion for men to walk-in [as some have it] or because it was properly a *balcone*, and so the building it self did jerry our. For, such Masters did purposely choose such places, thereby to be the more taken notice of; and so to get custome. In which Schools they had all kind of provision for a feast, made in wood, call'd by the Poet *Cena Ulmea*, literally an *Elmen-supper*: but the intent of the Poet being only to imply, that it was a wooden feast, as being materials for the convenience of the teacher, I so render it only in the general. And this practice being so exposed to the street, and the employment of a whole School, yielded no doubt no small noise. But, says the Poet, my simple lad has only the skill to cut a small rather of bacon; being none of your *Asian* youths, that are sold dear by your hucksters, (*mangones*) which brought-up such choicer servants, and sold them at high rates. But mine, says he, is no such peice of Temptation at the Barks (to omit some less clean expression in this place of our Poet) nor is he there said to

well nature with his oil-vessel, [gutto] which was sometimes of horn, sometimes of wood or other matter. See the form of it. *Sat. 3. Illust. 41.*

12. —The Rich shall hear Shell-Musick—*—Audiat ille Testarum crepitus—*. The Poet tells his friend, that peradventure he will expect at His feast some wanton lads brought from Cadix in Spain: which in those times afforded many impudent and notorious harlots, with whom the rich wantons at Rome did use filthily to entertain their guests: as more particularly *Joan Baptista Suarez de Salazar* their own Country-man [an Inhabitant of that place] shews at large, in his *Antiguedades* [lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 279.] Which filthiness was used while the guests were at the table, the wives as the Poet complains, beholding it as leudly as their husbands. But, says he, let the rich have such filthy mirth, and enjoy their Shell-Musick, *testarum crepitus*: which *Brodeus* in his *Miscellanies*, lib. 9. cap. 17. thinks to allude unto a practice of placing earthen vessels or shells, by the skill of workmen, in the sides of the walls of Theaters, that so when the Spectators gave an applause, it might with a certain harmony be return'd. Which applause was called *per testas*; though some describe it to have been perform'd by striking such shells with a stick, and sometimes one against another, and sometimes postheards one against another. The name is mention'd by *Sueton* in his *Nero*, cap. 20. where he mentions also two other kinds of applause; the one *per hymbos*, by making a noise like the humming of bees; the other *imbrices*, which by some are described to have been crooked and long tiles (probably like ridge-tiles) which were struck as the *testas* were: unless, as some think, such applause was a noise like the fall of rain upon flats or tiles, and so by similitude was so call'd. See *Franciscus Bernardinus Ferrarius*, de veter. *Acclamationibus & plausu*, lib. 1. cap. 11. yet whereas he makes the applause *per bombum* to be the noise of the hands struck together, it is not so easily to be conceiv'd; rather one might suppose it to have been perform'd with the Voice, according to that of *Persius*, *Sat. 1. Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis*. The Scholiast on this place of *Juvenal* says, *Testis nam antea percutiebant saltantibus pantomimis quidam* huc non erat: ut mesochori percuterent manibus*. But some as *Rutgerius*, mend it thus, *Testas nam antea percutiebant saltantibus pantomimis quidam*. Hic noverit, ut *Mesochori percuterent manibus*; (see his *Var. Lection. lib. 2. cap. 16.*) others mend it thus, *Testas antea percutiebant saltantibus pantomimis, quia tunc non erat, ut mesochori percuterent manibus*. *Mesochorus* was one, that in the Auditorie gave the sign, when they should begin to applaud; he is term'd *precentor*, by the same *Bernardinus*, lib. 1. cap. 18. The invention of this applause *per testas* is attributed to *Diocles an Athenian*, as *Suidas* shews in the words, *ἐξουσιος and ἐξουσιος*. Some expound this for the Musick on the drumme and cymbal; indeed they which describe the Musick made by the *Mesochorus*, think it to have been made by forming the hand in a hollow, the fingers being closed together, and so by striking one hand against the other like the two parts or halves of a cymbal, to have made a sound. This we may admit to have been a fashion in the Scholiast's time, but not to be an exposition of *Juvenal*, who calls it *Testarum crepitus*, and therefore a sound either of shells or postheards, and rather of the first of the two; the use of the latter seeming inconvenient, if not absurd: and so some, that would have it to be the Musick of the *crotaalum*

or rattle, say it was made of earth (though not so conveniently) or of shells, *testis & conchyliis*; intimated in that of *Aristophanes*, in *Alexy. a vult. ἐργασίας νεγρῶν*. See *Scaliger*, *Poet. lib. 1. cap. 18.* and *Athenaeus*, lib. 14. And as some relate, the Indian Women use such in their dances. I may add, that with some to understand this of the *Cassamuelos*, as the Spaniards call them (their knackers, which I have seen them in Spain use in their dances) I think it may not be admitted as the Musick here intended: this Spanish Musick being but ordinary, and rather a trifle (the snapping of the fingers) than a filthiness, and so below the vehemency of this *Invective*; this therefore probably was some wilder Musick (though not less understood) and so some looser motive unto Looseness. But I leave every man to the Ability and Pleasure of his Own Judgment.

13. *Qui Lacedaemonium pyxismate lubricat orbem*. We will with what brevity we can examine this Riddle for variety of Readings and Interpretations not easily to be parallell'd in any Author. *Flavius* then would here have it to be, *poppyismate*; *Lipsum*, *pyxismate*: according to which aim they interpret *Lubricat* and *Orbem*; or, as *Susim* would have it, *orbem*; but all with such impurity, that Ignorance is here a better Commentary. *Mures* would have it, *pitteumate*, from *πῖττον*, a die; and so taking *Lacedaemonium orbem* for a table of *Lacedaemonian* marble, would have such a one here to be understood, as did make his rich tables slippery with dicing. Which sense might happily be admitted, if it were warranted by Copy: but, when the common Reading yields a just sense, to entertain conjecture against it, is not to expound, but violate, an Author. And though the Poet says presently after it — *alea turpis, Turpe & adulterium mediocribus*, hac tamen illi Omnia cum faciant, hilares nitidique vocantur; yet can it by no Logick follow, that because in these words there is mention of the die, therefore there was also in the former. Besides, why the practice of artificial and strange Lusts should so especially be attributed to a great Dicer, seems to proceed from no great reason. Some would have it here, *pyxismate* agreeably to which conjecture, *Lacedaemonius orbis* is taken for a *Sudatory*; there being many such in Rome, built in a circular form, & from the Spartan Marble-Materials, called *Laconica*: according to which, the sense should be, Let him enjoy the Art of Lust, who with his continual ointments makes slippery the *Sudatories*; but this opinion is but Conjecture. Some would have it, though with little reason, *pitteumate*, from *πῖττον*, to overlay with pitch; some again *pedemate*; so *Britannicus*, taking it for a dance amongst the Spartans, in which the Musitian fate in the midst and the company danced about him. Some would have it *Pityismate*, raking it more particularly for a certain gesticulation in dancing; and others would have it *pede nudo*, as *Scheghius*, in his *Observat. promiss. Epist. 5.* [yet he is somewhat doubtful alleading that of *Tully*, in *L. Pisonem*; cum Collega tui domus cantu & cymbalis personaret, cumque ipse nudus in convivio saltaret, in quo ne tum quidem, cum illum suum versaret saltatorium orbem, fortuna rotam pertimescebat: and so he takes *Lacedaemonius orbis* (according to the former exposition) for a Dance in fashion of a Round. Which interpretation, if it were warranted by copie, were beyond comparison; the sense accordingly being this, Let such enjoy the art of Lust, as at their impure feasts dance naked, a whole round of them, about their filthy musician. But the common and ancient

Indeed Boethius (*Lib. 3. Prof. 4.*) complains, that in his time the Prætorship was but *inane nomen & senatorii census gravis sarcina*; of which argument see more, in *Bulenger, de Circo, cap. 42.* But, though this Reading yields a good sense, and has also the authority of the Scholiast, yet others read, *Perda caballorum*, confirming it likewise from the authority of the Scholiast, who, they say, is in that place corrupted, and that it should be in Him, *Perda caballorum*. The use of the word they prove by the like in the Latin, as by *Scriba* (from *Scribo*) *advena* (from *advenio*) *haredipeta, parricida*, and more nearly from *officiopeda* in *Cato's Distichs*, and in *Isidore's Gloss.* Nay, it is proved by another reason, which is here brought by the Scholiast himself, who says, *aut ideo (præda, as the former copies of the Scholiast have it; but as the more corrected) præda dixit, quoniam multi equi frangebantur iisdem Cirenensibus, for that because many horses provided by the Prætor were spoiled at these shews, therefore the Poet calls Perda caballorum.* Which reason prevailing with the best Interpreters, I chose accordingly to render it. — In pomp at these Our horse-spoiler the Prætor sits.

16. — A shout, methinks, I hear: The Green-coat wins no doubt. — *Fragor aurem Percutit, eventum viridis quo colligo parat.* Amongst other pleasures of the *Games*, one was the running of races with horses in Chariots, which occasioned the diversities of *Chariotiers*, of whom there were four distinct factions; whose parts the Romans most factiously and foolishly took sometimes even to great dissention. The first whereof (to reckon them according to the seasons of the year, to which they were likened) was *fulvis prasina*, or the Green faction; the Chariotiers of that company wearing green coats; and the name was drawn from *æquor*, a leek; their coat being of a leek-green colour; and this was answerable to the Spring. The second was *Rufæa*, *rufæa*, or as some have it, *rosea*, the red, or near a red, and was likened to the Summer, and implied the fiery heat of the Sun. The third was *Alba*; which some attribute to Autumn, for its hoariness: but *Tertullian* (*de Spectac. cap. 9.*) likens the White to Winter, *ob nives candidas*. The fourth was *Venetæ*, commonly rendered, a Blue [or Skie-coloured] and by some attributed to the cloudy Winter; but by *Tertullian* [in the same place] unto Autumn. Concerning which last, the *Venetæ* colour [called so from the *Venetæ*, a people of Italy, chiefly addicted to the wear of that colour, as I have shew'd, *Sat. 3. Illustrat. 24.*] though it be commonly expounded by a Blue, yet *Egnatius* thinks it to have been a Yellow. But *Marcellus Donatus* on *Sueton's Tiberius, cap. 37.* terms it *Caruleus* [according to the first exposition] Skie colour, or Sea-colour; proving it from *Vegetius, lib. 4. de re Militari*, where he says, that Ships, which are sent out as spies, should have their sails of the *Venetæ* colour, that they may not be discerned by the enemies. The occasion then of *Egnatius* his mistake, might peradventure be the colour of the Sea, as it is near the shoar, where it is usually troubled and foul; but more remote it is of a clear skie colour. Now unto the four colours already mentioned, *Domitian* (according to *Sueton* in his Life, *cap. 7.*) added two more, the Golden and the Purple factions. But of the first four, sometimes one, sometimes another, according to the several ages and humours of the Emperors, did flourish; but in *Juvenal's* time here intimated, the *Venetæ* and *Green*, chiefly the *Green* thriv'd, as is implied here; more particularly in *Caligula's* and *Nero's*

times; as *Britannicus* notes on that of the third Satyre, *Si potes avelli Cirenensibus*; the other two, the white and red, did not so take, yet thrive they did, and came to wealth, as seems to be implied, *Sat. 7.* in that passage, *solum Russi, pone Læcia.* The Poet adds (that which may raise admiration at their folly) that if these Shews should have ceas'd, the City would have been confounded, as at the Romans slaughter at the dust of *Cannæ*: where they were overthrown by *Hannibal*, the wind mainly distressing them by driving the dust in their faces; as *Livy* writes, *lib. 22.* A strange expression of a strange vanity, that a like sorrow should affect a People for so unlike a cause!

17. *Effugiatq; togam.* — Although the younger sort, says the Poet, may haunt the Circus; such making it their delight to lay wagers, and sit by the side of their Mistresses; yet, my *Perficius*, it is not for us to attend such delights; but let our age lie in the Sun for warmth, *effugiatq; togam*; that is, says *Britannicus*, Let us put off our gowns, and in the Sun anoint our selves with oile, to refresh our age; the manner being, before meat, to exercise themselves, and then by the fire, or in the Sun, to anoint themselves with oile. Where *Britannicus* adds, that the Gown which at the first was the general wear, descended afterwards only to the meaner sort; necessarily implying, that for that cause also they should avoid the Gown. But neither of these assertions can be free, methinks, from just reprehension: for, as for the first, the custome of anointing themselves with oile being general, what peculiar expression could this be of Old age? And, as for the second, it cannot be a truth, *Marial* expressly mentioning, that *Juvenal* himself wore the Gown: For he says (*lib. 11.*) to our Poet, *Dum per liminare potentiorum Sudatrix toga ventilat.* — *Britannicus* indeed mentions another exposition, according to which, *toga* is taken figuratively for *labores comitum togatorum*; and so the sense will be, we must shun Business now in our old age. Which sense, though *Britannicus* refuse it, *Lubin* thinks to be the best, though he alledges not any reason against the first. But because, for the reasons which I have urged, I think his opinion the better, I choose accordingly to render it, *Our wrinkled skin must drink in the Spring-sun, And scape the busie Gown.* Nor does this thwart the testimony of *Marial*, who most probably writ so to our Poet concerning such employment of the Gown, before *Juvenal* was grown into old age.

18. Though a full hour as yet it wants to noon. — *Quoniam solida hora superstit ad sextam.* The custome was in the latter times of the Roman Empire, to attend their business till Noon, that is, till the sixth hour, or our Twelve of the clock, [though Lawyers were employed far later;] and then untill the ninth hour, that is, our Three of the clock in the afternoon, to exercise and bath themselves. But to do thus before Noon, was only usual on Feast-daies, unless in Old folks: both which exceptions the Poet seems here to imply; saying, that even in five [that is, a few] such daies (or feastival daies) a man would easily be weary. And yet, though *Juvenal* tells his friend *Perficius* thus, I remember, that *Sueton*, in his *Augustus, cap. 71.* shews *Augustus* to have been of another mind; for that Emperor writing to *Tiberius* concerning the *Quinquatris* (a continued feast of five daies) saies, *Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatris satis jucunde egimus. Lucius enim per omnes dies, forumque aleatorium calsecimus*; we must therefore understand our Poet to use

use here a certain number for an uncertain. And here it may be observ'd from *Lipsius* on *Tacitus* [*Annal. lib. 14.* near the beginning] that Feasts earlier than the common hour, were called *convivia tempestiva*; and those which were extended into night, in *noctem intempestam*, were called *convivia intempestiva*, that is, unseasonable, or unfit for the dispatch of business; *nox intempesta* being commonly taken for the time of night, in which men were usually in bed. Concerning the several Seasons of Eating and Bathing, I have written largely, *Sat. 1. Illustrat. 32.* yet it is needful to prevent mistake, to take notice of this one particular; that the time intended here in these words of our Poet, *quamquam solida hora superfit ad Sextam*, signifies our *Eleven of the Clock*; the Romans intending by the name of an hour the time of the end (or expiration) of that hour. So when they said at the *Sixth* hour, they meant at our *twelve* of the clock, when the shadow was upon the *Meridional* line of the dial. So when the shadow was upon the *fifth* line of the dial, as is here implied, it was *eleven* of the clock. According to which use *Perfius* also speaks, *Sat. 3.* saying to the sluggish youth, that he slept, *quinta dum linea tangitur umbra*; by an *hypallage*, till the Shadow

touch'd the *fifth* line (that is, till eleven a clock.) So implies *Secundus Curtius* in his *Scbolia* (on that of *Perfius*) saying *Cum ad sextam lineam umbra venerat Meridies erat*; So likewise *Theodorus Marcellus* (sometime *Regium Professor* of Rhetorick at Paris) on the same words of *Perfius*; *Linea siue nota quinta, quæ Meridiei proxima. Meridies enim hora sexta. Ergo &c. Perfius hoc linea quinta tempus quasi panè meridiem depingit, Pecus omne sub umbo est.* Lastly, *Claverius*, a learned French Advocate, in his *Annotati- ons* on *Perfius*, alleadges upon the same passage, that of *Martial*, *In quintam variis extendis Roma labores; Sexta quies lassit, septima finis erit.* So that, business lasting amongst the Romans till the end of the *fifth* hour, *Perfius* says that the young sluggard slept so long, that he would be sure to escape the business of study; thus implying that he would loyter till noon, in dressing and preparing for the Bath. Our Poet then here invites old *Perfius* to bath at their *fifth* hour, the end of their *fifth* hour, that is at our *eleven* of the clock, and so eat at their *sixth* hour, or our *twelve* of the clock; which habit was a wanton- ness among the Romans, unless on *Fest-days* (as was said) and in *Old folks*.

Gg² SATYRE

SATYRE. XII.

A R G U M E N T.

*A Storm, that did Catullus Fright,
By Calme and Wit is made Delight.
His Ship does in safe Harbour rest;
He in our Poets faithful Breast:
Who Sacrifice brings with so true
A Joy, you'd think he had scap'd too.
Flow'rs deck his Turves: The flames appear:
Th' Affection was more Sweet and Clear.
Some on your Childless Rich Ones spend;
Such Love the Booty, not the Friend.*

MY Birth-day I far less, *Corvinus*, prize,
Then this: wherein my promis'd Sacrifice
Th' Altar of Turves expects: A snow-white Lamb
I kill to *Juno*: a like fleece I am
Bringing to *Pallas*, that does bear on Shield
The *Mauritanian Gorgon*. But I yield
To Great *Tarpeian Jove* (1) a Beast, which now
Shakes his long Rope, and threatens with his brow.

A Bullock fierce he is, ripe for the Shrine
And Altar, to be sprinkled now with Wine.
He shames to suck: his budding horn does smite
The Oak. But had I ample means, that might
Equal my Love, I'de have a Bull drawn straight,
Fatter then large *Hispulla*, slow with weight;
Not bred in Neighbour-grass; his blood should flow
Rank with *Clitumnian* Pastures; A huge blow
His Neck should aske. My Friend's return'd! The thunder
Makes him quake yet! His Safety is his wonder!
For besides Rocks and Lightning scap'd, a dire
Night of one Cloud obscur'd Heav'n; Instant Fire
Dash'd on the Sail-yards. Ev'ry one straight thought
Himself struck. Then Astonishment so wrought,
No Ship-wrack seem'd like flaming sails: Their Eies
Are maz'd, as when (2) Poetick tempests rise!
One Danger more hear: once more *Pitty*: though
A like fate; Greivous! Yet This many know:
Witness our Shrines in Tables vow'd at need
In Tempests. Does not *Isis* Painters feed?
Such Lot on our *Catullus* too was thrown;
When now the *Hold* was wave, and a high-grown

Sea half-o're-let the rowling stern unsure
Of plank; when now no help he could procure
From th' hoary Pilot's skill, he did cast part
To th' Winds, and imitate the Beavers Art,
Which makes himself an Eunuch; so before
He'd scape: He knows, his Med'cine 'tis they'd get.
Cast, cast out all that's mine, *Catullus* cried,
Ready to cast but Robes in Purple died,
Fit for a soft *Mecenas*, He'd have fain
Thrown more, (3) made of such fleece as took its grain
From the brave Grassy, and from a Spring of rare
And secret pow'r, and from the *Barick* Aile,
Parthenian Silver-chargers, he did turn
O're board, and a large bowl that held an Urne;
For thirsty *Pholus* or *Fuscus* his wife
'Twas a good draught. He threw out, to save life
Your *British* baskets, with a thousand dishes
Much Ingrav'd Plate too, once His, who to his wives
Bought, by his Craft, *Olynthus*. But so Bold
Who else, to (4) prefer Life before his Gold;
Their stock some do increase, not to Live better;
But blinded Live to make their stock the Greater,
Most of his useful Goods away are cast,
Yet help not: The Storm presses, will at last
His Mast he fell'd, and quit himself in Distress
Is desprate, when the Help makes the Ship less,
Go now, commit thy Life unto the Wind:
Trust a dress'd plank: Thy self remov'd thou'lt find
From Death, four or five fingers breadth, although
The Pine be of the Thickest. Furnish'd
VVith Nets, their Biskets, and large Flaggons, Thou
Must take an Axe too, gainst a storm. But now
When as the Sea lay smooth, the Heav'ns grew kind,
The Ship-mans Fate conquering the Sea and Wind:
When the pleas'd *Parca* with mild hands begun
A better task, and (5) now a white thread spun:
A wind, their gentle aire, scarce stronger, blows;
The wretched Ship by art as wretched goes,
With a fore-sprit saile left, and garments spread,
The South-wind deafes: Sun and Life half dead
Return: they see *Iulus* his lov'd Seat;
His Step-mothers *Lavinia* seem'd less neat;
A knowl (6) nam'd from the matchless Sow, so white
VVith thirty teats, to *Phrygia* a glad sight.
At last he comes within the Mounts, that close
The Sea, the *Tyrrhene* *Rhodes* too, and those
Armes, which now reach the Mid-Sea, far behind
Italy's left; less wonder thou wilt find
In Nature's Havens. But the main'd Ship gets
To th' Harbour's inmost Lake, where the Calme lets

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

A *Bajan* bark lie safe. VVith (7) shaven pate
 The Sea-men there of their scap'd dangers prate.
 Hast, hast, my youths: Assist (8) with Tongue and Zeal:
 VVith Garlands dress the Shrines; the knives with Meal.
 See, the lost flames and th' Altar's turf be dress'd:
 I'll follow, and those Rites done which are best;
 Home I'll repair, where (9) slender Crowns shall twine
 'Bout my small waxen Gods, which, though frail, shine.
 Here I appease our *Jove*, our *Lares* too
 VVith Incense: Speckled Violets I'll strew.
 All's Trim: Our (10) Gate branch'd-high with bays invites
 To Joy, and is adorn'd with early Lights.
 These things suspect not yet, (11) *Corvinus*. Dear
Catullus, for whose safe Return I rear
 These Altars, has three little Heirs. I'de see
 One more, to such a hopeless friend so free,
 To spend but a sick hen, that shuts the eies,
 Nay, a small Quail ne're for a Father dies.
 But let a Feaver-rich *Gallita* boile,
 Or childless *Paccius*, (12) straight the Temple's Ile
 Is cloath'd with Votive Tables: there they bow,
 And fix them. Some a *Hecatomb* will vow;
 Since th' Elephant's no *Latian* ware. Indeed
 That Beast under our Stars does no where feed:
 But brought from swarthy Nations they are rear'd
 In the *Rutilian* Forest. *Casars* Heard
 Sleights Subjects: *Tyrian* *Hannibal* they obey'd,
 Our Generals and great *Pyrrhus* they did aid.
 Their Sires did on their backs carry a Pow'r
 Of Souldiers, and a Warlike Marching Tow'r.
Novius then and *Ilex* *Pacuvius* would
 Bring th' Ivory to the Altars, if they could;
 A Sacrifice for sick *Gallia* due,
 Fir for her *Lares* and such Fawners too.
 For, one of these, give him but leave, shall vow
 His large, his goodliest slaves, and dress the brow
 Of's youths and Hand-maids with his Garlands; Nay,
 A ripe *Iphigenia* he would slay,
 Though he ne're hop'd some happy Theft to find,
 And (13) Expiation from some *Tragick* Hind.
 My Citizen has Brain! what is a Fleet,
 To a Rich will! If the sick scapes, (14) 'tis meet
 He cancel his first Act, the wheel of merit
 Imprisons him. *Pacuvius* may inherit
 Perchance All shortly; Then may tread with State,
 His Rivals All o'come. Lo, his shrew'd Pate,
 That his *Mycenian* girl in kindness slays!
 Long may *Pacuvius* live, ev'n *Nestor's* days:
 Let him have *Nero's* Prey; Hills unconfin'd
 Of Gold. Love let him neither Show, nor Find.



ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Twelfth Satyre.

The Dress of the Victimarii, and of the Beasts to be sacrificed. Tabellæ Votivæ. Lacerina Bœtica. Navem minorem facere, Staminis albi Lanificæ, Scrofa. Several causes of the Custome of shaving the Head. Favere linguis. Mola; the Matter and Use of it. The private statues of the Lares probably shew'd to have been of wax. Gates at Feastival times adorn'd with Bayes and Lights. Quails dis-esteem'd by the Romans. Ebur taken for Elephas. Nassa; the Ordinary Reading and Interpretation of it, approved.

1. **A** Beast which now shakes his long rope.—*Sed procul extensum petulans quatit hostia funem.* The Poet expressing here, to his friend Corvinus, the singular joy which he took at the preservation of his dear *Catullus*, from a Sea-Tempest, says, that this day is dearer to him than his Birth-day, in effect, that *Catullus* his life was dearer to him than his own. Next, he shews the intended expressions of his joy, saying, that an altar of turves (raised suddenly upon such occasions) expected his promised sacrifice; yea, that he rais'd many to that purpose, as he enlarges it afterwards in that verse, *Pro cinis reditu tot pono altaria*. Then he recites the Deities to whom he will sacrifice, namely, *Juno* and *Pallas*: which last, as *Hyginus* says, (though some say, *Perseus*) slew *Medusa* one of the three *Gorgons* (so called for their fierceness, *γοργώνας*, in killing men only by their looks) near unto Mount *Atlas* in *Mauritania*; and in sign of victory wore on her shield the expression of the *Gorgon's* head, the hairs whereof were said to be turned into Serpents. He farther adds, that he would sacrifice to *Jupiter*, who had a Temple on Mount *Capitol*, otherwise called the *Tarpeian Hill* (from the Vir-

gin *Tarpeia* overwhelm'd there with the shields of the *Sabines*) and that his sacrifice should be a lusty beast, whose strong head should shake his long rope; one that used wantonly to strike his horns against trees, and which indeed was fit to have wine (according to the custome) poured on his head between his horns, when he should be ready to be sacrificed. In which expression he intimates the manner of leading the beast to be sacrificed; that is, with a long rope, that he might seem to go willingly, if not run before; unwillingness in the beast being counted ominous, as *Lubin* notes: yet he might have observed, that *Juvenal* a little after, says, *Pinguior Hispulla Traberetur taurus*: which therefore (as I guess) *Lubin* is fain to expound more gently by *duceretur*. Which custome of leading the sacrifice is aptly described, in explication of this verse of *Juvenal*, by *Du Choul de la Religion des Anciens Romains*, p. 276, 277. Where the *Victimarii* are expressed from an ancient Marble at Rome, oftentimes half-clothed with the skins of beasts, which they had sacrificed: and the beast to be sacrificed (being a large one) with the forehead and horns gilded and adorn'd with chaplets and gilded beads hanging down from the horns of the beast on each side after this manner, as he delightfully represents it, *



The Poet adds, that if he were rich, he would sacrifice a beast as fat as *Hispulla*, a dame, it seems, in those times of full dimensions, and one whose humour was, as the Poet intimated before (*Satyre. 6.*) to delight in your Tragick Actors, according to that, *Hispulla Tragedo Gaudet*— Yet some *Manuscripts* have it by way of division, *his pulla*, expounding *his* by *agna* and *vitulus* mention'd before in this *Satyre*, and *pulla* by *nigro fume*. The Author of the *Manuscript* Commentary likewise takes notice of this Reading, and expounding *pulla* by *vitta congruente nigredini tempestatis*, yet rejects it, taking *Hispulla*, as most do, for a proper name. And such a fat one, says our Poet, my sacrifice should have been, had I been rich; a beast nourish'd in the Pastures near *Clitumnus*, a river, which according to *Philargyrius*, parts *Tuscanie* and *Umbria*; and of which all the cattle that drank, brought forth their young of a white colour: and therefore from thence were chosen all those Sacrifices, which were offer'd to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, as *Pliny* relates, *lib. 2. cap. 7.* and *Virgil*, in that of his *Georgicks*, *Hinc albi Clitumne Greges, & maxima saurus Victimæ*— In which passage our Poet says, that if he were rich, he would bring for a sacrifice a great beast, — *à grandi cervix ferienda ministro*, some understand, as *Lubin* notes, by *grandi ministro* the *Pontifex maximus*; but he justly rejects the interpretation, expounding it of the strength of the *victimarius*, that was to give the blow. Besides, I may add, that it were unseemly to make that the business of the *Pontifex maximus*, that was the office of an inferior person; and thus *grandi* implies, as I render it, not the dignity, but the size or strength of the person.

2. — As when Poetick tempests rise. — *si quando poetica surgit Tempestas*— Some here read, *Ponica*, and so understand such horrible Tempests, as arise in the *Euxine* Sea: which Reading yields a good

sense, yet *Ponica* is the most received, as being both ancient, approved and expounded by the *Scholiast*; besides, it is singularly *Satyric*; for which considerable motives I retain it. The Poet further implies the manner of men in danger of Shipwrack: who were wont in their extremity to vow a Table or Picture, expressing their danger, unto the Temple of *Neptune*; though afterwards, in imitation of the *Egyptian* superstition, unto *Isis*; who, as *Pignorius* notes in his *Mens. Isiac. Expos. f. 5.* was held to be the Patroness of Seamen and Commanders of the Winds: and such Pictures are here called *Tabella votiva*. Now even in such distress, says our Poet, was dear *Catullus*; the lower, yet capacious, part of the ship, the *Hold*, or *Howle*, (as the Seamen call it) being fill'd with water, and *Aternum puppis latus evertentibus undis Arboris incerta*—, the waves throwing the ship sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other (to speak vulgarly) or rather being ready to overset the ship (*puppis*, properly the *sterne*, or *sternage*) *arboris incerta*, made but of unsure or dangerous planks. In which description I render *puppis* rather by the *sterne*, then by the *ship*, the first acception being more agreeable to the description here intended; as may appear from the two kinds of troublesome motion of a ship. The one whereof is in respect of her *Length*; according to which, sometimes the one end, as the *fore-castle*, sometimes the other, as the *Sterne*, is mounted-up by the waves, and this is called the *Heaving* and *Setting* of a Ship: the other is in respect of her *breadth* (that is, from side to side) the Sea sometimes laying the Ship almost on the one side, and sometimes on the other; and this is called (as a long continuance at Sea, many years since, taught me) the *Rolling* of the Ship. Which last motion being here intended, as is plain from the words — *latus evertentibus undis*, and also being more notoriously discerned in the *stern* (by reason of

of the height I therefore render *puppis* by the *stern* : which being built (highest) for pleasure and direction (containing in it commonly, above the Captain's cabin, cabins for the Master and his mates) is in the rowling of the ship most troubled ; and therefore well might it be suspected to be, as the Poet speaks, *arboris incerta*, of plank scarce sure enough against greatest danger.

3. —Made of such fleece as took its grain From the brave grass. — *Quarum generosi graminis ipsum Infecit natura pecus*. — In the description of *Catullus* his deliverance, the Poet says, that he dealt with the Sea, as the *Beaver* (according to the vulgar belief) deals with those that hunt him ; that is, he did *decidere jactu*, decide the quarrel with his loss ; the *Beaver*, as the fable has it, making himself an *Eunuch*, and so leaving behind him to his pursuers, that part which some esteem as singular in *Physick*, there being made of it an Oil call'd *Castoreum*. See *Persius*. Sat. 5. v. 133. The form of this subtle beast is this. * Thus also *Catullus* dealt with the

described by her drinking, and he by his leaking, in that passage, *Sat. 16. v. 46. Fusco jam miscuente parati Digredimur*. To these losses the Poet adds such engraven plate cast-over board, as formerly had been the Goods of the crafty *Macedonian King Philip* : who bribed *Laesthenes* to betray unto him *Olynthus* a City of *Thrace*, his own Country ; for thus we must expound *escaria*, dishes, and *multum calati*, that is, *argenti*, much engraven plate, according to the receiv'd interpretation ; not referring *calati* to *Olynthi*, as some, not observing the *Latin* elegance, have done.

4. —But so bold who else, to prefer Life before his Gold ? — *Quis audeat Argento praeferre caput* ? Some think rather the contrary of this speech to be truth : but methinks it may with a gentle interpretation stand easily free from exception ; the Poet intending only an aggravation of the Covetousness of men in His times. And is it not usual with many in their sickness by an unwarrantable hope of escape without the Charge of *Physick*, basely to

cast themselves away ? And do not many likewise in Sea-storms in hope to save both life and goods, loose both ? And though it be farther urged, that this howsoever could be no cause of Commendation to *Catullus*, because he did but that, which even a beast, the *Beaver*, does without reason, as the Poet acknowledges : yet it must be granted, that things in some respect a like, may in another respect, as of their motive, mainly differ. For so, that which is merely natural in a beast, as to drink no more then enough, is in man a virtue, as done by the wisdom of reason. Besides, whereas again a little after some reprehend our Poet for saying,

navem minorem facere for *exonerare*, as they expound it ; the Poet speaks it not of casting out the goods, but of cutting-down the mast (*ut malum ferro submitteret*.) Which is but more remotely to be expounded by *exonerare* ; that being properly a burden or weight, not which is a part of the ship, but of the carriage. Though in a remote sense, as I said, the mast may accidentally be called so, when by the violence of wind and wave it is too much driven on either side.

5. —And now a white thread spun. — *Et staminis albi lanifica*. The Poet after his expression of a storm, says Let any be now so hardy as to go yet to Sea, committing his life to a few dressed planks of pine-tree (that is, a ship) and so be but a few fingers breadth (the thickness of the planks) remov'd from the wave, and consequently from death : let him lay in his penurious provision, his bag or net for his bread, with his gorbellied flaggon ; but let him be sure to take an axe with him too, to cut-down his mast upon occasion. But at last, says the Poet proceeding in his relation, the weather grew calmer, and the fatal sisters began to spin a white thread : wherein he implies the Opinion of the Ancients, who thought that when the *Parca* intended long life unto a man, they spun him a white thread ; as when they intended his death, a black ; according to that of *Martial*, (*lib. 6. epig. 58.*) *Si mihi lanifica ducant non pulla sorores Stamina*. — In this passage there is yet some farther

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doubt,



Juv. Sat. XII. Illust. 3.

winds, casting-out his goods, even precious purple garments ; and such *quarum ipsum pecus*, the very sheep of which garments, that is, of whose wooll those garments were made, receiv'd their colour not from art but nature, the nature of the grass and water and air, wherewith they lived. He intends the Country in the South-West of Spain, called *Andaluzia*, and in that the river *Betis* commonly called *Guadalquivir* (or the Great River) upon which stands *Corduba* and *Sevil* ; where the sheep, as the Poet says, were naturally of a reddish colour. Where it may be observed, that the Poet does not say, *ipsa natura*, but *ipsum pecus* : for properly even in the art of *Dying* the colours are originally natural, though order'd by art ; but by saying that nature dyed *ipsum pecus*, was to imply, that whereas wooll is usually dyed, when it is separated from the sheep, this had the colour on the sheep's back ; according to that, which the *Lacerna Batica*, in *Martial*, says of it self, — *me mea tinxit ovis*. In the farther recital of his friend's goods the Poet says, that he cast-out also good plate, the work of the curious *Parthenius* ; as also a bowl that held an urne (that is, four gallons and an half) a pretty draught for *Pholus* the *Centaur*, that entertain'd *Hercules* ; or, as the Poet Satyrically adds, a convenient draught for *Fuscus* his wife, a dame, it seems, in those times of a large throat, and probably, as I think, the wife of that judge *Fuscus* mention'd in the last Satyre, and so of a temper not unlike his wife ; only she is

doubt, about these words,—*tempora postquam Prospere velletis*, some understanding by *velletis*, Catullus our Poet's friend, but it may seem more congruous to take it for the Ship-man, or Pilot, that brings the Ship into harbour, and that in the close of this passage, is called *magister*, in these words,—*sed truncæ puppe magister interiora petit Baias pervia Cymæ Tuti Ragna sinus*.

6. A knowl nam'd from the matchless Sow to white, with thirty teats.—*Conspicitur sublimis apex : cui candida nomen Scrofa dedit*.—The Poet here shews how Catullus his Ship, the weather being grown gentler, came safe into the haven at Ostia in the mouth of the River Tiber : which description including many varieties, it will for the younger Reader be somewhat necessary to clear it in the several parts of it. He says then, that at last they discovered the high Mount, neer which was built Alba Longa by Julius Ascanius ; who having before dwelt at Lavinum (built by Æneas, and called so from his second wife Lavinia the daughter of Latinus, his first wife, the mother of Ascanius, being called Crensa) increasing in people, departed thence after his father's death, leaving Lavinum to his mother in Law, and built Alba commonly called Longa from the long form of it ; but Alba upon this occasion. The Oracle having told the Phrygians, as it is in Virgil, *Æneid*. 3. that when they should find by a river side an huge sow, that should bring forth thirty pigs at one litter, they should build a City in that place : they finding this rare or matchless beast, like unto which never any had been seen (before,) and accordingly building a City, called it from the colour of the Sow, Alba ; a glad fight, as the Poet calls it, to the Phrygians, who till now expected a resting place. And here that of Messala Corvinus may be observed, *Troia vulgo Italice latineq; Scrofa vel sus dicitur*, that Troy was in Latin the same with sus. But to proceed, this place the terrified Sea-men first discovering, got afterwards into the entrance of the Ostian haven : which two sides, artificial or forced Mounts or ridges like two arms, ran so far into the Tyrrhene Sea, that they seem'd in their compass almost to enclose it, and as it were to leave Italy behind them. In which haven there was also a Pharos, or Watch-tower built in imitation of that famous one in Egypt, and for the like use, to give notice to Sea-men in the night, by a lantern hang'd up, of the nearness of the shoar. The works of which haven [whose art exceeded the works of natural havens] were perform'd at several times by three Emperors, Augustus, Claudius, and Trajan. And into the innermost part of this haven, says our Poet, these Sea-men got at last ; a place so calm, that it is as safe as a quiet lake ; so calm, that even a Baian boat [which is used commonly to quiet waters, such as are those in the Lucrine lake, in Campania, neer Baia, as says Britannicus] may lie there without danger.

7.—With shaven pate.—*Vertice raso*. Anciently they accounted it ominous to cut their hair when they were to go to Sea ; that being their last vow in a tempest. To which (according to some) St. Paul seems to allude, *Act*. 27. 34. There shall not an hair of your head perish, *ruetur, cadet (fallit)* as if he should have said, They should not need to vow their hair (according to the custom in great extremity ;) for without such a vow, and to without the performance of it, they should all escape. Hence likewise it was, that they which were made free, were shaven before they did put on the cap of Liberty, because they had escaped the tempest of

servitude ; as *Manius Manellus* relates it. See also to this effect, *Jac. Dur. Capellius*, in his *Varior*. lib. 2. cap. 9. Thus Sea-men likewise acknowledged themselves prefer'd to Liberty, which, by the tempest, they accounted themselves to have lost : and for the like reason such also were shaven, as, being accused, were yet upon trial acquitted.

8.—Assist with Tongue and Zeal.—*Linguis animisq; faucentes*. He quickens his servants to make ready for his performance of thanks, the altars of the Deities ; more particularly, he bids them assist with tongue and mind ; *favete linguis* being not to speak, but a form used by way of preparative at Sacrifices ; that at the time of performance, all that were present with the Sacrificer might be silent : Hence therefore is that of Virgil, *Æneid*. 9. *Hinc fida silentia sacris* ; according to which, *Horace* likewise uses the words, *Carm*. lib. 3. *Od*. 1. *Favete linguis, carmina non prius Audita, Musarum sacerdos Virginibus puerisq; canto* ; in which case, Silence in the assistants was a necessary favour. See *Alexander ab Alex*. lib. 4. cap. 17. and *Tiraquell* ; on which last, *Colerus* says, *Favete linguis est cum silentio audire, audientiam dare*. Unde apud *Comicos Favorem populi, interpretatur silentium & audientiam populi*. Wherefore this former used here by our Author, may not be understood of Prayer by word, but of Silence and Devotion.

9.—Where slender crowns shall twine 'Bout my small waxen Gods, which, though frail, shine,—*Graciles ubi parva coronas accipiant fragili simulachra nitentia cera*. Amongst other preparations *Juvenal* bids his servants (according to the custom) to adorn the gates of the Temples with chaplets of flowers, and to besprinkle the knives, wherewith the beast was to be dressed, with meal, *sarre*, anciently called *mola* ; which some call a cake, making it of toasted *sarre* mixt with water and salt, as *Britannicus* expresses it. According to which description we must then suppose, that it being a cake, it was afterwards broken again into crumbs ; the manner being to sprinkle with it the Fire, the knives, and the head of the Sacrifice. *Festus Pompeius*, lib. 11. describes it only by *sarre* and *sals* ; and it is convenient enough to conceive it to have been only meal, water, and salt : and so the word *mola* seems only to imply, that it was ground, or had passed the mill. The Poet next bids his servants dress the soft flames, that is, made with incense, says the *Scholiast*, or *recentes et teneros*, as *Britannicus* thinks ; because the fire was raised on an Altar of curves, whole grass was tender ; though the first exposition seems more intimate, and so neerer to the truth. The Poet then adds, that He will follow, and when he has perform'd his best, that is, his publick sacrifice (*quod præstat* ; for, this Reading yields a better sense than the other, *restat*, which some offer) he says, that he will then go home to offer incense, and strew violets by way of joy and honour unto his Lares, which he describes by terming them—*fragili simulachra nitentia cera*. By which it is usually understood, that they were statues of wax : but *Rangerius*, in his *Var. Leshon*. lib. 5. cap. 5. would here take *cera*, as in that former passage, *Sat*. 10. *Gemma incensare Peorum* ; and says, that the *Scholiast* indeed is in this place ambiguous. But it may seem inconvenient to understand here that custom ; since probably such scraps of wax, by which they were fastned, could afford but little decency, and less lustre. And whereas he adds, that he never read, that the Lares were made of wax ; I think the exception not sufficient, there being no need

need to express that particularity of the *Lares*; it being usual to make statues of wax, especially such as were not exposed to the injury of weather, of which sort the *Lares* here mentioned, were. For, though they were worshipped also publicly in *comitis*; yet these were at his own house, as he implies in those words, *Inde domum repetam, graciles ubi, &c.* Besides, it is very convenient to suppose them to have been of wax, specially if we consider the manner of trimming of them, according to that of *Perfius* [Sat. 5.] *Artificemq; tuo ducis sub pollice vultum*; and that also of *Juvenal*, [Sat. 7.] *Exigite ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat, Ut si quis cera vultum facit.*— Which implies, that they did, in the forming of their waxen statues, smooth them with the thumb: so that both in respect of the matter and the art, the Poet might aptly here call them, *Simulacra nitentia cera.* Concerning *graciles coronas*, see Sat. 9. Illustrat. 12.

10. Our Gate branch'd high with bayes, invites To joy, and is adorn'd with early Lights.— *Longos erexit janua lauros, Et matutinis operitur festa lucernis.* The Poet here expresses his joy by two circumstances, the adorning his Gate with Bayes, and also with Lights. The first of which customs is mentioned before by our Poet; as in that of the 10th. Satyre. *Pone domi lauros*: on which, see Sat. 10. Illustrat. 15. as also in that of the sixth Satyre, v. 80. *Ornentur postes & grandi janua lauro.* Upon occasion of which last words I may remember, to prevent mistake, that difference between *Scaliger* and *Hieronymus Columna*, about that fragment in *Ennius*, *Desine Roma tuos hostes, . . .* where *Scaliger* reads *postes*, supplying the rest of the verse thus, — *ornare trophæis*; which *Columna* on that place dislikes, saying, that neither in publick nor private joy amongst the Romans, the Posts of their gates were adorned with trophies, but with bayes, alledging this of *Juvenal*, and methinks rightly. He alledges also *Lipsius*, *Elest. lib. 1. cap. 3.* for that custome: others indeed supply that verse of *Ennius* thus, — *hostes horrere superbos.* As for the other custome, some take no notice of it in this place, reading *Et matutinis operantur festa lucernis*; so the Scholiast, expounding it by *Sacrificant*, and alledging that of *Virgil*, — *latis operatur in herbis.* But *Lipsius* reads *operitur* (which is most receiv'd) understanding it of *janua festa*, the festival, or joyful gate: which was the custome, according to some, amongst the Jews upon their *Sabbaths*, to which they apply that of *Perfius*, Sat. 5. — *Undeque fenestra disposita pinguem nebulam vomere lucerna.* But that it was the custome amongst the Romans on their Festivals, is implied in that of *Tertullian*, in his *Apolog. cap. 35.* *Clarissimis lucernis vestibula enubilare*; and de *Idololatria*, cap. 15. *Lucerna pro foribus & laurus in postibus.* And such lights are, by the Poet, called here *matutina*, to imply the alacrity and early diligence of their devotion and joy.

11. These things suspect not yet, *Corvinus.* *Ne suspecta tibi sint hac, Corvine.* Some here again reprehend our Poet for this application; it being not made till after ninety verses: yet I suspect, that even artificial *Horace* may be found as liable to the like reprehension, and even in that most elegant *Ode*, which begins with *Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis*: of which *Ode* consisting of seventy verses, sixty six verses are spent before he tells his Reader, that what was said before, was spoken by *Alpheus* the Usher; whereas in this Satyre consisting of 130 verses, there are about two third parts spent before the application. But, for my own part, I think

those contrivances rather Art, than Negligence, in both these admirable Authors.

12.— Straight the Temple's Ile is cloth'd with votive tables; there they bow, And fix them. — *Legitimè fixis vestitur tota tabellis Porticus.*— The Poet says, that Gifts are commonly bestow'd but in hope of gain; and that accordingly for a father, [that is, one that has children to enjoy what he leaves] no man will offer for the recovery of his health, if he be sick, so much as a *hen*, though scarce able to live any longer; nay, not so much as a quail, though of mean account [with the Romans.] The reason whereof might be, because it is said to be of hard digestion, affording but excremental nourishment, and disposing to fevers, and more especially to the falling-sickness, and to be subject to it, as *Pliny* says, which ill disposition is caused from their delighting in *Hellebore*, as *Galen* mentions, 6 *Epid. Com. 5. 1. 35.* But that food being not found by them every where, some attribute it to a malignity in their nature: yet this then, if not hindered, should alwaies produce such malignant effects; which, by common experience, being found untrue, it is though more reasonably, that they dispose into such diseases, by breeding phlegmatick, gross, and rough humours, when they are usually, that is, too much fed on. See the learned *Sennertus*, *Institut. Medicin. [lib. 4. part 1. cap. 3. p. 846.]* And such disesteem may probably, me-thinks, be conjectur'd from the great Roman kitchen-Artist, *Apicius*: seeing that, in his *Trophetes*, his sixth book, wherein he purposely handles the cookery of birds, according to the *Romane* palate, he yet makes no mention of the Quail. This point being not touch'd by the Interpreters, yet very necessary to the understanding of the Poet's speech, the quail being vulgarly esteem'd as a Dainty, yet in the judgement of the best Physicians thus disesteem'd, I thought fit to discusse it, and according to the truth. And now to go on with our Poet, if, says he, your childless Rich ones lie sick, such as are *Gallita*, or *Paccius*, you shall have flatterers, which will *Legitimè* figure *tabellas votivas*, solemnly with bowing, according to the custome, fix up in the walks or Iles of the Temples, their votive tables, their vows written in paper, and those no mean ones. On which passage, concerning the sickness of the rich ones, says *Lubin*, *Ibi* [in that case] *tota illorum porticus interius tegitur tabellis votivis suspensis ab hæredipetis captatoribus, quibus sese voti & sacrificii reos significant, si restituantur divites patroni.* In which words, to whom the word *illorum* [porticus] does relate, is not easie to conceive: for having before made mention only of the two rich childless persons *Gallita* and *Paccius*, and their Flatterers, to understand, by *illorum porticus*, Their own, though stately, walks, sustain'd by pillars, as if vows had been fix'd up there, were a thought too much remote from the solemnity of the *Romane* custome, which being a part of their religion and including a vow, which was to be *legitimè*, according to the *Romane* Rite fix'd up, we must needs think upon the Temples of the Gods; and therefore I choose *Britannicus* his exposition, who on this passage says, *In porticibus templorum suspendebantur tabella suscipientium vota.* Where we may farther observe, that the *Romane* Temples, though some were round, yet for the most part were not much unlike ours (as *Franciscus Polletus*, lib. 1. *Historia Fori Romani*, cap. 3. observes,) having the *ador*, answerable to the Quire, [unto which only Priests might come] 2dly. *Basilica*, the body of the Temple, with Iles (or, *Porticus* on

the sides) in which they fix their vows and 3dly *ægræas*, or the porch of the Temple; to omit other particulars. The Poet speaking on concerning flatterers, says that they would promise even a *Hecatomb*, a sacrifice of an hundred beasts, or such a huge one, seeing that we have no Elephants in these parts; except only some few kept in the *Rutilian* Forest at *Lavinum*. But, says he, if we had Elephants, flatterers there are, which would bring the Ivory, that is, the beast (the tooth being taken for the beast) unto the Altar for a Sacrifice; though a beast, says he, which heretofore is said to have carried a tower upon his back, and to have been the servant only of Kings, such as *Pyrrhus* the *Molossian* or such great Ones; and therefore a very fit sacrifice, no doubt (for he speaks ironically) for the *Lares of Gallia* and *Faccius*. In which passage some reprehend our Poet, for saying that they would promise a *Hecatomb*; it being not a Roman, but a Greek Sacrifice: likewise for saying, that the Elephant carried on his back a cohort, when as sometimes it consisted of 500. souldiers; Lastly for saying — *ebur ducatur ad aras*, as if they would sacrifice the Ivory, which was not a sacrifice, though an Offering. All which exceptions I grant to be learned and sharpe, yet I think all these passages may more gently be interpreted; for in the first, the Poet seems not to intend the property of the sacrifice, but the value; meaning that such flatterers would promise not properly, but as it were a *Hecatomb*, that is, a Sacrifice as costly as a *Hecatomb*. In the second likewise while he mentions the burden of the Elephant, he does but Satyrically aggravate it, as speaking but according to the people, and so jeering at the excess. And so to the third, he speaks not strictly, but figuratively, calling the Elephant Ivory, as being the Creature that yields it: which if it be a bolder expression the Judgment of the Author were a Defence. But if the bravest strains, in the rest of the Poet's, were all in like manner examin'd with this severity; the rigour of *Logick* would call that untruth, which the humanity of *Rhetorick* terms an Elegancy. Let us then remember the moderation of the Learned *Jo. Isacius Pontanus* [in his *Collegian*. on *Macrob. in somnium Scipionis, lib. 2. cap. 7.*] saying on a like occasion, *Certe juvenanda in pluribus potius vatum sensa, quam exigenda omnia ad rigidam normam.*

13- — And expiation from some Tragick Hind. — *Tragica furtiva piacula cervæ*. As the Poet before did not intend to speak properly, when he mention'd a *Hecatomb*, so in the like licence he proceeds in the aggravation, saying that these sawners, if they might, would in hope of vast gain, dress the brows of their *Servants* with garlands, that is prepare to sacrifice Them, nay even a *Daughter*, though ripe for marriage, an *Iphigenia*; and, though he should know before hand, that she should not be saved by the substitution of some other sacrifice. Wherein he expresses the execrable covetousness

of those flatterers, and intimates the story of *Iphigenia*: which briefly, for the ease of the ordinary reader, was this. The *Gracians* having kill'd a Hind consecrated to *Diana*, were by the offended Goddess a long time detain'd at the haven of *Aulis* with their fleet by a contrary wind. Whereupon consulting the Oracle, and being told that, to pacifie the Goddess, they must sacrifice *Agamemnon's* daughter *Iphigenia*, (whom the Poet afterwards calls the *Mycenian* girl, from her Father's Country *Mycæ* her parents, by the deceit or eloquence of *Ulysses*, were perswaded to consent that she should be sacrific'd. But when the time came, *Diana* convey'd her away, as the fable certifies us, unto the *Taurick Chersonese*, to be her she-priest there; placing in her stead a *Hind* for a ready sacrifice; a *tragick Hind*, as the Poet Satyrically speaks: for though the damsel escaped, the Hind paid for it.

14. — 'Tis meet he cancel his first A&T. The weell of merit imprisons him — *Delebit tabulas, inclusus carcere nassa*. The Poet here bitterly jeers at *Pacuvius*, saying that he was a fellow of a projecting brain; and that it is true, *Agamemnon* would have lost his daughter to have saved the *Gracian* fleet of a thousand ships: but alas, says he, what is such a fleet to the estate which *Pacuvius* gets by offering [his *Iphigenia*] His daughter? Surely another manner of matter, even the wealth of *Paccius*. Who, if he escapes, must needs alter his Will, and for the Art of kindness, wherewith *Pacuvius* has taken him, as the weel does the fish, *Pacuvius*, is the man, that must be his sole heir: which being once come to pass, he may then walk with disdain slighting his dull corrivals, whom his Master-brain finely surpass'd. But, says the Poet [descending again to sober earnest] Let him out-last *Nestor's* years, and out-vie *Nero's* riches [who, to enrich himself, robbed both the Gods and Men] yet like a very wretch, let him neither love Others, nor Others him. Yet in this passage, some take *Nassa* [or, as others have it, *Natta*] for the name of a *Physitian*, at whose house their phansie would have the sick lie for cure, and therefore to be *inclusus carcere nassa*. But this, methinks, it rather to be mention'd [because by others] then esteem'd, as seeming opposite to that which went before; and so yielding neither coherence nor good sense: which according to their acception of *Nassa*, would be this [according to the *Latin* so expounded, *Si Libitinam evaserit ager, Delebit tabulas, inclusus carcere nassa*] If he recovers, he will alter his will whiles he lies sick. For, if recover'd, how does sickness then imprison him at his *Physitian's*? Or, if he lies imprison'd with sickness at his *Physitian's*, how is he then recover'd? Wherefore, though this Reading and acception of the word, be mention'd by *Pulmannus* without notice of the inconveniences, I choose to retain the Ancient Reading and Exposition.

SATYRE. XIII.

ARGUMENT.

Calvinus, a great summe did trust
To one unkind, because unjust:
But when a summe so Great, so Due
He lost, he lost his Patience too.
Our Poet shews him that his Rage
Fits not his loss, nor his old Age;
That, Gold which once did for a while
Mens Lives express, does now Defile.
Now Desperate wretches dare Forswear
By what their Guilt ought most to Fear.
Gold such may get, but never Rest:
Fails they may scape, Ne're their own Breast.

***** N Exemplary Sin always dislikes
***** Th' Author. The Guilty this Revenge first strikes;
***** A ***** He's never Quit: Conscience does still return,
***** Though Favour Master the false Prator's (1) Urn.
***** What think'st, Calvinus, All think of th' unjust
***** Fresh Crime, the Crime of Violated Trust?
***** Yet thy wealth's not so slender, that the weight
Of a small damage should straight sink thy state.
Besides, Thine's one of our known Common losses
Drawn from the mid'st of Fortune's Heap of Crosses.
Groans must not be too deep: Greif Wise men Bound:
It's Rage must not be Greater then the wound.
Of light Ills the least part thou scarce can'st bear:
VVrath boils thy Breast! Because thy friend did swear,
Yet renders not thy Pledge. Alas! Appears
This strange to Him, that has Pass'd Threescore years,
Born in Fontejus's Consulship? Has such
Age and Experience taught thee not Thus much?
VVisdom, which does our Sacred Volums fill
VVith Precepts, conquers Fortune with rare skill.
Yet those too we call Blest, which can Bear strife
Nor tols the yolk, taught by meer use of Life.
VVhat Day so Sacred, but reveals Theft, bold
Perfidie, Cheats, Gain from All Crimes, and Gold

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

Got by the Sword or Poison'd Box? So Few
 Are Good! That, *Thebes* almost more Gates can shew,
 Or wealthy *Nilus* Mouths. These (2) our last Times,
 Our Age is worse then th' Ir'n one: for whose Crimes
 Nature's Invention has yet giv'n no name
 From any Metal. Yet, for wrong, exclaime
 We do, O *Faith of Gods and Men*! More loud
 The Doal makes not the Clients, that praise proud
Fessidius, when he Pleads. Speak Grave Sire, right
 Fit for the Childs Bos, know'st not the delight
 Another's mony yields? VVhat sport th' art grown,
 (Silly Man!) to the Rout, when thou'dst have none
 Forswear, but at each Shrine and Altar red
 VVith Blood, think some God present! The Home-bred
Latines liv'd thus, (3) e're Saturn forc'd to fly
 Did use the rustick Sith, his Crown laid-by;
 VVhen *Juno* was a girle, and *Jove* for fear
 VVas hid in *Ida's* Caves; when no Feasts were
 Above the Clouds; no *Ilian* boy, nor fair
Hebe to fill *Joves* cup; *Nectar* then rare
 No *Vulcan* quaff'd, wiping his coarse armes grown
 Black from his *Liparaan* forge. Alone
 Ev'ry God din'd: Then was there no such rout
 Of Gods, as Now: A few did serve throughout
 The well-contented Skies, and so did press
 The wretched *Atlas* with a weight far less.
 The Seas by *Lot* had no dread Prince: nor fate
 Stern *Pluto* then with his *Sicilian* mate.
 No VVheel, Stone, Furies, vulture foul, they had:
 VVithout Infernal Kings the Ghosts were glad.
 Villany then was wonder! 'Twas a size
 Of Crime worth Death, if young men did not rise
 To th' Old; a Boy to All with Beards; though He
 More Strawberies and huge Acorn-heaps might see
 At Home. Then, Four-years-more such awe did win!
 Sacred as Old Age was the Downy Chin.

Now if a friend does but make good his Trust:
 If he restores th' Old Pouch with all the Rust;
 'Tis Prodigy by *Tuscan* Art to be
 Search'd, and Purg'd with a Crown'd Lamb! when I see
 A Holy man, this Monster I compare
 To a Child of double shape, or Fish that are
 Found by th' amaz'd Plow, or to a Mule with Foal.
 I fear, as when in showers stones down do rowl;
 Or (4) Bees like a long Grape-bunch settle-on
 Some Temple's top; Or streams hast to be gone
 To th' Seas, with hurrying gulfs of Milk or Blood.
 Thou criest, Ten Sesterces a false friend shoud
 Restore! VVhat if two hundred yet, Another
 Have lost thus? A third more, (though this he smother)

A summe his wide Chest's corner could scarce hold?
 To sleight Heav'n's witness, we're so prone, so bold,
 If man knows not! How he denies! and tears
 Voice and set Face! By the *Sun* beams he swears;
 By the *Tarpeian* Lightnings, yet ne're starts;
 By *Mars* his Jav'lin, by *Apollo's* Darts;
Diana's Shafts and Quiver, and thy Mace,
Neptune, from whom *Aegæus* drew his race.
 He adds *Hercules's* Bows, *Minerva's* Spear,
 And all wherewith Heav'n's Armory strikes fear.
 He cries (if he has Sons) Let me be fed
 VVith *Pharian* Vineger, (5) and my boil'd Son's head,
 If Guilty! Let me weep!

Some think All slides

By Chance and Fortune, and that no Pow'r Guides
 The VVorld, Nature revolving Days and Years:
 All Altars these days touch. Another fears,
 Vengeance waits Guilt. Gods this believes, and still on VV
 Forswears. He thinks, Let *Isis* do her will
 On these Limmes, and (6) with angry Timbrel blast
 My sight, so I blind-hold the money fast.
 VVhat's a Consumption, rank soars, a half-thigh?
 Poor *Ladas* would a Rich Gout gladly trie,
 If's Brain needs not *Anticyra*, or great
Archigenes. VVhat does the swift foot get?
 Or *Pisa's* hungry Olive-Crown? And, though
 The Anger of the Gods be Great, 'tis slow.
 If then to punish All faults, 'tis their mind,
 VVhen will they come to me? And I may find
 Favour perchance; some they forgive. Sometimes
 Contrary Fates attend too the like Crimes.
 One's Crucified for's Fast, another Crown'd.
 Thus they their Mind, which Guilt would else confound,
 Harden! Then call him to some Shrine, he's there
 First; nay, draws Thee, and makes thee make him Swear.
 For ev'n in a Bad cause great Boldness may
 Seem Innocence. The *Mimick* he does Play,
 Like neat *Catullus* his leud Fugitive.
 Thou, wretch, with out-cry then dost *Stenton* strive
 To exceed; or rather *Homer's* *Mars*. Dost hear
 This, *Jove*? nor mov'st thy Lips? when fit it were
 Thy Brass or Marble spoke? why else, vow-scrowles (7)
 Remov'd, falls our free Incense on thy Coals?
 Our Calfs slit Liver, and our Hog's white Caul?
 For ought I see, difference there's none at all
 Between yours and *Bathyllus's* statue. Know,
 VVhat comfort yet his skill, though mean, can shew,
 VVhom *Cynicks* nor yet *Stoicks* Rules e're find,
 VVhose odds is but one Coat; nor e're admir'd
 Glad *Epicurus* his small Garden-fare,
 For Dang'rous Patients let great Artists care:

To

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

To rude *Philippus's* Scholar trust thy vein.
 If the Earth yields no fast of the like stain,
 I am Mute; with thy Fist beat thy Breast apace,
 For me; and with thy Palme thy blubber'd Face.
 In loss we shut our Door: we groan, we baul,
 More for our Gold, then for a Funeral.
 In (8) this Case no man feigns; No man's content
 Only the Edge of his sad Gown to rent.
 No man his Eies with a forc'd Moisture bears:
 Lost Mony is Lamented with True tears.
 But if all Courts of such complaints have store;
 If, though both sides read writings ten times o're,
 Some call the wooden Hand-writ Tables Tricks,
 Convinc'd yet by their Hand and *Sardonyx*,
 Their rare Seal kept in Iv'ry-box: would'st Thou,
 Choice Sir, from common Lot stand Exempt now?
 Sure, (9) thou'rt the Chick of some white Hen unmatch'd;
 We from unlucky Egges a brood ill-hatch'd!
 Come, come, thou feel'st small loss; thou should'st vex less,
 If Greater Crimes thou look'st on. Thy distress
 Compare with a hir'd Cut-throat; Flames begun
 By Brimstone-plot, which on the door first run:
 With those, that from some old Shrine Huge Bowls steal,
 Of sacred rust, Guists of some Common-weal,
 And Crowns giv'n by some ancient King. If these
 Be wanting, a less Shrine-robber will seize
 On a gilt *Hercules* his thigh; He'l catch
Neptune's Gold-beard; one plate from *Castor* snatch.
 Fears He, that melts whole *Jovess* whose thunders rent
 The Aire? Adde those, that Poisons mix or vent,
 And whom in Oxe-hides into th' Sea we throw,
 With whom (hard fate!) a guiltless Ape we low.
 What's this to what from Morn to Night the ear
 Of *Gallicus* our City-Judge does hear?
 The Crimes of Mankind if thou fain would'st know,
 His own House shows: A few days there bestow,
 Then Dare call thy self wretch. In th' *Alps* who cares
 For a swoln throat? In *Meroe* who stares
 At a dug larger then the large Babe? who
 A *German's* azure eies with wonder view,
 Or's yellow locks like horns with moist curls rowl'd;
 When the same Nature, they in All behold
 Against a rushing Cloud; a *Thracian* flight
 Of fowl, (10) the *Pygmie-warriour* runs to fight
 In his Dwarf-armour; but soon tam'd through th' aire
 The *Crane's* bow'd talions snatch him. VVhich sight rare
 VVith us, would shake thee with a laughter. There
 Such daily Skirmish is not Sport, but Fear,
 VVhere the whole Band's bare one-foot high.
 Yet shall

oT

On his false Perjur'd head no Vengeance fall? Beleave't

Beleive't, he's straight hal'd hence with a huge chain
 By Conscience; (could thy wrath with more?) he's slain
 As we'd desire. Yet thine's the loss: what's ow'd,
 He'l ne're Restore; But if some Blood now flow'd
 From's Headless Coarse, That beyond Envy might
 Content; Revenge, then Life, yields more Delight.
 Indeed thus think th' unlearn'd: Cause none at all
 Sometimes Inflame them: Sometimes very small;
 The least occasion serves. *Chrysippus* yet,
 And the Mild *Thales* ne're such Rules did set;
 Nor th' Old man, that by sweet *Hymettus* dwelt:
 VVho part o'th' Hemlock, which in Bonds he felt,
 VVould not have giv'n's Accuser. VVidoms Art
 Drives by degrees most Vices from the heart,
 And ev'ry Error, shewing first what's Right.
 Revenge is still a weak, sick minds Delight.
 Collect it briefly thus, That we do see
 Women most joy'd with't. Yet think'those scape free,
 VVhom Guilt astonishes, and dull strokes urge,
 The Tort'ring Soul shaking the hidden scourge?
 O, 'tis a Plague, that does far worse torment,
 Then those, which dire *Cadmus* did invent,
 Or *Rhadamanthus*; Night and Day to bear
 A witness in his breast, of Guilt and Fear!

The *Pythian* Prophetess thus once did shape
 A *Spartan* a Reply; He should not scape
 Unpunish'd, since he doubted to detain
 A Pledge, and to Forswear't; The God's mind fain
 He'd know, and if *Apollo* would perswade it.
 Through fear then, not through Goodness, he repaid it.
 Yet (11) prov'd the Cave's word true, fit for that shrine;
 He was destroy'd with his whole House and Line,
 His kin too, far remov'd. Only the mind
 To have been Vile did such a Judgment find!
 VVho thinks a Crime is guilty of the Fact;
 VVhat then, if he reduce Intent to Act?
 His thoughts still urge him, ev'n whiles he does eat,
 As in a drie-mouth'd Feaver; half-chew'd meat
 Choaking the Jaw-teeth: wines the wretch casts-up;
 Th' old *Alban's* pretious Age seems Vile. A cup
 Of better shew him; Loe, he knits a frown,
 As if sow'r *Falerne* he had taken down.
 By night if some short sleep perchance his breast
 Admits, and, after tossing, finds some rest;
 Straight the God's Shrine and Injur'd Altars he
 Beholds, and, sweating mainly, he sees Thee.
 Thy dreadful Shape Greater then *Mans* does press
 His trembling Soul, and force him to confess!
 These quake at ev'ry Lightning; they're struck pale:
 VVhen Thunder first but murmurs, their hearts fail;

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

As if it ne're from Chance or fierce winds came
 But fell on Earth as a revenging flame.
 Did not that Tempest strike? They're worse afraid
 Of the next then, as but to day delay'd.
 If with a waking Fever they begin
 To feel a Pleurisie, they think for Sin
 Heav'n's wrath is sent. These, Stones and Darts Divine
 They hold. They dare not promise to a Shrine
 A bleating Lamb; or (12) a Cocks Crest to their
 Lanes. VVhat can the Guilty Hope through Fear,
 VVhen Sick? what Sacrifice deserves not more
 To Live? most leud Mens thoughts waver Before
 Their Crimes: which whiles they Act, they're Bold. VVhat's Good,
 VVhat's Vile, when the Fact's Past, is understood.
 Their Nature yet Returns, nor is it strange,
 To it's damn'd Course: 'Tis Fixt; It knows no change!
 For who e're left to Sin? who again came
 Unto a Blush, whose worn brow once lost Shame?
 VVho leaves after one Crime? This false wretch sure
 VVill snare his foot; some foul Jails gyves indure
 Or an *Aegean* rock, where banish'd live
 Great ones good store. His loath'd Name's Plague shall give
 Thy wish content. Thou'lt then say with glad mind,
 No God is Deaf, or a *Tiresias*, Blind.

ILLU-

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Thirteenth Satyre.

The Manner of the Roman Trials at Law. Lots; varieties in their Matter and Fashion. Nona ætas; the Opinion of Britannicus and Lubin concerning it, examin'd. The Food in the Golden Age, whether Corn or Fruits; discussed from Verrius, Autumnus and Pithœus. Juvenal's large description of the Saturnian Age, excus'd. Some places anciently counted Ominous for Swarms of Bees to settle-on; and the Reason partly shew'd. Framea, what weapon it was. Boil'd Meats, whether or not used in the Heroical Times; discussed from Servius, Eustathius, Athenæus, Wowerius and Others. Sistrum; the Name, Matter, several Fashions, use and Mythologie of it, shew'd from Adrianus Junius, Antonius Augustinus, Pignoriùs, Bernartius, Bossius and Pierius; but chiefly from Apuleius and Plutarch. Nephthys, who she was. The Moon, why anciently represented by a Cat. The Olympick Games not called so from the famous Hill Olympus. Charta soluta, how commonly expounded; how more happily by Ruggerius: Reasons added to confirme his Interpretation. Acerra and Lanx; the use and distinction of them in offering Incense. Diplois and Abolla. Gallinæ filius alba; conjectures about the Original of the Proverb. Alba, used for Felicia; a probable reason for it. A Silver Goose, according to some, said to be hang'd-up in the Capitol. Pygmies; the Name and Fable of them. Some extraordinary Dwarfs mention'd by Nicephorus and Platerus. The Temple of Apollo's Oracle, describ'd by Strabo. The Picture of Apollo's Trivet, presented from Du Choul. A Cock, by the Ancient Heathen esteem'd as a most acceptable Sacrifice to their Deities.

1. ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ He false Prætor's urne. — *Improba quamvis Gratia fallaci Prætoris vicerit urnam.* In this excellent Satyre the Poet comforts his friend Calvinus, who, having committed a good summe of mony to the trust of a supposed friend, was deceiv'd by him. Now amongst the contents, which he puts him in mind of, one and that an especial one is, that no such deceiver escapes the scourge of his own Conscience, though he may sometimes prevail so far, as to avoid the Censure of Law by Mastering the Prætor's urne,

that is, by corrupting the Prætor, or Judge of the Cause. Wherein he implies the manner of the Roman Trials at Law; for the Ordering whereof there was a Prætor, unto whom, as assistants, were appointed many Judges, whose names being written on little balls, were by the Prætor cast into an urne, and being there shaken together, the Prætor drew out again, as in a Lottery, so many as were by Law, according to the nature of the Cause, accounted fit and necessary. After which the plaintife and defendane had power to reject, upon good exceptions, such as they thought would be but enemies to the cause: in which case the number appointed was fill'd-up by a new drawing of other

names out of the urne. This being done the Judges appointed and which accepted of the trouble (for in some cases they were allowed their excuse) took an oath to judge according to the Law: but on diverse occasions others were often substituted for them by the *Praetor*. Likewise after the Pleading of the Cause the *Praetor* gave to each of the Judges three waxen Tables, wherein were expressed so many several opinions; in one being written the Letter, A, to signify the acquittal or Absolution of the Defendant: in another the letter, C, to imply his *Condemnation*; and in the third the letters, N. L. for *Non liquet*, signifying that the business requir'd a farther hearing, as being as yet not clear enough; which delay of the cause was called *Ampliation*. Then did the Judges, being called upon, express their Opinions by the Tables, which they chose to cast into the Urne; and, according to the consent of the major part of their Opinions, the *Praetor* pronounced Sentence. In which many turns of the business acted by the *Praetor*, there was room enough for a bribe to slip in; as *Levy* notes (*Lib. 42.*) in the case of *Popilius*, when *Licinius* was *Praetor*: who after a second hearing of the Cause, upon importunate soliciting, put it off to another day of hearing, on which, new Magistrates were to come-in, that so he himself might avoid the giving of Sentence. In which point of Antiquity, I may only add, that whereas it is often implied that the names of the Judges were written upon balls, as the learned *Dempster* on *Rosinus* (*lib. 9.*) shews out of *Propertius* (*lib. 4. Eleg. 12.*) according to *Passeratius* his exposition, as also out of *Africanus* *Passeratius*; yet there were also upon occasion other Lots used by the *Praetor* of different matter and form; as may appear from the Fragments of some old Laws publish'd and Enacted, *Leges ex Senatus Consultis, quae in veteribus cum ex Lapide, tum ex aere monumentis reperiuntur*: in one of which are these words, . . . IS. PRAETOR. SORTICOLAM. UNAM. BUXEAM. LONGAM. DIGITOS. IIII. LA. . . I omit the rest, this being sufficient to point-out some variety. And here we may briefly take notice, that whereas, the Poet presently adds another comfort to his friend, by implying that the People thought vainly of the Late or fresh wrong done unto him, *recentis de Scelere*; *Ruigerius* in his *Var. Lection. lib. 2. cap. 17.* doubts, if it should not be written, *recentis de Scelere*, meaning, *depositi abnegati ac non redamini*. Which for the wit of the Conjecture I mention, rather then approve, as being without copy, and also less expressive, the Poet setting-out the kind of the offence both in the very next words — *ex fidei violata crimine* ? and also sufficiently throughout the Satyre: whereas in the word *recentis*, he speaks, methinks, more pertinently, as a Seasonable comforter, that begins the cure, whiles the wound is fresh.

2. These Our last Times, Our Age is worse then th' Ir'n one: — *Nona atas agitur, pejoraque Secula ferri Temporis*, &c. — The Poet comforting his friend remembers him of his old age, as that he is now threescore, being born in *Fontius* his Consulship (implying that he himself writ this in the second year of *Adrian*) and that therefore he should be able by the meer use of Life (*vita magistra*) that is, by Experience without the precepts of Philosophy to appease his sorrow: considering that honest men were now as few, as the Gates of *Thebes* not that in *Aegypt*, as here some mistake, mention'd *Sat. 15. v. 6.* for that had a hun-

dred Gates; but that in *Baotia*, which had but seven gates, as *Lubin* notes. And this the Poet intimates in what he lastly adds, that their number was as small, as the Mouths of *Nile*, which likewise were but Seven. Then does he declaim against his own Times, an Age, as he says, worse then that of Iron; and so could not by the name of any metal be called bad enough: and therefore he seems to call it, as many think, the Ninth Age; the common copies having it here, *Nona atas agitur*. But it much troubles the Interpreters; *Brillannius* by Phasie expounding it thus: that whereas by a traditional opinion there were usually reckon'd four Ages, named from Gold, Silver, Brass and Iron, this age was not only worse, but worse then twice so bad, as that of Iron. That of Iron then being the fourth Age, and one twice as bad, being by supposition the eight age, it must follow that one worse then twice so bad, must be called the Ninth Age. But methinks this is but phasie, being more then the Poet yields, who only says, that it was worse then Iron, *pejoraque secula ferri Temporis*: and therefore according to the force of these words, and the receiv'd opinion, he could properly call it but the Fifth age. For though he adds, that it had a name from no metal, it will not follow, that though there were more then four metals, there were therefore eight. But *Lubin* expounds it more plainly, saying that the Poet reckons here the number of the Ages; not after the Roman but the *Graecian* manner; and so accordingly reckons-up eight metals, namely Gold, Silver, *Electrum* (a mixture of Gold and Silver) Brass, Copper, Lead, Tinne, Iron; and so by consequence the age worse then Iron, must be the Ninth age; which as he says, may be called *Terrea* or *Linea*; besides, says he, of simple numbers the Ninth is the Last. In which reckoning he is fain to strain to make the metals reach to eight, *electrum* being but taken upon courtesy, and Copper being but a kind of brass, as *Cyprium* (and so called, *Cuprum*) a Brass which they have in *Cyprus*. Besides, methinks, it is against the Poet himself, who in the beginning of the Sixth Satyre intimates the number of the ages, and after the ordinary Roman manner: and therefore it is not likely, that he would now here imply it after another so different a manner. They then that shall dislike this Reading, which is so liable to suspicion, may take that of *Pitbaui*, *Nunc atas agitur*; and avoid the foresaid difficulty. For indeed though *Lubin* makes hard shift to make-up the number of the metals, yet I think it but a shift; as it may appear by his placing *ferrum* last of all, and by his telling us, that *ferrum metallorum ultimum*: which he but added to help his exposition, because the Poet said that it was worse then Iron, and the Ninth. But he might have remember'd, that in the first Satyre, where the Poet mentions the Ages by the metals, he does not make such a distance between the Silver and the Iron ages, saying *Omne aliud crimen max ferrea proculis atas*: where the word *max* shews that it was not long after; whereas *Lubin* makes no less then five ages, according to the number of so many metals, between the Silver and Iron ages. According therefore to *Pitbaui* his Reading, *Nunc atas agitur*, I choose to render it, These our Times, Our age, is worse then th' Ir'n one. And if the Plenty of the expression in the several words, *atras*, *secula*, and *tempora* used here should seem an overplus, the sharper sight of the Critick may peradventure discern some difference between them, taking *atras* for the

the ordinary age of 60 or 70 years, and *secula* for 100 years, as often they are taken; and *tempora* for a larger and indefinite time, to shew the diffused corruption of times and manners. But I leave this moderate defence to the civility of the Reader's judgement.

3.—*E're Saturn forc'd to flie, Did use the Rustick sith, his crown laid by.*—*Prisquam sumeret agrestem posito diademate fasces.* Juvenal shews here the vileness and vanity of his times, in that the greatest part being very bad, others that were better, were yet so silly, as to wonder at lewd actions; nay, to cry out as loud, as the followers of one *Fesfidius* a Lawyer, who, it seems, was an arrogant and crafty companion, ordering his business so, that his followers usually at his pleadings made an impudent, loud, and flattering applause, in hope of the *Sportula* to be bestowed by him. But then more tartly he quips *Calvinus*, telling him that he were very young (though threescore) and so worthy to wear the bosse, the mark of childhood, (of which see *Perfius*, Sat. 5.) If he were so simple as to think, that when men offer'd at the Altars of the Gods, making them red with the blood of their sacrifice, some Deity were there present to take notice of their devotion. Which the Poet speaks not as his own belief, but by way of Satyre, to express the common Atheisme of those Times. Indeed, thus innocent, thus simple they were once; but it was in the golden age, in *Saturn's* first daies, before he was glad to fly into *Latium*, when expelled from the Kingdom of *Creet* by his Son *Jupiter*: it was in the age when *Jupiter* was yet a babe, and hidden from his father in the Caves of Mount *Ida*, in *Creet*: it was when there was yet no *Hebe*, no *Ganymede*, no *Nectar*, *Vulcan*, *Atlas*; no *Neptune*, who, (as *Homer* has it, *Iliad*. 15.) was by *Lot* made ruler of the *Sea*, as *Pluto* was of *Hell*, and *Jupiter* of *Heaven*. In that innocent age, says he, age was respected before wealth; and even a poor man, if ancient, nay, if but bearded, had such reverence shew'd him, that rich mens children did rise up unto him, though their fathers had at home greater heaps of acorns, and more strawbettries, than the poor man had. For in such provisions of food did their wealth then consist; the truest Reading here being *fraga*, not (as *Britannicus* has it,) *sarra*, as *Pithæus* notes, saying, that he marvels why the critics did here so long read *Pluta domi sarra*. For when the Scholiast says on these words: *sarrata catino*, in the 11th. Satyre, vers. 109. *qui cibum primum antiquorum fuit, Pithæus* expounds it by *Lactiorum* of *Romanorum*, and then adds, *Primus Hominum fraga & glandes*. Yet *Autumnus* would not here read *fraga*, because, says he, *fragorum acerorum custodi non potest*: which exception, though it seems pretty, yet I think it but like an heap of strawbettries, it will not last; First of all, because this is more than the Poet implies; who names, I grant, *glandis acervos*, not *fragorum*, saying only *plura fraga*, not heaps of strawbettries, as *Autumnus* aggravates it, though plenty of them; which in great families, such as were in that multiplying age, needed not to be long kept. Secondly, because according to the opinion of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, according to whose traditions we must here speak, the food in the golden age was such as grew wild of itself, which will infer, that then they had not *sarra*, according to the instructions of after-times. For though *Autumnus* urges *Verrius*, saying, *Antiqui trecentis annis farte vixerunt*, yet *Antiqui* there, as *Pithæus* notes, must not in general be meant of Ho-

mines, but sink to a latter time, and be understood of *Latini* and *Romani*. Lastly, because an inconvenience would follow, if we read *sarra*; for then to what purpose should he have added, *glandis acervos*? the use of acorns being condemned upon the invention of sowing corn; and I remember, *Juvénal* himself, withesles, in the 11th. Satyre; where having in the person of the old *Marsians*, and of others, said *paucim quarebas aratra*, he adds a little after, (vers. 184. and 185.) *non græce post munus arista, Cohingunt lamines; rursus, fistula quærag.* Then, though *sarra* were the first food of the *Latines*, yet strawbettries and acorns, and such like (according to the Heathen Traditions) were the first food of *Mankind*; and so, their food, in the *romian* or *Golden Age* here described at large; yea, so largely, that some are large in the representation of it, counting it too excessive. And surely, I could not but approve their Censure, as very accurate, if I conceiv'd the Poet to intend no more than they conceive he does, that is, a bare description of the golden age; but I guess the Poet's intent to be like the nature of his work, (satirical); according to which purpose he makes a large recital of the many follies in the *Roman* Theologie, intending so rather by their Multitude and Vanity, particularly to expose them to the secret derision of severer judgements.

4. Or Bees like a long grape-bunch settle on some Temple's top.—*Examineo apium longa confederit æva Culmine delubri.*—The Poet, in the reprehension of his Times, says, that it was a wonder, if one that was trusted with a purse of money, restor'd the purse, with all the coin now grown rusty. Nay, such honesty, says he, were a prodigie, which might require the *Auspices* to search all the books of their Art (which they first learn'd of the *Tibians*) that so they might both know what it portended, as also how to take order to make due expiation for it, as by sacrificing a lamb adorned with a garland; as the manner was. He professes indeed, that he accounted an honest man as rare a wonder, as Fish unexpectedly turn'd up by some husband-man's wondering plow (*miranti aratro*) or like a Mule, which naturally being barren, should yet become fruitful; or like a swarm of bees, which should settle in the form of a bunch of grapes, upon some Temple. For was it not here to be taken properly, for a grape, but for *botrus*, or *racemus*, a cluster of grapes; since a swarm does not settle in the fashion of a grape, which is round; but in the fashion of a bunch of grapes, which is long, and smaller at one end. Yet this is not the thing which is here pointed out, this being the nature and custome of bees; but the wonder here intended, and therefore to be noted, to prevent mistake, is not in the form, but in the place of their settling; it being accounted ominous, in the *Roman* superstition, for Bees to settle on the top of an House, or of a Temple; as *Pliny* tells us, lib. 11. cap. 7. or upon an Altar, or on the Ensign in an Army, as it happened to *Pompey* before the *Pharsalian* battel; or on Ships, as it happened to *Dion*, as *Plutarch* relates; or in a Camp, as it befell *Brutus*. See *Tiraquell* on *Alex. ab Alex.* lib. 5. cap. 13. And though sometime these accidents were with good success, yet usually they were accounted dismal. Some reason of which superstitious opinion seems to be implied by *Plutarch* in his *Dion*: who, as he relates, seeing bees about his Ship, made to his friends this pretty and sad interpretation, that he did fear his affairs would prove like bees, whose labour, though honest, did yet after a

little flourishing come quickly to an end, and to their own ruine. Since then, says the Poet to Calpurnius, that Honesty is so monstrous, why dost thou for cry out, specially thy loss being but ten *sestertia*, that is, 800 *as*. 6d. whereas, peradventure, another, says he, loses 200 *sestertia*, that is, 1562 *as*. and a third, peradventure, conceals his loss of a far greater sum.

And my boild son's head, — *nati Sinciput elixi*. — To express the confident, and so the detestable perjury of those times, the Poet recites the various things, by which they would dare to swear: amongst which is reckon'd *Mars* his frame; which was a German weapon, by *Isidore* taken for a Sword; by others for a Spear, or the like. It is described by *Tacitus*, de *Moribus Germanorum*; of whom he says, *Rari gladiis aut majoribus lanceis utuntur, hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt, angusto & brevi ferro, sed ita acuti & ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent*. So that a Sword it was not, as *Lipsius* also notes on that place; but rather a javelin (*spiese*, says *Lipsius*). The Poet adds, how that such Perjurers, if they had children, did not fear to wish unto themselves, that if they were guilty, the miseries of *Thyestes* might happen to them; that is, that their dear sons might be murder'd, and instead of food, be serv'd up to them with *Pharian*, that is, *Egyptian* vinegar, which was noted for the special sharpness of it, as by *Marial*, and likewise by *Athenaus*, lib. 2. cap. 26. and here added as an ironical aggravation. Where we may farther observe, (though the Commentators take no notice of it) that the Poet says *nativitixi*, the head of his boild son: which may be the rather observ'd, because it was a great quarrel amongst the ancient *Grammarians*, whether or not in the *Heroical* times they did eat boild meats as well as roasted. *Servius* on that of *Virgil*, *Æneid* lib. 1. *Athena locant alii*, holds that they did eat no boild meats: but *Eustathius* upon that of *Homer*, *Odys. K. 444*, holds the other, and concludes that they did eat both sorts. So likewise *Athenaus*, *Deipnosoph. lib. 1.* and *Johannes Wowerius* in his *Polymathia*, cap. 20. wherein, being of the later opinion, and making this difference, the roasted meats were for the better sort, and the boild for the poorer (which, without a suit, will be granted:) He gives this reason; because boild meats commonly require sauce; and therefore, as a wantonness and delicacy, they were not fit for famous persons, who were to be content with more ready food. Which reason I leave to the judgement of the Reader's palate: but that in those times boild meats were in use, and at the tables of the poorer sort, he shews from *Ovid. Metam. 8.* at the poor supper of *Baucis* and *Philemon*. Yet he observes, and acknowledges, that boild meats also were used by the great ones of those times, at their *Tragical* and cruel feasts; as by divers testimonies he there shews. Unto which this of *Juvénal*, omitted by him, may not unfitly be added, the Poet expressly saying, *nati elixi*; as also that of *Persius*, *Sat. 3.* — *Si quibus olla Thyeste Feruebit*, as sufficiently also implying the same in the word, *Olla*.

6.—And with angry rimbrel blast my fight.— *Et irato feriat mea lumina fistra*. Some, says the Poet, think there are no gods; Others believe there are, yet dare desperately forswear, when they come to the temples, where, according to the custome, they touch the altars of the gods, while they swear, (which custome is touch'd by *Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. 5. cap. 10.* near the beginning; and there

also noted by *Tiraquell*, out of *Justin*, lib. 24.) Nay, says he, some desperately say with themselves, Let *Isis* with her rimbrel strike me blind (not properly with the *fistrum* it self, but with its invisible power, with a *blis*) for my perjury, or plague me with other diseases, what care I, so that I still keep the money, which I forswear? In which passage he implies both the common belief at that time, that *Isis* could and did punish some for their offences (as *Persius* likewise intimates, *Sat. 5.*) and also the instrument used in the celebration of the Rites of *Isis*, the *Sistrum*: which, because Antiquaries have with some difference describ'd, it may be both instructive and delightful to consider it. It was then an Instrument commonly used by men, yet sometimes also by women, according to that of *Virgil* concerning *Cleopatra*, (*Æneid. lib. 8.*) *Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro*; and that also of *Lucan* concerning her, (*lib. 10.*) *Terruit illa suo, si fas, Capitolia sistro*. It was sometimes also used in War, as now the trumpet: nor did only the Priests of *Isis* use it, but also *Isis* her self was described with it. The picture of *Isis*, with her *fistrum*, is by *Hieronymus Boffius*, de *Sistru*, p. 22. from some ancient coins of *Adrian*, set forth unto us thus. * On the one side the Empe-



ror was expressed; on the other, this here presented, which is *Egypt* in form of a woman sitting, and leaning with her left hand and arm on a little basket full of divers fruits, holding in her right hand a *fistrum* of an Oval form, with a handle. At the foot of *Egypt* is a square base, on which stood the small bird *Ibis*; *Egyptos* being written above, and *SC* (for *Senatus Consulto*) below. Which coin was made in memory of *Adrian's* passage through *Judea* into *Egypt*; as *Dion* witnesses in his life. Which expression being from an ancient coin, may sufficiently refute the opinion of *Adrianus Junius*, who in his *Nomenclat. cap. de Muscis Instrumentis*, num. 245. thinks that the *fistrum* was of a triangular form, with little rings upon each side, as *Boffius* expresses it, p. 32. which being struck with a small iron-rod, yielded a shrill sound. Indeed, the most examin'd and receiv'd etymologie of the word, according to *Turnebus* and some others, is from *euin*, to shake (and, as some think, to strike) because, being shaken in the hand, it gave a shrill sound, being usually made of shrill metals, as brass, or iron, though sometimes of gold or silver. Yet, though *Boffius* dislikes the triangular form, he thinks notwithstanding, that this also was some *Egyptian* device; *Egypt* being anciently, from the form of it, called (*A*) and therefore figur'd out by the bird *Ibis*: from the end of whose bill, if one suppose a line drawn to her feet, she does express a triangle, and so by way of *Hieroglyphick*, not unfitly *Egypt*; as *Pierius Valerianus* shews, lib. 17. cap. de *Egypto*; for which cause some have called that instrument, *Deltoion*. But the right and common fashion of the *Sistrum*,

Sistrum, is that before presented from *Adrian's* coins; being, for the outward compass of it, much like a racket, with three or four plates of metal passing like strings from the one side to the other. After which fashion it is described from ancient marbles by the learned *Antonius Augustinus*, lib. 3. Icon. and approved by *De la Cerda* upon *Virgil. Æneid. lib. 8.* and a like expression of it in picture *Pignorius* has, *de Servis*, p. 88. yet, though this be a true expression of it, we may add, that there are some more full; as is that so delightfully presented in picture, from an *Italian* pattern, by my worthy friend *Dr. Price*, in his learned and diligent *Notes upon Apuleius his Apologie*, p. 30. In which expression the breadth of the compassing band is rightly described, being like a souldiers belt; as also, upon the top of the *sistrum*, a cat is presented with the face of a Woman. But (to go a little farther) *Bossius* p. 44. most applauds another form, which he figures from old *Roman* Monuments; the compassing plate or band whereof being shaken and so struck by the crooked ends of the rods of metal passing from side to side yielded a shrill sound. And he does the rather approve of this form, because *Johannes Bernartius* (whom he therefore highly praises) has thus described it in his *Scholia* on the 9th. of *Statius* his *Thebaid.* in these words, *Erat sistrum crepitaculum, cuius per angustam laminam in modum baltei recurvatam trajecta media virgula, crispante brachio tergemino istius, reddunt argutum sonum.* Which description does so please *Bossius*, that he adds this praise of it, *Non profecto poterat paucioribus illud dici de virgis sistris, quod adhuc nemo, ut vidistis, observavit aut dixit.* Which words if he had not added, the matter had been well enough; but to say, that no man observed it or said so before, is strange; and the rather, because *Bossius* himself might have observed it in an author, which he read concerning this purpose. For, *Apuleius*, lib. 11. *Metam.* has these words, *Dextera quidem ferebat areum crepitaculum, cuius per angustam laminam in modum baltei recurvatam, trajecta media pauca virgula crispante brachio tergemino istius reddebant angustum sonorem.* Thus the eulogie is due to *Apuleius*, nothing being added, but the word *sistrum*. Besides, though *istius*, as *Bernartius* has it, (and likewise *Suarez Salazar*, in his *Antiguedades Gaditanas*) express a truth, in respect of the plates; that hit the sides of the *sistrum*; yet *istius* does more fully agree with *crispante*, implying the swindge or circling motion of the arm in shaking the *sistrum* to make it musical. But as for the figure it self, I approve it as the most perfect, which I have seen; The upper part whereof is made into three angles, whereas that on *Adrian's* coin was more perfectly oval: which differences we may suppose to have been but voluntary, and so both expressions to be true. But in this last upon the uppermost angle is placed not only the head and ears of a cat with the face of a Woman, but close under it is an ϵ - π is or circle; then (according to *Turnebus*, *Pierius* and others) on the rightside angle is expressed *Isis*, and on the left, *Nephtys*. Of which last, *Pignorius* makes some mention in his *Menfa Isica*, fol. 35. where he says, that the *Meliolite*, which grew by *Nilus*, and of which they made chaplets to adorn *Osiris*, was called the hearb of *Osiris* and *Nephtys*. *Nephtys* then was the sister of *Isis*, as *Ludovicus Carrio* shews in his *Emendations*, lib. 2. cap. 19. out of *Julius Firmicus*, *de errore profanarum Religionum*, saying of *Isis*, *adhibuit sibi Nephtuni sororem sociam*; where *Carrio* reads it, *Neph-*

thym, and rightly proves it from *Plutarch*, *de Iside & Osiride*. This expression has also three plates passing from side to side. But now if these additions to the *sistrum* may seem too much different from that on the coin, *Bossius* his conjecture may serve for answer; who thinks that these particulars could not be discern'd on the coin, by reason of the great antiquity of it; so that, it seems, they were worn-out. In which darkness of *Egyptian Theologie*, *Pierius* (lib. 28. cap. de rerum vicissitudine) and before him *Plutarch* (lib. de Iside & Osiride) have wittily thus struck fire. The Cat in the highest part signifies the Moon, and the Circle under her implies this our sublunary world subject to the Moon, and so to continual alterations. And very aptly was the Moon represented by a Cat, it being a Creature, that does most exercise it self in the night; and also in respect of her fruitfulness; bringing forth (as some observers of nature teach; the truth of which I leave to their proof) in the whole time of her Life and Kitting, at the first one kitten, the next time two, and so till the seventh time, at which she brings seven, and then ceases; but *Damascius* (in *Phorion*) says, she brings seven the first time, six the next and so decreases; but so, that her young ones make in all, 28; as many as the days, in which the Moon finishes her course. The face of a Woman added to the Cat, signified that, though there were many Mutations in the world, they were yet order'd and temper'd not without Reason and Counsel. The figures of *Isis* and *Nephtys* signified the birth and death of Creatures, or the alterations and motions of them. The Rods, that passed through it, were sometimes three, to shew, that all things were done in Number, weight and Measure; sometimes four, to imply the four Elements, of which the things in the lower world consist. And lastly the shaking or wheeling-about of the *Sistrum* did more apparently express the Motion and Agitation of humane affairs.

—Why else, Vow—scrowles Remov'd, falls our free incense on thy coals? —*Aut cur In carbone tuo charta pia thura soluta, Ponimus*—? The Poet speaking on in the language of the covetous *Albion* of those times, says, what are all the plagues, which the Gods commonly in this life inflict, in comparison of money? True it is, that *Ladon* was famous for his swiftness of foot, but the poor fellow would have been glad to have had the rich gout, or else for certain he wanted a sound brain, and either was fit to have been sent to *Anticyra*, where he might have had *Hellebore* good store, to have purg'd his brain from madness, or to have been committed to the famous *Archigenes*, no meaner a *Physitian* being equal to such a Cure. For, alas, what was it to win the Race, and having a hungry belly, to be rewarded with Fame and a Garland of an Olive-branch? For, such was the manner near *Pisa* in *Elis*, where in a large field called *Olympia*, as *Britannicus* notes; the *Olympick* Games were celebrated, and called so from *Jupiter Olympicus*, who had a Temple near adjoining, where also say some was a hill call'd *Olympus*, but not the famous Hill *Olympus*, as some have mistaken, this being between *Thessaly* and *Macedonia*: but the Games were celebrated in *Peloponnesus*, in the South of Greece. Our Poet goes on saying, that thus do your perjur'd persons please themselves; nay, and are so bold in forswearing, that by their meer confidence they seem innocent; like the Mimick, who in *Catullus* his play called *Phasma* (or, the vision) represents a run-away

run-away servant vexing his Master, nay provoking him, that the leud servant himself may be brought to quit himself by his Oath, cheerfully purposing to be perjurd. A pretty story to this purpose is that in *Herodotus*, and aply here alludged by *Lubin*, of one *Archetimus*, who being on a journey and to travail farther, left with his host *Cydias* a great summe of gold: which being called-for by him at his return, was denied, the host offering to clear himself by Oath. Which when he was to take at the time appointed, he came into the Temple with a staff in his hand, pretending sickness; and whiles he was to swear, he praid *Archetimus* to hold his staff for him. Then, with his hands lifted up to heaven, he did confesse, that he had receiv'd such a sum of gold, but swore that he had restored it. At which word, in a vehement passion, *Archetimus*, that saw himself thus sworn out of his money, hurl'd down the staff with such indignation and violence, that it brake; (being a cane) and the sum of gold, which was artificially contrived into it, did, by divine providence, discover at once both it self and the fraud. Which story in effect, with a little variation, is in the fable of *Don Quixot*; where the curious Author *Michael Cervantes* makes *Sancho Panca*, whom he presents for an Ideot, and upon a time, the decider of such a controverfie, to command the staff to be broken, thus attributing the singularity of the discovery, not to that way of providence mentioned by the *Historian*, but to the strange illuminations of the soul, which are, as he purposes to conclude, bestow'd at certain seasons even on madmen. The variety does a little help to excuse the borrowing without acknowledgment in such a work of professed invention: and indeed, his admirable and plentiful wit might have omitted it, but that his Ancestors, *Virgil*, and such others, hearten their posterity as well to borrow, as to imitate. But our Poet going on, says, that such perjuries make many men, who thus lose their money, to lose almost their wits also: for this, says he, makes thee likewise, *Calvinus*, to cry our like *Stentor*, who could cry as loud as 50 men; or like *Mars* when wounded by *Diomedes*, as loud as ten thousand men (as even the Poet *Homer* tell us, *Iliad*. 5.) and it makes thee to say to *Jupiter*, Hold'st thou thy peace at these crimes, suffering us to be thus abused by Perjury? Is it for this, that we bring our Incense and Sacrifices to thee? For ought I see then, there is no difference between thy statue and the statue of *Bathyllus*. In the close of which passage there is one special doubt, in those words of our Poet, — *aut cur In carbone tuo charta pia thura soluta Ponimus?* Where, according to the exposition of the Interpreters, *charta soluta*, is taken for the paper, in which, say they, the frankincense was tied up, when it was brought for an offering to the Temple: according to which sense it might be rendred, — *From paper-rolls why else falls our free incense on thy coals?* But when I first read this Author, I was not satisfied with that exposition of *charta soluta*: but at last meeting with *Rugersius* his Var. Leditio. I found, *lib. 5. cap. 5.* that his happy wit guessed at another meaning, making it to be an allusion to that custome, which is before touch'd, *Sat. 9. Illustrat. 13.* of fixing with wax their vows written in paper, to the knees of their gods. According to which, the Poet would then here mean, why else do we, when we remove, or rake away our fix'd serowls of paper (wherein our vows are written) from the knees of the Gods, bring, instead of them, the offerings themselves, which we have vow'd;

as Incense, a Calf's liver, and an hog's cawl? Which exposition I believing to be the better, do accordingly render it, — *Why else Vow-serowls Remov'd, falls our free incense on thy coals?* But, because *Rugersius*, though he largely shews the custom of fixing, removing, and performing vows, yet only affirms, that he believes it to be here alluded to, I think it necessary, since I choose his opinion, to shew what motives induced me to it. First then, the common exposition seems trivial and superfluous; for, had it not been enough to say, *Why do we bring our incense*, but to mention such a petty, yea, a ridiculous circumstance, saying, *why do we open our papers, and thence pour our incense on your coals?* But, secondly, to suppose that they brought their incense to the Altars in papers, and thence sprinkled it into the fire, is far below the state of sacred provisions, such as were needful for all occasions, in the service of the Gods, who might not be served, even in the superstition of those times, with such mercenary and unhallowed appurtenances. Lastly, to speak from Antiquity, there was no such matter, as the bringing of their incense in papers to the altars; there being, for that purpose, an incense-pan, called *acerra*, mentioned by *Persius*, *Sat. 2.* which was commonly for the poorer sort; out of which they took a few grains, with three of their fingers, or sometimes with two: yet sometimes the rich also used the *acerra*, which then was fill'd; and so they poured the incense into the fire. But properly the *Lanx* (or, Charger) was for the use of the Rich: according to which size and plenty, *Darius*, one of the Governours under *Darius*, poured on the Altar of *Apollo* 300 pound weight of incense, as *Herodotus* relates it, *lib. 6.* But it is enough only to mention this point, it being largely proved by *Theodorus Marcellus* on *Persius*, *Sat. 2.* in explanation of those words, *tacita acerra*. One doubt more there is yet in this passage of *Juvenal*, about *Bathyllus*, to whom the Gods are here jeeringly compar'd, and to whom, though he was but a fool, as the Scholiast says, (by whom the name is written, *Vagellus*) or rather as some think, a young and dainty Musitian, there was a statue erected by *Polycrates* in the Island *Samos*, and placed even in the Temple of *Juno*. And this is the person more probably here intended; the purpose here being not to liken the Gods to the fool *Vagellus*, but more conveniently to a man vainly improved into the condition of a God, having, as well as the Deity, a statue in a Temple. Indeed, says this abused Creditor, there is little or no difference between them; there being no more help or justice in the occasions and necessities of life, to be expected from the one than from the other.

8. In this case no man feigns. — *Nemo dolorem Fingit in hoc casu.* — Thou hast need, I see, says the Poet to his friend, of some good advice to arm thee with patience against this present grief: and, it may be, mine may serve, though I am no Philosopher either of the sort of the *Cynicks* or *Stoicks*, who differ rather in their clothes, than in their opinions, Both despising Riches, but the *Cynicks* wearing Two doaks, as some say, the *Stoicks* but One; So *Horace* also says [concerning the *Cynick*, *Epist. ad Scævum*] *quem duplici panno patientia velat.* Which double cloak is by some thought to be the *diplois* and *Abolla*, as others call it; the first use whereof is by *D. Laertius* attributed to *Aniſthenes*. As for the opinions of the Interpreters of this passage, the Scholiast says, that the *Cynick* did not wear the [pallium, or] cloak. But *Lubin* says he wore

duplex

duplex pallium; by which he seems to mean, a thick one; for he adds, that the *Stoick* wore *tenui*, a thin one. Between which extremities the learned *Salmasius* says, that the *Cloak* [without a coat] was the wear of the *Cynick*; the *Coat* [or, *tunica*] the wear of the *Stoick*, as also of other Philosophers, and generally of the *Grecians*: so that the sense of the Poet briefly is, The *Stoick* differs from the *Cynick* but by the *Coat* [this being the wear of the *Stoick*, and not of the *Cynick*.] To which, if we add the particular kind of the *Cynick's* cloak, I think the exposition will be clear and right. Now, though, says the Poet, I am none of *Epicurus* his sect, or such a rare Physician, as to cure the affections of the mind, when grown desperate: yet thou being not so dangerously distemper'd, not only a less Artist, but even a mean one, such a one as the unskilful Physician *Philippus*, nay, as his ruder Scholar, will serve to give order for the letting of thee blood: and so my poor skill, that pretends not to Philosophy, will serve to advise Thee. And surely, says he, if thy case be without example, then will I permit thy Grief to be without example; for the loss of money, men weeping indeed; not as they do at Funerals: but if thy case be Ordinary, then let thy Grief be Ordinary. In which expression, when the Poet says, concerning the weeping for lost money, — *maior tumultus Planguntur nummi, quam funera*, adding, according to the common copies, — *nemo dolorem fingit in hoc casu*, referring it to the loss of money, [in which case no man feigns:] *Jacobus Scægkij* [in his *Præfess. Epist. 5.*] would have it, *Nemo dolores Fundit in hoc casu*, referring it to the last part, the loss of friends at funerals; at which, says he; no man pours out true sorrow, but is content only for fashion-sake, to rent the skirt of his rayment, as they do, who, before a Judge, shew also their naked bodies, and the skars of the wounds which they have received, when they would move compassion; and thus are they content at a funeral with an hypocrisy of sorrow; but Money is lost not without true tears. Which exposition is very apt, if we consider the opposition of the parts of the speech; and may be a little helped by one Manuscript, which instead of *in hoc casu* has *in occasu*, and in another it is expounded by *in occasu amici*, in the fall, or death of a friend. Yet the common way setting forth both the pretended sorrow at funerals, and the true sorrow for loss of money, this exposition also of *Scægkij* being founded on Conjecture, rather than Copy, we may without loss or trouble retain the first.

9. Sure thou'rt the chick of some white Hen unmatched, &c. — *Quia tu Gallina filius alba, &c.* If all Courts, says the Poet to his friend, be fill'd with like complaints; and, though at the sealing of bonds (or, tables of wood waxed over) the Creditor and witnesses, have read them often to prevent mistake and falshood, men shall yet deny their hand-writing and Seal, men of such quality, that they have their seal cut in a rich *Sardonia*, and as choisly kept; would'st thou be exempt from such abuses? would'st thou be singular, like the chick of some white hen, and shall we forthwith be but as some brood hatch'd of crows eggs? And yet, alas, what are these wrongs to those which our Temple-robbers commit, stealing away plates of gold from the statues of the Gods, or sometimes a Crown bestow'd by some King? or sometimes a whole statue of gold, which they secretly melt? Or, what are those facts to those of parricides, or to the many crimes which are daily heard by *Rutilius Gallicus*, the City-Judge,

(or, *præfectus urbis*, under Domitian) of whom *Statius* says, *Quem penes intrepida miris custodia Roma*. In which passage we need only touch that proverbial speech *Gallina filius alba*; about the Original whereof *Cælius secundus Curio* notes out of *Erasmus* a double reason: the One, that by the Latines, Happy things were called white, as *Dies albi*, and *albo lapillo notati*, and so, in *Virgil*, *Daphnis*, that is Deified, is, according to some, called by him, *candidus*: the other from the History of *Galba*, as it is in *Sueton*, in his Life, cap. 1. where he makes mention of an Eagle, which soaring over the head of *Livia*, a little after her marriage with *Augustus*, let fall into her lap a white hen with a Laurel-branch in her bill: which hen being by her appointment kept, became so fruitful, that the place where this happen'd (in the Countrey) was called *villa ad Gallinas*. Yet he observes, that *Columella de Re Rusticâ, lib. 8. cap. 2.* says, that white hens are not fruitful, as being but faint and short-liv'd, and by their colour being more subject to be made a prey. *Lubin* thinks it to be perchance an allusion to *Leda's* eggs, which, the fable says, she laid after she was turn'd into a swan by *Jupiter*. For which last conjecture, it must ask leave to have *gallina* taken for a swan; and, as for the story of the white hen in *Sueton*, it is probable, that the proverb was more ancient; besides, not the fruitfulness, but the daintiness of the hen is here aim'd at. Wherefore, I think *Erasmus* his first reason to be most probable: which yet does shew rather That white things were usually counted happy, than why they were counted so; which probably may be thought to have been for the natural similitude between whiteness and Light, which, by the secret power of nature, so affects with cheerfulness both the body and mind. That which follows concerning *nati infelibus ovis*, is on the contrary aptly understood of crows eggs, or the like. We may here a little farther take notice, that the Author of the Manuscript Commentary, takes *Custos Gallicus* for a goose, saying, that a silver-geese was hung up in the Capitol, in remembrance, that it was once delivered from the *Gauls* by the warning of Geese; and moreover, that the daily complaints were brought to the Capitol, and so by consequence and a jeer, that they might be said to be heard by the Goose. Indeed, somewhat a like flourish *Juvenal* uses, *Sat. 1.* in that passage, — *Jurisque peritus Apollo*, jeeringly implying, that the statue of *Apollo*, which was at the Pleading place, could now plead a cause: but this mirth concerning *Apollo's* statue is rais'd upon a true statue. But the exposition of *custos gallicus* for a goose, is exploded as absurd, by *Britannicus*, though he mentions not any silver-geese. Yet there was a silver statue of a goose kept in the Capitol, in remembrance of the deliverance of it by Geese, from *Brennus*, as appears by the description of the 8th. Région of the City. But, notwithstanding this truth, the *Scholiast* is less extravagant, saying, that *Præfectus vigilum* is here called *Custos Gallicus*, as being a Magistrate instituted after that the *Gauls* had taken the Capitol. But the first acception, of *Rutilius Gallicus* for the name of one that was *præfectus urbis*, is the most sober exposition, as neither making nor deserving a jeast.

10. — The Pygmie-Warrior runs to fight in his dwarf-armour. — *Pygmaeus parvis curia bellator in armis*. Why, says the Poet to his friend, should'st thou wonder at things common, such as couesage and perjury are? For, no man wonders in the Alps at a swollen throat, it happening alike to all

(through the loathsome waters, which they drink, as *Virrovinus* says); or at *Meroë*, in the confines of *Egypt*, at a breast usually as big, as the child that suck's it (as *Mela* dares report); or in *Germanie*, at their azure eies and curl'd locks like horns; or at the *Pygmies*, who being but one foot high (as some fize them) wage war with the *Thracian* fowls, the *Cranes*; against whom they make an expedition every spring, riding to the Sea-side, on the backs of goats and rams; and being arm'd with darts, spend three moneths in destroying their eggs, and young ones; to prevent their increase; unless we shall take *Gellius* and *Solinus* for Poets. But, thou wilt reply, says *Juvenal* to his friend, Shall I not then take revenge on such a villane, revenge that is so sweet! Why surely says the Poet again, the best Physicians of the mind, Philosophers, are of another mind; as was the mild *Thales*, and the patient and aged *Socrates*, who dwelt in *Attica* at *Athens*, and so dwelt near the hill *Hymettus*, famous for excellent hony: who being by his enemies condemn'd to death, was so far from revenge, that he did constantly affirm him to be more wretched, who reveng'd a wrong, than him that offer'd it, as *Laertius* reports. Indeed, says he, such is the virtue of Philosophie, that by degrees it purges the Understanding from Errors, and the Will from Vices. In which passage the Poet makes mention, though but Satyrically, according to the ancient fictions, of the *Pygmies*, a nation, and in the mid'st of *India*, as *Ctesias* the *Indian* would have us believe: but the experience of travailours now acquainted with the world, and the more prudent writers explode it; as the Reverend and my learned friend *Dr. Hakewell* shews in his excellent and delightful *Apologie*, lib. 1. cap. 1. Sect. 5. and lib. 3. cap. 5. Sect. 4. And as for the wars between the supposed *Pygmies* and the *Cranes*, it is not only generally now denied, but more especially excepted against by *Lubin* on this place: who says, that he understands not how the *Pygmie* should be snatch'd-up by the Crane *carris unguibus* (in his crooked talons) when as the Crane's talents are not crooked. Yet this exception seems contrary to that common and received relation of the Crane's standing centinel by night with a stone in his talent; which should argue the flexibility of it. Indeed *St. Basil* an accurate observer of the excellencies of nature, speaking of the Crane, in his *Hexamer*, lib. 8. though he admires his vigilancie, yet mentions not the vulgar opinion. But the learned *Aldrovandus* by latter experience testifies, that the talons of the Crane are as long as a mans fingers; and therefore probably flexible, else were they very inconvenient. Howsoever, that there have been extraordinary dwarfs (though not a nation of *Pygmies*) in several ages, is not denied: we may rather suspect the degree of reports; *Nicephorus*, lib. 12. *Ecclesiast. Histor.* cap. 37. telling of a dwarf in *Egypt* in the time of *Theodosius*, about the bigness of a partridge, who, as he adds, lived about 20. years. Yet this relation is of a thing ancienter than *Nicephorus* his own knowledge or time, by 7. or 800. years, and so he could have it but at the second hand; though *Platerus* also relates of a dwarf arm'd with a spear in his hand, and with a sword girt to him, and so serv'd-up in a pie at the marriage of a Duke of *Bavaria*; and that when the pie was open'd, the terrible jeaft leap'd-out. The Cookery was the Musick of the feast. But the Poet having shew'd the generality of wickedness, and supposing *Calvinus* to wish Re-

venge whiles he tells him that the ancient Philosophers, especially old *Socrates* (the *Athenian*) was of milder affections, some tell us, that he was but forty nine years old, when he died; urging *Cicero*, in his *Cato Major* (or, *De Senectute*) to warrant the assertion; but his age is not there mention'd. If then we consult with *Diogenes Laertius*, he tells us in his Life, from the testimony of *Apollodorus*, in *Chroniciis*, that *Socrates* was born in the fourth year of the 77th. *Olympiad* (the sixt of *Thargelion*, or *April*) and died the first year of the 95. *Olympiad*, being 70. years old. *Demetrius Phalerens* writes the same. But some say, he died at 60. Either of these will agree with what *Juvenal* implies; but the first of these two, best; that *Socrates* was an Old man. We may yet with *Aldobrandinus*, *Annotat.* 97. (in the *Roman Edition*) on this passage note, that if we calculate right by these Dates of the *Olympiads* here mention'd, the years of *Socrates* Life amount but to 68. (which Age conveniently sorts with our Poets intent) though in stricter account it comes to as much more time, as from the sixt of *April* (*Socrates* his birth-day) till *July* the 23d. from which day the *Olympick* reckoning began; otherwise he had nor liv'd to the 95. *Olympiad*.

11. Yet proved the Cave's word true, fit for that shrine. — *Et tamen omnem Vocem adyti dignam templo veramque probabit.* The Poet here to comfort his friend tells him, that he never needs to desire revenge; such a plague of conscience perpetually tormenting such perjur'd wretches, more terribly then *Cadmus* (a cruel judge in *Juvenal's* time) or then *Rhadamanthus*, one of the infernal judges: besides, that heaven does sometimes bring them sodainly to destruction, as he proves by a story out of *Herodotus*. Who tells of one *Glaucus* a *Spartan*, with whom a *Milesian* in belief of his singular honesty, left a summe of mony in trust; and that when the Sons of the *Milesian* came a great while after to demand it, *Glaucus* staggering in his honesty, denied it and dismissed them. Yet going to the Oracle, to know whether he should constantly deny it or not, he receiv'd this answer; That if he did forswear the mony, he might scape for a time; but he was withal foretold, that for this leud purpose of Deceit, he and all his kindred should ere long be confounded. Whereupon *Glaucus* called back the *Milesians* and paid them the mony; yet all that the Oracle foretold, did come to pass. In which relation whiles the Poet says — *respondit Pythia vates, and Vocem adyti dignam templo veramque probavit, Extinctus, &c.* he implies some particulars concerning the Oracle of *Apollo*, who was called *Pythius*, for killing in his youth (as *Ovid* in his *Fables* has it) the *Python*, or Serpent, so called *ὄφις ἰσχυρὸς*, from the putrefaction of the Earth, as sprung out of the filth after *Deucalion's* flood. Now the person or Prophetess, that instead of *Apollo* gave answer, was a maid, and the first that perform'd it, was *Phemonoe*, the daughter of *Apollo*. The place was a Temple, in the *adytum*, the most retir'd, secret, or strictly the inaccessible part whereof, as *Strabo* describes it, was a deep and crooked cave with a mouth or entrance but indifferently large, whence the message was thought to ascend and inspire the Prophetess. Over the mouth of which Cave did arise a high *Trivet*, upon which when the Prophetess did for the purpose ascend, she was transported with a spirit of Divination, and so gave answers sometimes in prose, sometimes in verse. But it will not be unpleasant to present the

the form of the *Trivet*, it being a thing less obvious, on which was expressed a crow, as sacred to *Apollo*, with the *Harp* also and *Bayes*: which are thus presented by *Du Chaul*, *de la Religion des Anciens Romains*, p. 199. * We may add, that in *Constantine's*



Oration, *Ad Sanctorum Coetum* in *Eusebium*, there is mention, cap. 18. of a *Serpent* also, wrapping himself about the *Trivet*; and of a *Diadem* wherewith the *Prophets* was adorn'd.

12. — Or a *Cock's Crest* to their *Lares*. — *Et Laribus cristam promittere galli Non audent*. — This perjured cozenor, that has abused thee, says the Poet to his friend, is tormented even in his dreams, while he thinks, that he sees Thee in a larger shape, that is, some fury representing thee, to terrify his conscience; it being the opinion of the Ancients, that the divine or infernal powers did use to appear in a form larger than man's to procure Reverence or Terror. So *Sueton*, in the Life of *Claudius*, says that *Claudius* his father, *Drusus*, in his *Rhetian*, or *German* expedition, prosecuted his Victories against the enemies fiercely, even into their most secret deserts, till there appeared to him a *Barbarian woman*, as to him it seem'd, but of a large size, *species barbara mulieris humana amplior*: which speaking to him in *Latin*, forbid him to pass any farther. Such wretches, says he, quake also at every thunder, as if it were not from natural causes, but purposely from divine judgement, wherein our Author speaks but according to the general ignorance of the Heathen: for, though it proceeds from natural causes, yet is it often the special and illustrious instrument of the divine justice, and even in the natural man, that is, the guilty man, strikes terror; as in that wretch *Caligula*, who, at the sight of it, would run under his

bed. The Poet expressed it highly, that said, — *Et humanas morura tonitrua mentes*; which does illustriously appear in the divine story at the giving of the Law, and in the history of *Samuel*, who procur'd purposely to express God's anger, 1 Sam. 12. v. 18. wherefore, though innocent men ought not to hear it with distrust, yet ought they to hear with sobriety of thought, as a most sensible argument of the divine power. Indeed, says the Poet, the guilty think, Thunder, Disease, and the like, to be the stones and darts of the Gods: wherein he speaks a truth of others, which he thinks (not without error) to be but the error of their fear. And this guilt of Confidence, says he, makes them, in their sickness, not dare to come unto the Gods, though with a sacrifice: they dare not offer the comb of a cock, through despair of the divine favour, being indeed more worthy of death, than their own sacrifice, than any sacrifice. Nor do such commonly, says he, escape one judgement or others; whether imprisonment or exile, or the like: so that in the conclusion, thou wilt confess that the Gods are not blind, like *Tiresias* the *Theban* (whose eyes *Juno* is said to have pluck'd out, for giving judgement against her;) but that the Gods are open-eyed, and do with purity behold, and with justice punish, the foul injustice here on earth. In which passage, the Poet mentions the sacrificing the comb or crest of a cock: where some note, that the cock was a sacrifice to *Aesculapius* after a recovery from sickness. Yet *Alex. ab Alex. lib. 3. cap. 12* says, *In Aesculapii sacris non nisi capra & gallina immolantur*: but *Tiraguel* on that place notes, *Addo & gallum quandoquidem Socrates moriens ipse Aesculapio gallum vorit apud Platonem in Phaedone*; yet the same *Alexander* acknowledges the cock to have been a sacrifice to the *Lares*; which is suitable to this of our Poet. *Pliny* also *lib. 10. cap. 19* says, that the inwards of a cock are a most acceptable offering to the Gods: and before him *Tully, lib. 2. de Divinatione*, noted the same. But whereas the Poet here says, *Cristam galli*, the margin of one Manuscript has this note, *Gallus moritur immolatus est; & partem pro toto posuit*. To which exposition, that it is spoken by a metonymy, we may add that it probably seems, that the Poet somewhat satyrically named rather *crista*, than any other part, to signify that they durst not promise so small an offering, which they could so easily perform; aggravating thus, we think, the greatness of their Despair, and consequently of their Guilt, by the smallness of their sacrifice.

SATYRE. XIV.

ARGUMENT.

*Children the Parents Image are
Somewhat by Nature, more by Care.
The Hand but Draws, the mind gives shape:
The Child is but the Parents Ape,
Dice in the Sire, Rage, Riot, Lust,
Are Vile; but in the Son seem Just:
Since by the Cause th' Effect is Tainted,
As by the Face the Glass seems Painted.
The Sire that Builds, oft when h' has done,
Though Stones he Raise, pulls down a Son.
Old Superstition begets young:
From one false Fear more fears have sprung.
Though Avarice at first less pleases,
It grows one of our Lov'd diseases.
Base Fare, Spight, Toile by Sea and Land,
Gain and a Father do Command;
The Son then Loves, what he did hate;
Instructions wonder becomes Fate!
Yet were it such, Rome should love rather
Great Juvenal, his Country's Father.*

*Any vile acts, Fuscus, now there are
Which spot and wrinkle things, that once were fair:
Yet such ev'n Parents teach their children! when
The spend-thrift Die delights the Father, then
The Heir yet in Bos'd Coat plays too, and shakes
In his small box such tools. Nor more hope takes
A kinsman in his Nephew, that can pare
Your Mushromes, and for costly sauce ne're spare;
Your (1) Fig-eaters half-drown'd swim in it; so
His Leud Sire's Aged Throat the way did show.
Let such a Child pass but seav'n years, e're yet
All's teeth renew; though thou on each side set
A thousand Bearded Masters, from such State
Of Kitchin he will ne're degenerate.
A mind tow'rd's small faults mildly just does e're
Rutilus teach, and think our Servants were
Made of our Elements? Or rather fright
His household, and more in loud whips delight,
Then in a Siren, like Antiphates
Or Polyphemus? And his heart then please,*

VWhen for two Napkins the Tormentors hand
 VWith glowing Ir'n does a poor Servant brand.
 VWhat learns his Son, who does harsh chains, slaves dire (2)
 Fire-marks, and Country-jails with joy admire?
 Can *Larga's* daughter think'st thou, win Chast fame,
 That can't so fast her Mothers sweet-hearts name,
 But she must take breath thrice ten times? when young,
 Her Mothers Arts she knew: Now from her tongue
 She fills small waxen tables, which she sends,
 By her known wantons, to her Lusts dear friends.
 Nature thus prompts it: by Domestical
 Patterns of Vice we do more swiftly fall;
 Great Authors undermining us. There may
 A Youth or two, whose hearts from purer clay
 Titan's kind Art has form'd, not thus be led:
 The rest doe in their Fathers leud paths tread.
 The long known track of old faults draw the Soul!
 Abstain from los then: This cause should controul
 Vice, that our Children follow not our Crimes.
 So soon we intimate what's leud! All Climes
 And people yield a Catiline; But no
Brutus or *Cato* *Vitcan* we know.
 Let not a filthy word or sight defile
 The Threshold, where a Child lives. Hence the vile
 Queans; Hence the Parasites, that sing all night,
 All sacred Cares but due in a Childs sight.
 VWould'st thou be leud? Scorn not his years: Resist
 Thy Lust, and for thy Infants sake desist.
 For, if the *Censor* does him just disgrace,
 (Since he resembles Thee in limb and face,
 The Son too of thy Manners, nor does mend,
 But by thy foot-steps still does worse offend)
 Thou wilt, no doubt, rattle him for his ill
 Carriage, and more provok'd alter thy VVill.
 But how can'st Thou assume a Parents brow
 And Libertie, that grown Old dost worse Now!
 Thy brain-less pate lack'd, as long since distress'd,
 A windy Cupping-glass. If thou a Guest
 Expect'st, thy Servants must bestir 'em. Sweep
 The pavement, and the Pillars neatly keep;
 Make the drie Spider and the web come down;
 Plain Plate some, some th' Ingraven wipe; with frown
 And wand thy Anger hastens thus. Thus, vain
 VVretch, thou half-quak'st, least a foul hound should stain
 Thy Hall, and thy friends eie, that comes, displease;
 Or least thy walk be soil'd with durt: (3) though these
 Faults one half-peek of Dust and one Lad mend.
 To form a holy household dost not tend,
 For thy Son's Rule? 'Tis the best work one can
 Perform, to give one's Country a Good Man;

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

To fit him for one's Countrey's true renown,
 Unto the Plow, the Helmet or the Gown.
 'Tis a great Matter, with what Arts and kind
 Of Manners thou inform'st his tender mind.
 With snakes and lizards from by-waies her brood
 The stork does feed; which fledg'd seek the like food.
 From Beasts, Dogs, Crows, Vultures with swift wing
 Do, to their young, part of the Carrion bring:
 This is their food then, when grown big they feed
 Themselves, and now do in their Own tree breed.
 But *Jove's* own Eagle and the Falcon tries
 The Forrest, and at Hare or Goat he flies.
 Home the Prey's brought, till their young grown mature
 Rais'd by the wing and Hunger do inure
 Their strength to Flight, seeking such food, as first
 They tasted, coming from their Egge new burst.
Centronius was a Builder; Houses store
 He mounted on *Cajeta's* winding shoar,
 At *Tibur's* Tow'r, *Præneste's* Hills: with fine
 Greck Marbles, nay, far-sought, he *Fortune's* shrine
 And that of *Hercules* surpass'd; Our fam'd
Capitol Thus th'Eunuch *Possides* sham'd.
 Whiles then *Centronius* dwells Thus, thus impair
 He does his wealth, and yet leaves no small share:
 All which his mad Son wastes, whiles he will have
 Of better Marble Houses far more brave.
 Some since their fires kept Sabbaths heretofore,
 Only (4) the Clouds and Heav'n's one Pow'r adore.
 Swine's flesh they count as man's: That their advis'd
 Father abhorr'd; next they are circumcis'd.
Rome's Law they flight; they Learn, keep, Fear the Jews:
 What *Moses* his deep Volumes teach, they choose.
 To none but of such mind the way they'll tell:
 If circumcis'd, they'll lead one to a well.
 But 'twas their Father taught them This: He plaid
 Ev'ry sev'nth day, and did neglect his trade.
 Yet other vices young men follow still
 Freely, but Avarice against their will.
 For vice deceives under fair vertue's shew,
 When in Grave shape and Dress it's pleas'd to go,
 The Niggard we, as Thrifty, boldly praise:
 He spares: He guards his wealth; At's task he staies
 Surer, than if there did on his estate
 Th' *Hesperian* or the *Pontique* Dragon wait.
 On such a Rev'rend Artist All men spend
 Their Gaze! These smiths their wealth do still extend;
 But by All waies: on Daily anvil Great
 It grows, in their still-burning forge's Heat.
 A Father then counts those souls Blest, that Gold
 Admire, and This for a firm Truth do hold,

Never

Never was poor man Happy; They direct
 That way, and bid them *Plie* That Sect.
 Vice has its Elements: These First they shew,
 Making them First some petty Baseness know;
 Then, a Desire of Gain beyond all size.
 His false peck does his servants guts chastize:
 His own feel hunger too; nor at once must
 His folks consume ev'ry blue hoary crust.
 In mid-September yesterday's minc'd meat
 He saves, and beans now boil'd next night he'll eat;
 They're scald-up, scraps of summer-fish soon stale
 He keeps, with half a stinking (5) *Nimble-tail*;
 Nay, a large Leek, whose strings he tells. If some
 Bridge-ghost were bid to This, he'd scorn to come.
 But why gather'st thou wealth with such vexation?
 When 'tis, past doubt, Phrensie of Perturbation,
 That thou maist Die Rich, to Live Poor. Yet glut
 Thy bag with Coin, till its cramm'd mouth does strut;
 The love of Gold increases with new store;
 Which he loves less, that has None. One farm more
 Thou get'st then: One does not thy mind suffice;
 Thy Bounds must stretch. Thy Neighbour's corn does rise
 More full and Fair: This and his Grove's delight
 Thou buy'st; his hill too, with thick Olives, white;
 Or, whom no rate wins, thy lean Oxen vex
 By night; thy hungry herds with weary necks;
 Which to the ears yet green thou driv'st: Not shall
 They back, till their fierce maws have eat up all
 His Crop. Thou'dst think Hooks made a spoil so main:
 Scarce can'st thou sell How Many Thus complain:
 What Fields such wrongs have made men sell! O shame!
 What Talk there's yet! What Trumpet of foul Fame!
Tush, says he, *What hurt's That? A Pulse-shale more*
I value, than the whole Town's Praise: if Poor
I am, and reap but a small crop. No doubt,
 Disease and weakness thou shalt scape: without
 Mourning and Care thou'lt Live: A longer date
 Of Time thou shalt enjoy with better fare:
 If thou of so much good ground be possess'd,
 As under *Taius* [g] the whole People dress'd.
 Soon after, ev'n the Ag'd, whose youth did feel
 The *Punique* wars, or the *Molossian* steel
 Of dreadful *Pyrrhus*, scarce Two acres [h] got
 For many wounds. For Blood and Toil such lot
 None thought Less than Desert; Or This did call
 A Thankless Countrey's Curtal Love. A small
 Turf serv'd the Father and his House; where lay
 His wife with-child: four young ones there did play;
 One servile, three free-born: but then their great
 Brothers, that came from ditch or plow, had meat

More

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More store : with Pulse Then smoak'd an Ample pot.
 Such ground Now serves not for a Garden-plot.
 Thence flow most Crimes ; No vice did e're afford
 More Poisons, or more fiercely use the sword,
 Then a dire Love of an untam'd Estate :
 For, He that will be Rich, will be rich straight.
 But then where's Fear of Laws ? what shame can hold
 The wretch, that makes this Speed to heap up Gold ?
 Sons, Live content with Cottage and low Hill ;
 Th'old *Marſian*, *Hernian* and *Vestinian* still
 Taught Thus. Bread let's provide with our own plow ;
 What's Needful : This the Rural Gods allow :
 By whose help since the gift of grateful Corn,
 The Palate does the Ancient Acorn scorn.
 He'll ne're offend the Laws, who with plain mind
 Wears the high shooe in Ice, and gainst th'East-wind
 Turn'd shins. This forreign unknown Purple spreads
 Its tincture, and to all lewd actions leads.
 Thus th' Ancients taught : but Now when *Autumn's* Done,
 A bawling father wakes his sleeping son
 At mid-night, crying, To your wax-leaves straight ;
 Write Boy, wake, Plead : On th'old Law-Rubriques wait,
 Peruse them well : Or for a Vine-Rod sue :
 Away with bone-combs ; Let Great *Lalius* view.
 Nostrils All-hair, and shoulders strangely vast.
 The *Moorish* Tents and *Brigants* Castles cast
 Thou down ; that when th'art Threescore, thou maist gain
 A wealthy Eagle. Or if Wars and Pain
 Seem tedious, if the Horn and Trumpet make
 Thy Intrals loose with fear ; (i) thy self betake
 To merchandise ; Gain half ; Loath No ware, though
 To th'Other side of *Tiber*, fit to go.
 Between Ointments and Hides no diffrence think
 There is ; whence e're 'tis, Gain does never stink.
 That Poet's Verse alwaies repeat, as fit
 Ev'n for the Gods Themselves, and *Jove's* Own wit :
Coin How one Gets, None care : Coin one must have.
 Old trots [6] teach boys thus, that three farthings crave :
 Your Girls learn This before their *Alphabet*.
 A father pressing such Rules I could yet
 Urge Thus ; Vain man ! who bids thee make this speed ?
 Thy son, I'll warrant, shall Thy Art exceed ;
 Be sure : *Ajax* did *Telamon* out-go,
 And great *Achilles* surpass'd *Peleus* so.
 We must not force young minds : their native sin
 Has not full marrow yet. Let him begin
 To comb his beard, and the sharp rasor trie,
 He'll bear false witnesse, sell cheap Perjurie,
 And touch Pure *Ceres* Altar and Foot. Loe,
 VVith his VVife's Coarse, believe't, he Now dots go,

If she a deadly dowry brought. VVhat she that dost thou
Poison in sleep she suffers ! For, what Thy
Dull brain thought Sea and Land should bring, Quick Guile
Procures him straight. A Great Crime's no great Toile
Thou'lt say, These Motives he had ne're from Me:
The Cause yet of his Leud Mind sprung from Thee.
For, he that Cries, Love VVealth, and by advise :
Too vile, trains Children up in Avarice;
Who gives them Leave to double their estate
By fraud, the rains he to the Chariot straight
Has giv'n : if thou'dst recal't, it cannot stand;
It whirls beyond the bounds ; flights thy Command;
No man's content to sin but just as thou
Permitt'st : More sins they to themselves allow.
VVhen thou besool'st thy Son, that helps a friend;
Or does a kind hand to a kinsman lend;
Thou teachest him to spoil, deceive and get
VVealth by All Crimes, on which thy heart is set,
As was the *Deu's* on their Country : though,
If Greece says true, *Menaceus* lov'd *Thebes* So :
VVhose furrows yield strange Legions, shields and all,
From Dragons teeth ; which straight to dire wars fall,
As if a Trumpeter had risen too. Lo,
The flame, whose sparks thou thy self first didst blow,
Spreads broad, devouring all ! Such Lot Thou'lt have.
The Tutour'd Lion with dread noise to's Cave
VVill bear the trembling Master. Thy Birth-scheme
Your Cunning-men hve Cast. But 't were extreme
Dulness to wait Fate's Distaste. Thou must die,
E're That thread's broke. Th'art Now a stop to thy
Son's Hopes; vext at thy long Hart's-Age, Hence straight
Unto *Archigenes* ; buy *Mithridate* ;
If One Fig more, or One more Rose thou'dst gather,
Get Antidote fit for a King, or Father,
Before he feeds.

From this Sport I shew, that Out-goes
All Theaters, and the brave *Prator's* Shews:
If thou wilt view, how ev'n their Life's distress'd
For Gain, Much Treasure in a Brass-bound Chest,
And Gold, which may (7) at watchful *Castor's* Shrine
Be kept ; *Mars, the Revenger* they decline,
Since that he lost his helmet, nor could Save
VVhat was his Own. The Stage-Dress then of brave
Flora, of *Ceres* and of *Cybel's* flight ;
Humane Affairs do yield far more delight.
Makes He more Sport, (8) that through the Air's free scope
Is swing'd aloft, or slides down a stretch'd rope

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Then Thou that in *Corycian* Ship confin'd
 Remain'st, tols'd with the North-west and South-wind,
 Base wretch, Merchant of rank wares, whose designs
 And Joy are, from old *Creet* to bring fat wines
 And *Jove's* own Country Flaggons? yet the bold
 Fellow, whose twining foot takes doubtful hold,
 Gets food: Winter and Famine by his Rope
 He escapes. A thousand Talents: thy rash hope
 Aimes at! A hundred Farnes! See, all Ports swell!
 The Sea is choak'd with Timber! More now dwell
 On th' *Ocean*! Does Gain call? straight under-sail
 Y'ave Fleets. Your *Lybian* or *Carpathian* gale
 They slight; nay, *Calpe* too: the (9) Sun's loud sound
 They'l hear, as in th' *Herculean* Gulf he's drown'd.
 Doughty Attempt! That with stretch'd pouch one may
 Return, and of his swoln bags grown-proud say,
 H' has seen Sea-monsters and young Tritons! More
 Furies then one haunt men! one's not secure
 In's Sisters armes th' *Eumenides* and Lights
 Fright him. Another, when an Oxe he smites,
 Thinks *Agamemnon* and *Vlyses* roar.
 Thus He, though's Coat or Cloak he never tear,
 Wants yet a Guardian, that his Ship would have
 Stow'd full, though but a plank keeps out the wave.
 VVhat's now the Cause this danger he imbraces?
 Silver stamp't into Titles and small Faces!
 Do Clouds resist? Do Lightnings? Weigh, weigh, cries
 This Badger, this Great Pepper-man. The Skies
 Face and black Swarth of Cloud threaten no Ill:
 'Tis Summer-Thunder. VVhen perchance Fate will
 That night his Vessel split, and him plunge deep;
 VVho with left hand or Teeth his Purse must keep.
 He then whose hopes slighted all *Tagus* gold,
 The glist'ring sands too in *Pasolus* rowl'd,
 Hides his cold thighs with Clouts, begs food, and three
 Farthings; A painted storm his help must be.

VVealth got with much care must be kept with more:
 To Guard great Treasure's worse then to be poor.
 By (10) night the Rich *Licinus* made a Guard
 Of Servants with their buckets watch and ward;
 His Amber, Statues, Phrygian Columns, rare
 Ivory and large shells, wrought such frightning care.
 The naked *Cynicks* Tub ne're burn'd: if broken (11)
 'Twas leaded, or a New was straight bespoken.
 VVhen *Alexander* in that Cell did see
 That Great Inhabitant, more pleas'd was he,
 He thought, that nothing wish'd, then he that gain
 VVith worlds of dangers would the whole world gain.

The Gods are all ours, if we're wise: but we
 Make Thee a Goddess; *Fortune*! yet if me
 One asks, what size of wealth is fit, I'll tell:
 As much as will Thirst; Hunger, Cold expell;
 VVhat serv'd Thee, *Epicurus*, Hearbs small store;
 VVhat *Socrates* his House-Gods ask'd before.
 Nature and VVisdome still the same injoyne.
 Or if their lives too strictly thee confine,
 Mix somewhat of our Times, and so high rise
 As *Otho* once his twice Heaven Ranks did size.
 If yet thou frown'st, yet hang'st the lip, then be
 As rich as Two Knights; if thou wilt, as Three.
 If yet thy Lap's not Full, if spread for more,
Cræsus, the *Persians*, (12) nay *Narcissus*'s store
 Thou'lt slight: whom *Claudius Caesar* yet did fill
 VVith Guifts: nay, bid by Him, did his wife kill.

L. 12

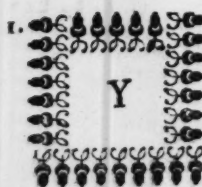
ILLU-

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Fourteenth Satyre.

Ficedula. Inscripta Ergastula; Ergastularius. Fossores Slaves *anciently Brand-ed; their vast Number, and Danger.* Argentum læve. Scobs. Περίμα; ser-rago. Strewing of Galleries with Gold-dust, and Sprinkling the Hair of the Head with it. Scobina. Crucifying; when first prohibited. A passage about Nubes and Coeli Numen, in the Jewish worship, clear'd. Minutal; Varium. Porrum sectivum. The custome of the Ancients, in their Swearing, to Touch the Altar and Foot of the God. The Hart's Age. Assæ; Terpsacæ. Treasures, laid-up for safety, in Temples. Petaurus. The Old phanſie concerning the Sunne's Noise at his Setting. Aluta. Zona. Βολαντιστόμῳ; Zonarius Sector. Hama. The vul-gar Mistake about Diogenes his Tub. Testa and Later distinguish'd by Nannius against Erasmus; and Πλινθῷ δολερῷ, in Theocritus, expounded. The Art of Sodering broken vessels of Earth; Erasmus excused from the exception of Franciscus Floridus, about Divitiæ Narcissi.

1.  Our Fig-eaters half-drown'd swimme in it.—*Et eodem jure natantes Mergere ficedulas didicit.*—In some manuscript Copies (that we may by the way touch some smaller doubts) after the first verse, *Plurima sunt Fuscine & fama digna sinistra*, this follows [*Et quod majorum vitio sequiturque minores*]: but, as *Lipsius* heretofore noted, this was at the first the *Inscription* of this *Satyre*; and afterwards ignorantly inserted, disturbing the sense of the place; and in one of the Manuscripts, which I use, it is almost scrap'd-out, which being therefore let pass, the Poet shews the traditional corruption of Children from their parents: for so, says he for instance, if the Father is a dicer, his heir likewise, though he yet wears but the child's bos (of which see *Persius*, Sat. 5.) practises at the *fritillum*, or box, out of which they cast their dice (of which also see *Persius*, Sat. 4.) In like manner from Old Gluttons they learn to be young gluttons; as in daintiest Cookery, nearly to scrape your mushrooms, *radere tubera*; though according to some copies, as *Lubin* tells us, it is ro-

dere, to eat them fiercely; yet this Reading, methinks, is less convenient; first because not so much Gourmandizing, as Daintiness, seems here to be intended, as may appear by the kinds of the meat here named, *Mushromes* and *Fig-eaters*; secondly, because it is agreeable to the Philosophy of the Master-cook *Apicius*, who in his *Polysteles*, or 7th. book, cap. *Tubera*, uses this same word, beginning the Chapter thus, *Tubera, radis*; *Juvenal* also, Sat. 5. using the same word, —*post hunc raduntur tubera terra*. Besides, says he, in the broath with their mushrooms they will serve ye up, in an over-variety, the dainty birds called the *Fig-eaters*, called so from their delight in figs (with eating of which they grew fat); though it seems they no less affected grapes, according to that of *Martial* speaking of the *ficedula*, *Cum me ficus alar, cum pascar dulcibus uvis*, *Cur potius nomen non dedit uva mihi?* The serving-up of choice birds in dainty sauce or broath, was according to the wanton Cookery of those times, and prescribed by *Apicius*, in his *Trophæes*, or 6. book, and they are noted for dainties by *A Gellius*, lib. 15. cap. 8. where from *Favorinus* we may learn this curiosity, that this was the only bird which was usually eaten *all*: it being accounted the

act of an ignorant palate to eat any more than the hinder parts of other birds; as he there satyrically implies; to which we may add the superfluity here noted in the luxurious mixture of mushrooms and fig-eaters in the same dish.

2. Slaves Dire Fire-marks and Country-jails.

Inscripta ergastula, carcer rusticus.—The Poet brings another instance, in Cruelty, saying, that the child learns it, when he sees his father, like another *Antiphates* (King of the *Leſtrigoniæ*) or *Polyphemus* (The Cyclops) both Man-eaters, delight in punishing poor offending servants, and that for small faults; as, for a couple of towels, or napkins, *Sabana*, as (from the Hebrew) the Scholiast calls them, wherewith they wiped themselves at the Bathes, *que forte*, says *Lubin*, in *balneo surripuit*; which, peradventure, he had stoln at the Bath. In which passage, the Poet intimates the custome and cruelty of his times concerning poor slaves, and the usage of them, in the words *ergastula* and *carcer rusticus*, implying Labour and Restraint; as also by the Fettering and the Branding of them. The *Ergastula*, as *Beroaldus* says, were places in the Countrey, where servants being fettered, did work; *Sabellius* more particularly takes them for the places where they digg'd Stone or Metal: but *Marcellus Donatus* reprehends them both, saying, that they were places, where, after their work, they were kept all night from running away, and in part proves it from this of *Juvenal*, *Carcer rusticus*. But these differences may be easily compos'd, the use of the word extending both to the Places, the Mines and Quarries where they wrought, and to the places where at night for safety they were kept, and figuratively to the persons of servants themselves, as appears by the word *inſcripta* applied to *ergastula*; fifteen of which servants usually made an *ergastulum* commonly so called; as *Apuleius* is thought to imply in his *Apology*, where he speaks of *Thalus*. The name some derive from *ἔργον*, *deineo*, because they were in custody; others more rightly from *ἐργασίαν*, *operator*; the overseer of which persons was called *ergastularius*. The poor wretches themselves were often, from their kind of labour, called *ſoffores*; their frequent employment being to dig in their Lords mines and quarries, of stone, chalk, metal, brimstone, and the like (wherein their wealth consisted:) and thus the poor Christians in the first times were lamentably condemn'd to hard labour, sometimes 2000 at once task'd in the cutting of marble. Besides, they did anciently use to brand their servants with deep characters on their faces, being notes of their Masters, whereby to be known; that if they ran away, they might be taken and brought back again, as *Andr. Alciat.* notes, *Parerg. Juris, lib. 1. cap. 26.* And being brought back, the common Letter, wherewith they were branded, to express their fugacy, was *Φ* or *F*. Divers also had Iron-collars about their necks expressing their flight: which sometimes was engraven upon a label or plate of brass or iron fastened to their collar, as *Pignori* de *Servis* observes, p. 22. And even such branding was used sometimes to others besides slaves; *Zonaras Annal. Tom. 3.* making relation of some, who, for more boldly admonishing the Emperor *Theophilus*, had branded on their faces an Epigram of a dozen verses. The Christian Confessors also were often branded, as *Pont. Diaconus*, in *vita Sancti Cypriani*; as also *Georgius Longus* notes de *Amplis Signatoribus*, cap. 11. p. 114, 115. And here we may a little farther take notice of the wonderful number of servants amongst the wealthier of the Ancients; which is

intimated in that of our Poet, *Sat. 6. Ergastula tota* whole gaols or work-houses of Slaves, and also in the same Satyre in those words, *et castra moveri*, spoken of the Great Lady, that went to the Bathes with her Camp of attendants, as he elegantly jeers at her. Yet this is but sutable to Story; *Pliny, lib. 33. cap. 16.* telling that *Cælius* left in his Will 3000 yoke of Oxen; of other cattel, 250000, and 4000 servants, as *Pignori* observes, de *Servis*, p. 25. And that such *ergastula* dispersed up and down the Countrey contain'd a vast number of servants, may appear by the use of them, which *Marius* made; who letting those such servants, rais'd an army of them: for which consideration, the use of them in Countrey labours is warily disliked by *Pliny*, as a practice full of danger. The Poet going on, says, that thus it is in other vices also, to wit, that by the Parents bad example children are generally corrupted, except some few made by *Titan* (Strictly by *Prometheus* the Nephew of *Titan*) of purer clay, alluding to the doctrine concerning man's Original, mentioned by *Ovid. Met. 1.* and of which see *Sat. 6. Illustrat. 1.* Wherefore, says he, fathers should abstain from giving bad example, though it were only for fear of Loss (implied in those words, *abstinere igitur damnis*) even for the grievous Loss in their own children. He adds, that all Climes and people yield a *Catiline*; of whom I may note this rarity, that even for *Catiline*, though he be so generally and grievously cried down by the Roman Historians, we may find an Excuse at least, if not a Defence, in an Epistle written by *Prosperus Fesulanus*, and prefixed before the Fragments of *Etrurian Antiquities* preserv'd by him, as he says, and of late years strangely found under ground, and published by the industry of a noble Italian, *Curtius Ingbiramius*; in which the said *Prosperus* says, *Lucius Sergius Catilina quorundam Romanorum Senatorum injuria, aut iniquorum invidiarumq; hominum verſutia, et calliditate Roma discedere fuit coactus*. To deliver the result of the story briefly, He says, that upon the command of *Tully* then consul, *Catiline* left the City; and coming into *Tuscany*, his enemies persecuted him; *quare arma sumere cogitur, ut se defenderet*. The *Etrurians*, he says, took part with him, and particularly *Prosperus* his uncle *Ancus*, who died in the Action; their Town *Fesula* was plundered, and especially their own family; and only this *Prosperus* being yet a survivor, adds, — *Romani Ciceroni consuli scripsi, me criminis patris, si modo crimen est, quibus debemus obedire, participem non esse; nihil epistola mea operata est*. This *Prosperus* was, as he tells us, of the royal blood, of the Old *Etrurian* Kings; and that the heat of the War fell afterwards upon him. I may add out of the *Etrurian Antiquities* themselves, *lib. 2. p. 155.* this Memorial; *Lucius Sergius Catilina optima indolis adolescens, Civisq; optimus a calumniatoribus pene oppressus fuit. Roma est repleta seditionibus, Tuscia armis, Italia omnis timore, &c.* Dii quid futurum sit norunt: homines, ne omnibus mala eveniant, timent. Ego *Prosperus Vesulius Augurum Soribus hanc Breviarii partem scripsi*. Which last, it seems, by this relation, was written in the time of the Action, before the event. Having a copy of these Historical Antiquities in my hands, I thought the imparting of thus much news in this story, though a little differing from our Poet's judgement, would not be unacceptable. But the Reader may take notice, that the whole work is by *Leo Atimius* a learned Jesuite; judg'd to be supposititious, as he indeavours to prove in his large Animadversions upon it.

3. —Though these Faults one half-peck of Dust and one Lad mend, —*Et tamen uno Semodio scobis hac emendat Servulus unus.* Diligent men are, says the Poet, in other things, though but small; yet negligent in the education of their children. Thus if a friend is to be entertain'd, and so expected, One must sweep-down the Cob-webs, another wipe-clean the plate, both the plain plate (*leve argentum*) and the rough, or engraven (*argenteum*): and if thy walk or gallerie be foul, thou art angry, though a boy, with a scuttle of dust strew'd over it, will easily mend it. Wherein he implies a custome of sprinkling dust upon a floor to make it handsome. *Semodio scobis* are the Poet's words; *Scobis* signifying not only saw-dust, (the dust of wood) but also that which comes-off from metal, such as pin-dust. But the Scholiast here on the word *Scobis* says, *Non videtur* (some read *visum*) the dust of wood, which is called commonly *Serrago*, as being most usually wrought-out with the Saw; seeming to mean, that saw-dust, or the dust of wood, is not here to be understood; and therefore rather the dust of metal: which indeed is more neat, though a troublesome curiosity in stately and wanton houses, and somewhat difficult to be understood, at least Believ'd, if the very practice were not reported in story. For thus *Helioabalus* strew'd his *porticus*, his gallery, or walk, with the dust of Gold and Silver, as *Britannicus* notes out of *Lampridius*: and *Gallienus* the Emperor, as *Autumnus* adds out of *Trebellius Pollio*, sprinkled his own *hair* thus with *Gold-dust*; which probably being wrought-off with the file, perchance the word *Scobis* is thence derived; *Scobina* being used by *Tertullian*, in *Apologes*. in that sense, for a file. But says the Poet, men are not thus careful of their children, but giving them bad example, they are surely attended with as bad imitation. And this they do, says he, as naturally, as the young vulturs learn of the old their kind of food and nest; fetching that, like the old ones, from *Crosses* (or in a less accurate, but proportional expression, from *gibbets*, Crucifying in *Juvenal's* time being in practice; though afterwards forbidden, as the Scholiast says; and as *Pitheus* notes out of *St. Austin*, *Quaest. in vet. Testament.* by an *Edit* made, as the Ecclesiastical Historians tell us, by *Constantine*.) They learn also, says he, when they are grown big, to rest themselves like the old ones, in their own trees. Yet here *Calvus Secundus Curio* observes out of *Pliny*, that the vultur nestes not in Trees, but on high Rocks; though he himself makes answer, that it may be on Trees growing on high Rocks, as we may see them, says he, often grow. Howsoever, the objection is but *Pliny's* assertion, and what is that more then *Juvenal's*, unless sometimes it be of the two the more Poetical. But thus, says the Poet, the Son will imitate the Father, as the Son of *Centronius* imitated and exceeded his Father, that vain builder, who rais'd such stately houses at *Tibur* (called from the high situation of it, *Arx Tiburis*) exceeding the state even of sacred peices dedicated to the Gods: his buildings at *Tibur* surpassing the Temple of *Hercules* there; (for so some expound it; where was also a famous Library mention'd by *Agellius*, *lib. 18. cap. 5.*) and his other structures rais'd at *Frangste*, out-vying the Temple of *Hercules* there, (for so some expound this likewise, where was also a famous Oracle, as *Strabo* relates, *lib. 5.*) yet here may very aptly be understood with less search, the Temple of *Fortune* at *Rome*, built of most precious marble,

as *Pliny* notes, *lib. 36.* and likewise the Temple of *Hercules* at *Rome* built very stately by *Domitian*: which may, methinks, be here the more easily and suitably understood (though truly also the other) because he mentions presently afterwards the *Capitol* likewise, a Roman structure, which, as he notes not without indignation, was exceeded by *Possides* an Eunuch, and but *Claudius* the Emperors freed-man; whose vast buildings near the *Baïan* shoar, mention'd by *Pliny*, were call'd the *Possidian* Baths; not the *Possidonian*, as some mistake.

4. Only the Clouds and Heaven's One Pow'r adore. *Nil præter nubes & Cæli Numen adorant.* He shews in another particular, that the Son will likewise imitate the Father if addicted to the Jewish devotion: which he expresses by some specialties, as Abstaining from *Swine's flesh* and Labour on the *Sabbath* day; also by *Circumcision* (calling the Jews, *Verpos*; the etymologie whereof I had rather you should learn from *Alex. ab Alex. lib. 4. cap. 26.* or from *Scaliger, de lingua Latina, lib. 1. cap. 28.* then from my Illustrations) also by their worshipping, as he says, only the Clouds and One God, and by their refusing of Commerce with any, but of their own Religion. In most of which particulars he speaks but according to the common misinformation, which the Romans had concerning the Jews; as that they would not shew the way, or a Fountain to a weary travailour, unless one of their own religion: though the Scholiast expounds, *non monstrare vias*, by *non confiteri religionis secreta*, and so upon *fontem*, he says, *ubi baptizantur*; which were, methinks, to make the accusation of the Jews more slight; This being but to accuse them of Niceness in their Zeal, but that of Inhumanity. Besides, though the Poet seems not to acknowledge by the Light of Nature a Seventh day's worship of the Divine Power, yet a *Set-worship*, and that at *Set-times* is mention'd in him, and, though with some superstition, as he intimates, in the practice, particularly in the sixth Sature; where he speaks of those Women, who held it a Crime to use the Liberty of the Marriage-bed upon their Sacred Days. But the chief doubt is about the *Deity*, which they were said to worship; which is here called, *Nubes* and *Cæli Lumen*, as some would have it. But the best Copies and Criticks have here *Cæli Numen*, aptly proving it from that of *Tacitus* speaking of the Jews (*Histor. lib. 5.*) *Judei mente sola unumque numen intelligunt. Profanos, qui Deorum imagines mortalibus materiis in species hominum effingant*: and so *Dion Cassius* in his History, *lib. 37.* observes it, as a Singularity in the Temple of *Jerusalem*, that there were no Images in it. So that they are noted for two things, contrary to the Roman devotion, their Denying both a Plurality of Gods, and the Representation of their Own One God, in Statue. And whereas the Poet says, that they worshipp'd the Clouds, *Britannicus* thinks, that it alludes to *Aristophanes* in his *Nepos*. against *Socrates*, who was in effect accused as one that *Judaiz'd*; and especially to the frequent Appearings of God in the form of a Cloud; as at the Red Sea, at Mount *Sinai*, and in the Temple; many of the Heathen being acquainted with the Holy story, as plainly enough appears (to omit farther proof) from this mention of *Moses*, by our Poet. In which exposition the Interpreters proceed upon this ground, that the true Copies have *Numen*; yet it had been more like Equity, if they had disprov'd such copies, as have *Lumen*: which, methinks, they might have done, because *Lumen* might imply that,

that, which concerning the *Jens*, was most false; namely, that they worshipped the Sun and Stars; for, what else could fitly be understood by *Celi Lumen*? Or else, if at the best, it should be taken but for a larger explication of *Nubes*, that were but either an Impropriety, or a Tautologie, Clouds being usually not very light, especially compared with the body of the skie; or if they were, then *Nubes* and *Celi Lumen* were but the same.

5. — *Purigi Siluro*, Those, says the Poet, that are addicted to money, are as diligent in watching of it, as in the Fables, the Dragon that kept the Garden of the *Hesperides* (the daughters of *Atlas*) whence *Hercules* notwithstanding stole the Golden Apples; or, as the other supposed Dragon at *Colchos in Pontus*, whence *Jason* is said to have stolen the golden Fleece. And, as they are thus watchful in keeping, so, as base in getting; pinching the bellies of their servants, in not affording them their due allowance, while they serve them, as he says, *modio iniquo*; a servant's ordinary allowance in bread-corn for a day, being about a *Quarr*. Besides, says he, they have so much as a little minc'd-meat, (*minutal*); divers kinds of petty ingredients mix'd together, and therefore by some called also *Varium*) reliques not worth the keeping, specially in mid-September, when they are apt to corrupt. Yet then also, says he, they do, — *differre in tempora cune Alterius conscen*, even a few beans already dressed, and, as he adds, *signatam*, kept under lock and key, as we may say; but according to the suspicious art of those times, kept under Seal. Which cates, says he, they reserve — *astivi cum parte lacerti*, with the scraps of some summer-fish, and half a *Silurus*, which is now stinking-ripe, and at the best but vile, and with these even a large leek, and every string of it; *porrum festivum, non capitatum*, says *Lubin*: that even a Bridge-guest, or beggar waiting at a bridge for relief, would scorn to come, though invited, to such cheer. In which passage, instead of *conchen* (a bean) some read *concham* [a shell-fish:] so *Calvus Secundus Curio*; but, me-thinks, *conche* being mentioned before, *Sat. 3.* in that passage, *Cujus conche tumes?* as a part of base diet, it does the more probably suit with this place. Likewise concerning the *Silurus* [not to pass it by unexpounded] though in the 4th. *Satyre* I render it only in general, *fish*, from those words, *fracta de merce siluros*, the place requiring no more special rendring: yet here it being mentioned with other fish, it seem'd convenient, our language wanting a name for it, to give it one for distinction, and from the etymologie answerable to the Greek name, *silurus*, a nimble-tail. For, whereas some would have it to signifie a *sturgeon*, me-thinks, they do too incongruously forget the baseness of the diet here intended.

6. Old trouts teach boys thus, that three farthings crave. *Hoc monstrant vetula pueris poscentibus assem*. They think, says the Poet ironically, that by such Thrift, and encrease of wealth, they shall scape sickness and Infirmary, and therefore bid their sons with uncessant industry employ their time, either in the Law (whose Titles were written in Red Letters, and thence called, *Rubriques*, as *Perfius* speaks, *Sat. 5.*) or in the Wars, that so they may get a *Vine-rod* (that is, a *Centurion's* place, who, by his Office, carried a *Vine-rod* (or cudgel) wherewith to correct offending souldiers) and by more eminent service, as against the *Moors*, or *Brigants*, (of whom, see Mr. *Cambden*, who shews them to have inhabited *Torkshire*, and other places) obtain a wealthy *Eagle* (that is, the Office of a *Standard-*

bearer), or in Merchandise, or oakes Trading, though the basest, and from the most stinking wares, as hides of beasts, or the like, most fit to be carried to the other side of *Tiber* (where persons of such nostrils dwell.) Such rules, says the Poet, (citing one of more note out of *Ennius*) your nurses teach children, when they can yet scarce smatter, or crave three farthings for their spart, or fruit: which rules, says he, they will quickly out-go, and when once come to age, stoutly contumacious, even whiles, according to the custome, they touch the Altar and Foot of *Ceres* her self (though so celebrated for her severe purity, *Sat. 6.* in those words, *Pauce adeo Ceresis vincta contingere digna*.) But what, says he, will be the effect of these thy rules at last, who fettest thy heart upon money, as the *Decii* and *Menacens* (the son of King *Creon*) did once set their hearts upon their Countreys, *Rome* and *Thebe*, for which they willingly lost their lives? Why surely in the conclusion, thy son will prove like the tame Lion (in the time of *Domitian*) that drew his keeper into his den, and killed him. For so he already grieves at thy long life, thinking thee like an Aged Hart, [which, some think, lives 900 years; but *Stor* testifies that one has lived above an 100 years, being found with a golden collar caus'd to be put on by *Alexander the Great*, and in time quite covered with a deep fat, as *Pliny* relates; but some would here read *Corvina senectus*, and aptly enough, if there were Copy for it.] Nay, says the Poet, going on in his speech, thy son has already cast thy nativity [he has been with a cunning man;] so that thou must be glad to take, against his sly purposes, some of *Mithridates* his Antidore [such as indeed Kings and Fathers must in wisdom take, whose deaths are so commonly gaped after] if thou would'st but one year more gather a fig, or rose. In which passage there is some difference amongst the Interpreters about that place, — *Pueris poscentibus assem*, divers reading, — *Vetula pueris repentibus asse*, making the sense this, that Nurses thus teach children, which can yet scarce creep about; taking *asse* for nutrices, according to that of *Nonius Marcellus*, in *Assas*, porro nutrices & nutricios *Tatas* & *Mamas* appellabant, as appears from an ancient Inscription, as *Pignarius* observes, de *Servis*, p. 193. The learned *Rigaltius* adds here, that in an old Gloss, it is said *Asse dicuntur Adsestices*; but he prefers this, which I here use. One Manuscript, [that of *Corpus Christi* Colledge] does in the margin expound *assas*, by *siccus nutrices*. i.e. *Sine ubere, quas nunc terpsasas vocant*; dry nurses, now called *terpsasa*. It seems he takes the word from *terpsa*, and so it shall be as much as *oblectatrices*, Pleasers of little ones; women that attend on them. But the most easie and approved Reading is, *poscentibus assem*, agreeable to that in *Sat. 5.* — *assemq; rogatum*; implying the manner of little ones, that childishly crave for some small coin.

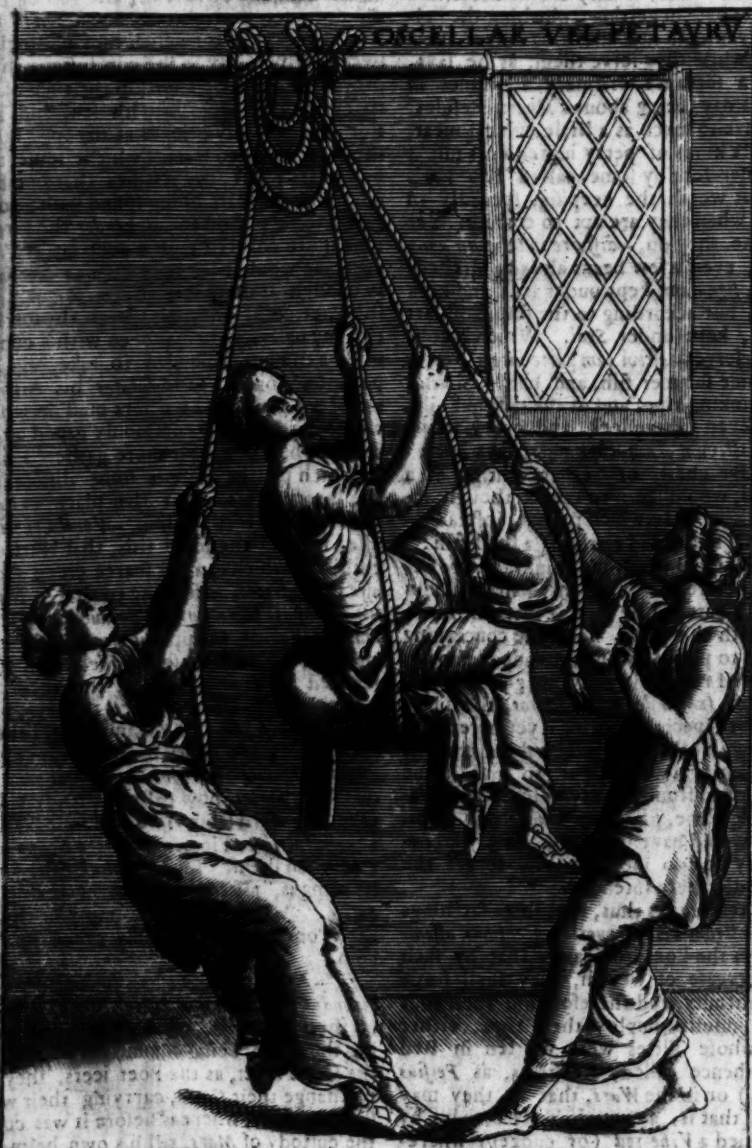
7. — At watchful *Castor's* Shrine. — *Et ad vigilem ponendi Castora nummi*. The Ancients did use to lay up their great treasures in the Temples, as counting them safe, being committed to the custody of the Gods: yet, as the Poet jeers, they were glad to change their Gods, carrying their wealth to *Castor's* Temple, whereas before it was committed to the custody of *Mars*, till his own helmer was stoln from him. Where *Rigaltius* wittily observes, that not only his Offensive arms, as his spear, were taken from him, but even his Head-piece, his Defence: Justly therefore did *Terulian* (in his *apologiz*) shout at the Heathen Gods, saying, that *Castor* stole

diers

diers were fain to guard their Gods, speaking of the Temples wherein their treasures were laid up; giving that for the reason, why *Juvenal* here says, *vigilem Castora*; not that the God, but that the soldier keeps the true watch. And well might he say so, the Poet having before, *Sat. 13. v. 152.* told of a bolder thief, *qui bracteolam de Castore ducat*: so that *Castor* too was in no better case than his fellows. See of this custome somewhat before, *Sat. 10. Illustrat. 2.*

8.—That through the Air's free scope 'Is swing'd aloft, or slides down a stretch'd rope. — *Jabata Petauri Corpora, quicquid solet vestium descendere funem.* No stage yields better mirth, says the Poet, than one vexing himself to grow rich: nay, 'tis better sport,

says he, than to see one swing'd in the *Petauris*, called so, as is commonly known, from *petra* & *ura*, flying in the air; as if the motion of the body were as swift, as *Britannicus* nores on this place: *Dempster* on *Rosinus*, lib. 5. cap. 1. take it for the sport of casting one's self through an hoop, without touching it. *Circulus erat*, says he of the *Petauris*, quem intantum certantes transvolabant; but *Lubin* a little more warily says, *ram magna solertia—transvolabant; ita tamen ut vix circulum corpore tangerent.* But *Hieron. Mercurialis*, an excellent Italian Antiquarie, takes the sport here intended, to be of a far different fashion, presenting it from Antiquity, in this manner [in his work, *de Arte Gymnastica*.]



Concerning the other sport here added, expressed by *vestium descendere funem*, I find none of the Interpreters to make either exposition or doubt of the

word *descendere*, though it may easily suggest some ambiguity to the phantasie, to conceive the manner of the practice; only in the margin of one Manuscript,

script, is written *conscendere*; which seems the clearer, though the other also may be understood, of their cunning slips, and voluntary descents in their performance, more particularly, of their sliding down the rope; and so we may retain the common Reading, *descendere*.

9.—The Sun's loud sound They'll hear, as in the *Herculean* gulf he's drown'd. *Audiet Hercules stridentem gurgite solem*. The Poet describes the madness of men covetous Desires and Projects: who, as he says, unceasingly seek to get even a thousand talents; whereas *One* being 187 l. 10 s. (as it is rightly summ'd, but falsely printed, by leaving out the 10 s. in the table of the *Roman* Sesterce, set before the learned *Apology* of my Honoured friend Dr. *Hakewill*) a thousand amount to 187500 l. See also, *Sat.* 3. *Illustrat.* 18. To effect which vain desires, so many, says the Poet, venture to Sea, that there seem more to dwell on Sea, than on Land, (as Travellers report now of the Rivers and Inhabitants of *China*.) To make a voyage in the Mediterranean Sea, whither it be near the bottom of the Straights, in the Carpathian Sea, between *Rhodes* and *Aegypt*, or nearer either the Middle, or Entrance of the Straights, as in the *Lybian* Sea, they esteem it as nothing, unless they pass *Calpe*, (so call'd, because it is like an *Urne*, as the *Scholias* notes; it being one of *Hercules* his pillars; so wit, that on the Spanish side of the Straights, call'd now according to some, *Gibraltar*, the other on the African being called *Abyla*, and now according to some, *Ceuta*,) and unless they hear the noise of the Sun, when he sets in the Sea, [as vulgarly was thought] nay, unless they may say, that they have seen Sea-monsters [such as *Mear-maids*, and young *Tritons*, half men, half fish, such as was in fiction, *Triton*, the son of *Neptune*.] Nor are these humours to be wondred at in men, there being more kinds of madness than one. *Orestes* was mad after one fashion, thinking himself not safe, though in the custody of his own sister *Electra*: *Ajax* was mad after another fashion, imagining that when he struck *Oxen*, *Agamemnon* and *Ulysses* roar'd. And is not he as mad, though he tears not his clothes off his back, who for wealth, which he has not, will lose that which he has, and perchance in a tempest be put to swim for his life, and instead of 1000 talents which he sadly hoped for, be glad to save his poor purse in his left hand, whilst he helps himself with his right, or, in necessity of stronger swimming, ridiculously in his mouth, so to save himself by the advantage of both hands? And yet, says he, after his escape, though lamentable, he must be glad to see himself still in a painted tempest, it being the manner after such calamity, to carry at their back the picture of their ship-wrack, so to procure compassion and relief. In which expression, to lay some smaller observations together, we may a little more take notice of some things, and in the order they are touch'd by the Poet. First then concerning *Calpe*, we may hear *Priscian* [in His way of Observation] making a Grammar-wonder, that *Juvenal* makes the last syllable of that ablative short; it being of the nature of *Penelope*, *Arachne*, and the like, always long. Yet *Caelius Secundus Curio* shews, that likewise *Ruffus Festus* the Interpreter of *Aratus* makes it short: besides, others think, that in this place this word is of the third declension; so that though there be ordinarily *Calpe*, *Calpes*, yet there is also *Calpis*, *Calpai*; from whence the word here used descends. But setting aside this somewhat necessary nicety, we may next take notice of that

ancient phanfic, which was greatly entertain'd, concerning the Sun's noise at his setting; Antiquity thinking when it went down in the western Ocean, as they conceiv'd, that it made a noise like burning iron, when dipped in water. Nor was this a vanity only in the People, but also in the Poets; [as might be plentifully shew'd] nay, in *Possidonius* a Philosopher [as *Strabo* testifies] and in *Epicurus* himself, as *Rhodigine* notes, *lib.* 24. *cap.* 13. Indeed, in the utmost west of Spain, the manner of the Sun-set [rejecting the fiction of the noise] seems to be very admirable, both for the vastness of the Sun's body; *Artemidorus*, according to *Strabo*, *lib.* 3. anciently affirming it to seem an hundred times as big as ordinarily in other places [caused by the interposed vapours of the Sea] and also for the various shapes in which it appears, as *Joan Baptista Suarez de Salazar* a Prebendary of the Church of *Cadix*, learnedly and delightfully relates, in his *Antiguedades Gaditanas*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. p. 86 where he testifies, [and who could be a better witness?] that it is very admirable, por los hermosos y estranos arbores que le cercan; y por las sentellas, que parecen saltar de las aguas, haciendo el sol en ellas, ayudado con sus entradas alas, mil tornasles, y cambiantos. 1. For the beautiful and strange red [or fiery] streaks, which encompass it, and for the sparkles which seem to leap from the waters, the Sun making in them being help'd by their restless waves, a thousand alterations, like so many changeable flocks. The which relation of *Salazar*, Philosophy may sometimes admire, as upon an occasional multitude of vapours; but that it is so but sometimes Experience also may teach. For in the year, 1622. my self being in those Seas, and sailing from *Baiona* in *Gallicia* an hundred leagues towards the West-Indies, to fetch a wind [as our Sea-men call it] to bring us home into the *Sleeve* [our English Channel] we had not the felicity of such a view. And here it may be further noted, that the Western [or Atlantic Ocean] into which, Antiquity thought that the Sun did every night descend, is in the margin of one Manuscript, called *Mare mortuum*, as also by the *Scholias*, who adds, *ultra quod navigare non conceditur*: which he might with pardon call so [by way of wit] it seeming till late discoveries, to be as dead, whilst without that lively motion, at least, that employment, which in other Seas is beheld: but otherwise, to take it for that which is usually called *Mare mortuum* [once the place where the unhappy Cities were destroy'd by fire from Heaven] were a mistake, of extent more than the Mediterranean Sea. But from the *Scholias*'s addition, the learned *Pignarius* probably collects (in his *Symbol.* *Epist.* 14.) that this Sea was not discovered by the Ancients, or, as he says, untill *Columbus*. Thirdly, we may observe, that when it is said, that the vain Merchant at his return *tumida superbus aluta*, proud of his swollen bags, (for so commonly, and, as I think, rightly it is expounded) *Lubin* offers another exposition also, telling us, that *aluta* may be taken for the sails of the ship, because the *Galli* are said by *Cesar* to have had sails of such raw'd leather. But this were, methinks, little to this purpose, our Poet speaking here not of *Gauls*, but *Romans*: besides, what occasion of *Pride* were *This*; (for he says, *superbus aluta*) to come home with sails swollen with wet, whence he might have return'd so from any, though the shortest voyage? Lastly, it may be observ'd, that whereas the Poet uses *zona* for a purse, it is according to the ancient custome, which was to wear their money in their girdles; as appears from that in *St. Matthew*, *cap.* 10. v. 9. *Provide neither Gold*

nor Silver, nor Brass in your purses; it being according to the Greek, *οὐ τὰς ζώνας ὕμῶν*, in your girdles; and so *Crumenifeca*, or *Crumenifera*, a Cut-purse, called by *Aristophanes*, *Βαδυστήριον*. is by *Plautus*, in *Trinummus*, called *Zonarius Sello*, a Cut-girdle.

10. By night the rich *Licinus* made a Guard of servants with their buckets watch and ward. *Dispositis pradiues hamis vigilare Cohortem Servorum noctu Licinus jubet.*— In this passage there is much diversity amongst the Interpreters; *Britannicus* reprehending the common Copies (which have *hamis*) and Reading *armis*: but the *Scholias*t reads *hamis*, saying, they did watch for the safety of the City, *cum hamis* & *cum aqua*; some taking *hamis* for hooks, wherewith they pulled down houses in case of fire; though that may not be admitted, the first syllable of the word in that sense being long. But the most accurate Reading and Acception is *hamis*, as it comes from *hama*; which signifies a bucket, such as are used when houses are on fire; the first syllable whereof is also short: and this Reading is chosen by *Turnebus*, *lib. 19. cap. 19. and cap. 23.* and defended, as the best, by *Paulus Leopardus*, in his *Emendat. lib. 9. cap. 23.* And, me-thinks, this Reading may yet be farther confirm'd, and that of *Britannicus* also at once refuted, by that which follows in our Poet, saying, *Dolia nudi Non ardent Cynici*; where the word *Ardent* were merely frivolous, were not the word *hamis* or the like in sense, implying quenching (by way of opposition) used before. And for the word *hama*, it is used by the younger *Pliny*, *lib. 10. Epist. 42.* where writing to *Trajan* about a vast fire that happened in *Nicomedia*, and laying the fault of the increase partly upon the laziness of the people, which stood only looking on, he adds, *Et alioqui nullus uspiam in publico siphō, nulla hama, nullum deniq; instrumentum ad incendia compescenda*; that howsoever (though they had used their diligence) yet there was no conduit-pipe, no bucket, briefly, no instrument for the slaking of fire.

11.— If broken, 'Twas leaded, or a new was straight be-spoken.— *Si frigeris altera fiet Cras domus, aut eadem plumbo commissa manebit.* *Diogenes* his *Tub* is scarce more known, than mistaken, if we consider it by the vulgar name: which only, because it has prevail'd in speech, I retain, though the word in the use of speech implies, a vessel of wood; whereas that of *Diogenes* was of Earth. And this is manifest from this of our Poet, who both plainly denies it to be combustible, (and so not to have been of wood) saying, *Dolia nudi Non ardent Cynici*, and also calls it *testa*; adding, that if it were by mischance broken, it was sometimes leaded again. Which two last things are a little considerable; the Matter, and the Repair of it. And for the first, the name *testa* does partly declare the matter, being usually drawn from *testa*, as being hardened either by natural heat, as in shells, or by the heat of the fire, as in *argilla*, a clammy earth or clay, or in *creta*, a kind of chalk; and so as *Juvenal* says, not subject to the fire. Sometimes *later* is mistaken for it; as the accurate *Petrus Nannius* observes in his *Miscellan. lib. 2. cap. 16.* who shews

that *later* does not signifie clay that is hardened in the fire, but only in the sun. For otherwise the Proverb *Laterem lavas* were without sense; since *later*, if it were the same with *testa*, could not by washing become the fouler, and so not signifie, according to the intent of the Proverb, *Labour in vain.* *Later* then (so called from the broad fashion of it) being earth or clay hardened only in the Sun, is of the nature of a turf, which, the more it is wash'd, the fouler it becomes. For which cause *Theocritus* calls it *πλινθὸν θάλατταν*. 1. *Lutulentam*: which *Erasmus* rendering by *nigram filicem*, is reprehended by *Nannius*, the flint being not the fouler for washing. Concerning the second thing here intimated, the repair of an earthen vessel when broken, to omit that which they call plaister of *Paris*, said to be made of chalk, thoroughly boil'd, and kneaded like dough, of which they make statues, that will bear working with the chisel; and to speak only of the ordinary *testa*, or clammy earth hardened with the fire, if it be cracked, experience teaches to close it again with soder, a lead and pewter tempered together; or with a cement made of rosin, bees-wax, brimstone, butter and chalk thoroughly temper'd. Some with a small square drill (or steel bodkin) will bore holes in a cracked earthen vessel, and artificially tow up a crack with a small wier; then with a little cement so close up the holes, that it shall hold any liquors: which experiment, not vulgar, I have accidentally seen perform'd.

12.— Nay, *Narcissus's* store Thou'lt slight. — *Sufficient animo, nec divitiis Narcissi.*— Though a little, says the Poet, be enough for Nature, and so for Wisdom, even such provision of garden-stuff, as served the temperate *Epicurus* (for he is taken for such an one, by some that think themselves not mistaken) or as, before His daies, served the wife *Socrates*: yet I will allow thee, according to the Desires of These times, and *Otho's* size, to seek to attain even a Knight's estate, that is, 3125 l. (which is to be understood of so much yearly revenue;) yea, says he, to get twice as much (6250 l.) or if thou wilt, thrise as much (9375 l.) But, says he, if this will not satisfy thee, then will thy greediness not be content with the wealth of *Crasus*, or with the riches of *Persia*; no, nor with the treasures of *Narcissus* himself. Which expression contains a bitter jeer, *Narcissus* being but a freed-man, though of *Claudius* the Emperor; but of so vast an estate and power, that, as it is here implied, it exceeded example; [see *Pliny*, *lib. 33. cap. 10.*] and even commanded his Lord and Emperor, and that to the killing of the Empress her self, *Messalina*. Upon occasion of which passage concerning the wealth of *Narcissus*, *Franciscus Floridus Sabinus*, in his *Leſſion. Subſeciv. lib. 3. cap. 5.* wonders at *Erasmus*, that he made not this, *Divitiis Narcissi*, one of his *Adagies*: to vvhom I may answer in his behalf, as I conceive of his Excellent Labour, that his Wit did not consider vvhath *Might* be, but his Judgement vvhath *Was* already drawn into Proverb.

SATYRE. XV.

ARGUMENT.

Th' Egyptian Gods seem Monsters rare:
 Th' Egyptians yet worse Monsters are.
 Their Feasts they keep with such large Ease,
 They're not their Mirth, but their Disease.
 In Cruelty they're unconfin'd,
 Beyond all Cause; Below their Mind,
 All Beasts are to their own kind Mild:
 These Mankind men tow'rds men are Wild.
 In Ægypt Juvenal did see
 This Fact: Verse 'tis, Not Poetrie.

Ad (1) Ægypt's Gods all know: the Crocodile,
 Bythinian Volusius, some so stile.
 Some to the Snake-fed *Ips* erect Shrines.
M A sacred Monks golden Statue shines,
 VWhere (2) the Half-Memnon's Magick strings do sound,
 And old Thebes Hundred Gates be whelm'd i th' ground.
 There (3) Sea-fish, here River-fish they adore:
 The (4) Dog whole Towns, Diana none implore.
 Bite but a Leek or Onion, you're Heaven's Foe!
 O holy Nations in whose Gardens grow
 These Gods! The woolly (5) Creature's no mans meat;
 Nor the soft kid: but Man's flesh you may eat.
 When at a Feast *Vlyses* did intrance
Alcinous with such a tale, perchance (6)
 Some at the Fabler vext; some jcer'd as fast.
 VWill none into the Sea this fellow cast,
 VVorthy a true *Carybdis*, who immane
Cyclops and *Laistrygonians* thus does sain?
 I'll sooner think a *Sylla* one may find,
 Cyane's rocks that meet, and Bags of Wind;
 Or that *Espeor*, upon *Circe's* fine
 Touch, grunted straight, and's Rowers all turn'd Swine.
 VWhat, thinks he we *Pheaciars* are so vain?
 From *Coreyraan* draughts thus one of Brain
 Yet Free, might have replied. No proof, he knew,
 Th' *Ithacan* had, VVe will tell wonders, too;
 VWhen (7) *Junius* yet was *Consul*, lately done
 At *Coptus*, where they're scalded with the Sun;

The whole Rout's Crime, beyond all Buskin'd strains.
 For, search from *Pyrrha* all your Tragick Trains,
 A whole Town's not an Actor. Hear, what Rage
 Has seted then, in this our fiercer Age!
 Between two Towns, whose fields each other bound,
 Old grudge, immortal hate, a desperate wound
 Burns still: 'tween *Ombos* and *Tentyra*. Th' odds
 Is, that each place does hate the others Gods.
 None but their own, they hold, should be esteem'd
 Divine. At th' *Ombians* Feast-day then there seem'd
 To the cheif *Tentyrites* occasion fit
 To spoil the Joy and Feast; whiles they admit
 Invasion; whiles their Tables were in pride
 Spread by their Temples and the High-ways side.
 VVhom lazing on their Feast-beds day and night,
 The (9) Sun found seav'n days after! A rough sight
Ægypt's here; yet the Barb'rous Rout no less
 I found, then *Leud Canopus*, for Excess.
 Besides, they thought the Victory at hand,
 O're men in VVine, that scarce could speak or stand.
 They dance, whiles their black Minstrel plays; and now
 All ointments serve, whiles flow'rs do crown their brow.
 Hence (10) Hate gnaws these: Loud Quarrels first display
 Their minds inflam'd; the Trumper to the fray!
 VVith equal shout their fury meets; instead
 Of Sword, their meer hand wounds: few jaws but bleed.
 The whole Rout scarce yields one whole Nose: but ye
 May in each Band of them half-faces see;
 Chang'd faces through torn cheeks in gassy wise;
 Bones yawning; fists all blood from wounded eyes.
 Yet this they think but sport, like Armies led
 By boyes, till on some Carcasses they tread.
 Indeed, why do so many thousands fight,
 If all Live! They press then with fiercer might:
 And stooping down stones they begin to throw;
 In Home-Sedition These for VVeapons go:
 Not such as once *Turnus* and *Ajax* cast,
 Or great *Tydides*, who almost displac'd
Æneas's hip: but such as our hands throw,
 Unlike to Theirs; such as our Age does know.
 From that size men in *Homer's* time did fall:
 The Earth now brings up men both Bad and small.
 VVhat Gods look'd-on, with Flout and Hate they view'd.
 But to bring-on our Fable. VVhen renew'd
 Th' Assailants are with Aide, their bolder hearts
 Restore the fight with Swords and gauling darts.
 The *Ombians* turn their backs: The *Tentyrites*,
 That do enjoy their neighb'ring *Palmes* delights,
 Pursue. VVhen one through fear flies headlong; but
 Falls, and is caught: Him into bits they cut:

That so the Conquering Rout might with this one
Carcass rest pleas'd: They gnaw'd clean ev'ry bone;
No pot, nor spit they us'd: 'twas dull, they saw,
To wait the Dressing: it pleas'd well, though raw.
VVe may be glad, the Fire was not prophan'd:
VWhich wise *Prometheus*, though by theft, regain'd
From Heav'n to Earth: I'me glad for th' Elements sake;
And think, *Volusius*, thou like joy dost take.
But He, whose stomach suffer'd him to eat
The Carcass, thought he ne're had sweeter meat.
For doubt not, but that in a Crime so vast
The Throat was first pleas'd. He then that came last,
The flesh being gone, did drink the blood he found,
Scooping it with his fingers from the ground.

The *Vascons*, Fame says, once fed thus, and were
Glad so to live. The Case was Different; there
VWas Fortune's spight, the worst of VVar; indeed
A desp'rate state, long siege and gastly need.
This Food then and Example might have claim'd
Pity; this People, which I thus now nam'd,
After all Hearbs, all Beasts, and what the rage
Of Famine tempts to (which did half-assuage
The Foe, that saw such pale limbs, skin and bone)
Tore others flesh, ready to eat their own.
VWhat Man then, or what God, could well deny
Pardon to such brave Men, as first did try
Th' immanest Plague? whom their ghosts might forgive,
VWhose Carcasses they eat meerly to Live,
Yet *Zeno* said, we may not for Life do
All things. But (it) could a *Vaston* be a true
Stoick in old *Metellus's* days? Now where
Don't they a *Greek* and *Latine Athens* rear?
Eloquent *France* does *Britans* teach to plead:
Thule will *Rhetoricians* hire to Read.
Brave yet the People was, I nam'd, no less
Loyal, then stout. *Saguntus*, for distress
Of Ruin Greater, a like fact excuses.
Egypt's rage the *Mæotick* Shrine refuses.
For though the *Taurick* Foundress with dire Rites
(Not now to distrust Poets) strangers Frights,
Nay, kills: yet when the Sacrifice his Life
Has lost, he nothing fears beyond the knife,
But what hard' straight, famine, siege, warlike act,
Made these dare such a Monster? By what fact
Could they have more made their kind *Nilus* flow
To Rise and their parch'd *Memphian* Land o're-flow?
Ne're *Cimbrians*, *Britons*, *Tartars*, *Scythians* fought,
Although immane, like this vile darstard-rout;
Small Sails they hoise in Earthen boats near shoars,
In painted vessels plying their short Oars.

D. JUN. JUVENALIS.

What expiating torture can one find
For such a Crime and People, in whose mind
Dwell a like Rage and Famine!

Gentle hearts

To Men, Nature professes she imparts:
Which Courteous Tears, our Souls best part, does lend:
It bids us then bewail a morning friend;
A guilty Prisoners squalid state; a small
Orphan, that does his cheating Guardian call
To account; when the Lads locks with tears so flow,
That by the face the sex we cannot know.
Nature commands a groan, when in the street
A ripe-ag'd Virgin's Funeral we meet;
Or when (12) a Babe's Interr'd, as, for the Fire,
Too young. For, what good man, that would aspire
To Ceres secret torch, but must confess,
He subject is to All humane Distress?
By This from Beasts we differ: Rev'rend wit
Man only has, for Divine studies fit,
To learn and practise Arts. The Sacred Pow'r
Reason, we drew from the Celestial Tow'r;
Which grov'ling Creatures want. At first so kind
Was the World's Builder, he gave us a mind:
Them only Souls; That mutually we might
Ask help and yield it: The dispers'd unite,
Leave Groves, that did our Grandsires once confine;
Build Houses; To our roof Another's joyn;
By doubled trust to make sleep safe: Defend
Our Souldiers fall'n, or that with vast wound bend:
Give onset at one Trumpet; All arm'd stay
In the same Tow'rs, shut up with the same key.

But Serpents now Love more. The wild Beast will (13)
Spare one like-spotted. Did e're Lion kill
A weaker Lion? In what Forest e're
Did greater Boar a Boar in peices tear?
The *Indian* Tigress though she furious be,
A Tigress Loves. Fierce Bears with Bears agree.
But man dire weapons on like anvile makes:
'Tis nothing Now; when weeding-hooks and rakes
The first Smiths made: their tir'd skill did afford
Mattocks and Plow-shares; Then it knew no Sword.
Loe here a Rout, whose Rage is not content
To kill a man: The Breast, Armes, Face, are spent
As Food! should now *Pythagoras* his Eie
See This; what would he say? whether not flie?
VWho did from Beast's Flesh, as from Man's, refrain:
Nor (14) could his belly some course Pulse obtain.

ILLU.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Fifteenth Satyre.

Some ancient pretences for the Ægyptian Idolatry, shew'd from Tully, Nigidius Figulus and Porphyry. Sanconiathon, the Tyrian Historian, his Works Lost. The pretences anciently for the Roman and Græcian Idolatry, shew'd from Julian the Apostata, and Maximus, the Tyrian Platonist. Crepitus Ventris, an Ægyptian Deity. Memnon's Musical statue. Cæruleus sometimes used for Æquoreus. Brodæus his Conjecture about Æluri. Mercury anciently worshipp'd by the Ægyptians in the form of Anubis. Juvenal excus'd concerning the worship of Diana in Ægypt. Why the Ægyptians abstain'd from the use of Onions and Mutton. Areralogus. The troublesome doubt about Consule Vinco, rectified from the best Manuscripts, and the Roman Fasti. The Number of Seven held Sacred by the Ægyptians; shew'd from Pignorius and Leo Afer. The Valcones and Saguntines distinguished; against the Scholiast. The Burying of Infants without Burning. Suggrundarium; the form of it presented. The Tradition concerning Pythagoras his Abstinence from Flesh and Beans, with the Reasons of it, examined from Jamblichus, Laertius, Pliny, Lucian, the Scholiast, Agellius, Hierocles, and Others.

I. ♦♦♦♦♦ AD Ægypt's Gods All know.

— Quis nescit — qualia demens

Ægyptus portenta colat? — That

M

the Ægyptians were monstrous

in their way of Religion, we

have the testimony of Moses,

Exod. 8. v. 26. in those words,

Shall we sacrifice the abomina-

tion of the Ægyptians before their

eyes, and will they not stone us? And such was the

degree of their madness in this point, that in a great

famine which once pressed Ægypt, they chole

rather to eat man's flesh, than the flesh of other crea-

tures, which, by their mad superstition, were held

to be sacred. Yet wanted they not pretences of

reason for their defence: and even Tully (*de Na-*

turâ Deorum, lib. 1.) could alledge, that there was

not any creature worshipp'd amongst them, but for

some special profit which they received by it. For

so indeed, according to some, they ador'd the bird

Ibis, for eating the eggs of Serpents, which infest

their Countrey; and for destroying snakes, as some

tell us, which are blown from the *Zybian Sands* to Ægypt by the East-wind; but I suppose they should have said, by the West wind, *Lybia* lying West from Ægypt. They worship also, which may seem more strange, even the *Crocodile*, though he devours men; because he kills the Robbers (*Lybians* and *Arabians*) which use to swim over the River *Nilus*, spoiling and murdering the Inhabitants. *Nigidius Figulus*, that famous Roman, anciently equalled, for his learning, with *Varro*, does in his *Fragmenis* (collected by *Rutgersius*, in his *Var. Lection. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 280.*) in the title, *Capricornum*, give a fabulous reason of the Ægyptian worship; saying, that the Gods coming down to destroy *Typhon* a Tyrant in Ægypt (whom afterwards *Jupiter* killed with a thunderbolt) did, whiles they were at consultation about his destruction, dissemble themselves for certain daies under the shapes of irrational creatures: in remembrance whereof, the People did afterwards worship them under those shapes. But *Porphyry* [*lib. 4. de abstinentiâ ab esu carniûm*] gives a more refin'd reason; telling us, that the Ægyptians

Ægyptians

tians did thus shadow their *Theologie*: because the Divinity passed not only through man, but also through all the Creatures. With which degree of guests at the chief grounds of the *Ægyptian Religion*, we must rest satisfied: though pity it was, that Posterity is deprived of the books of the *Phœnitian* and *Ægyptian Theologie*, written so long since by *Sanconiathon*, a *Tyrian Philosopher and Historian* [as *Suidas* tells us; though *Porphyry* makes him a *Berytian*] who is said to have lived before the destruction of *Troy*, in the time of *Semiramis*, and of whom mention is made by *Eusebius* in his *Evangelical Preparations* [lib. 1. cap. 9. and 10. and lib. 19. cap. 9.] as also by *Theodoret*, *Suidas*, and Others: who tell us, that he writ the *Phœnitian story* in that language; which afterwards was translated by *Philo Biblius*. Yet there wants not store of Others, that have endeavoured to supply such interpretation of their mysteries; as *Jamblichus*, *Plutarch*, *Eusebius* [De *Præp. Evang.* l. 2. c. 6.] *Proclus*, *Porphyry*, and of later time *Cælius Calpagninus*. But whatsoever were the *Hieroglyphical reasons*, it was aptly said by *Josephus* against *Appion*, [lib. 2.] that if the *World* should follow the *Ægyptians* in their religion, it would quickly be full of Beasts, and empty of Men. But here we may farther see in our Poet's Censure and Description of the *Ægyptian* madness, the variety of Idolaters at enmity against themselves? And, alas, the *Romans* and *Gracians* did but Think Themselves safe in their way of worship, though they raised their defence to the dazzling height of Reason: as may be seen in *Julian's Fragment* of an *Epistle* published by *Petavius* [p. 534.] where he says, Our Ancestors made Images, and other signs, to be representations of the Gods, — ἐκ τῆς ἰδέας τοῦ νοῦ, i.e. Not that we believe them to be Gods, but that, by them, we may worship the Gods. To which we may add what the elegant *Platonist*, *Maximus the Tyrian* has in his *Dissertation*. 38. where purposely and largely he handles this argument; pleasantly also censuring the *Ægyptian* devotion, saying, that in *Ægypt*, The Gods die, and are mourn'd for: that There you may see their Temples and their Sepulchres; that there they offer to them Tears and Honours. And to shew the sure, though ill-grounded superstition of them in this belief, he tells a story of an *Ægyptian* woman, which nourish'd a young crocodile: whereupon, the rest of the *Ægyptians* thought her a most happy woman, and the nurse of their God, and not a few sought to please both Her and her Darling. He adds, that this woman had a young son about the age of her God, whose play fellow he was; and that, while for tenderness of body the God-crocodile seem'd tame, all was well: but that when strength came to him, his nature came to him, and [though he had spoil'd his own sport] he eat up his play-fellow: that the mother notwithstanding, though indeed wretched, rejoiced at the death of her child, as most happy, being so honoured as to be made the sacrifice of her house-God. Whether the mother her self also were afterwards so honoured or not by her Live Idol, the Author tells us not; but by this we may sufficiently see their dreadful devotion! Which may make less our wonder at a story in *Diodorus* (a witness of the fact,) who relates, that when *Prokomy* entertain'd the *Romans*, and was declared their Friend, a *Roman* having but accidentally killed a *Cat*, was so assailed by the bloody superstition of the people, that neither the Kings Officers sent for his defence, nor the terrour of the *Romans*, though at

that time so great, were able to rescue him. But at *Pelusium*, *Crepitus Ventris* was a Deity, for which they are jeered at by *St. Jerom*, in these words on *Isaiah*, cap. 46. *Ut saceam de formidoloso & horribili Crepitu ventris inflati, qua Pelusiaca religio est!*

2. Where the *Half-Memnon's* magic strings do sound. *Dimidio magica resonant ubi Memnonæ chorda*. The statue of *Memnon* at *Thebes* in *Ægypt*, (which once had an hundred gates, though in *Juvenal's* time it was become a ruinous heap) was very famous. The matter of it was brass, if we believe the *Scholias*; but *Tacitus* in the second of his *Annals*, says it was Stone, the upper part whereof is said to have fallen down in an Earthquake, and that therefore it is here called *Limidius Memnon*. The *Scholias* says, that it was formed holding an harp in its hands (which may be implied in our Poet's description) and that at certain times it did use to sing. *Suidas* more particularly says, that it yielded a sound at the rising of the Sun, as soon as the beams of it struck upon the mouth of the statue. Some say, that with an humane voice it usually saluted the Sun and the King: till that *Cambyses* coming thither, and destroying the City, caused it, in a curiosity, to discover the suspected fraud of it, to be opened: after which time, though it continued to salute the Sun, it suddenly left off to salute the King. See *Pliny*, lib. 37. cap. 7. *Sirabo* an accurate and inquisitive man, was at this statue with *Ælius Gallus* (as he tells us in his 7th. book) and heard the sound, but acknowledges, that he could not understand the cause. Conjecture did attribute it to Magic: and this Gypsy Devil continued this trick till the coming of our Saviour; as *Eusebius* notes, in *Chronick*, speaking of *Amenophis*. But our Poet, if we take *resonant* strictly, implies that it continued longer even till *Juvenal's* old age. See concerning this statue, *Rhodiensis*, lib. 22. cap. 5.

3. There Sea-fish, here River-fish they adore. *Illic caruleos, hic pisces fluminis, &c.* *Brodaus* in his *Miscell.* lib. 7. cap. 2. believes that it should be *Illic aluros*, i. e. *felines*; the *Ægyptians*, as is acknowledged, worshipping *Cats*. But *Marquardus Freherus* in his Notes on *Ansonius* his *Mosella*, column. 38. Upon that of the *Perch*, *Nec te delicis mensarum, Perca, silebis, Amnigenas inter pisces dignande marinis*, says, that those which here *Ansonius* calls *marinos*, *Juvenal*, Sat. 15. in this verse, calls *Caruleos*, and commends *Scaliger* for observing this (upon *Tibullus*;) but *Turnebus* also says as much, lib. 8. cap. 17. that *carulei* are *marini*. Which, though I grant to be true, yet not always; as may appear from that passage of *Virgil*, a Master of the *Latine* language, in the 8th. of the *Æneids*; where he brings in *Nilus* calling unto him, with the waving or motion of his garment, those that were overcome and fled, according to the Poet's words,

Contra autem magno merentem corpore Nilum,

Pandentemq; sinus; & tota veste vocantem

Caruleum in gremium, latebrasq; flumina vitæ.

Where we may observe, that *Caruleus* is applied to a River, particularly to *Nilus*. Wherefore I would not in this place take it as they do, by way of distinction, for the *Sea*, as opposite to a River, were it not for these motives: first, because I grant that it does usually signify as they observe; yet not always, as appears from *Virgil*: secondly, because the generality of Copies has *caruleos*, not *aluros*: thirdly, because otherwise *fluminis* would seem superfluous, it being enough to have said, *Illic aluros, pisces*; but *fluminis* being added, makes with *caruleos*, which goes before, a convenient opposition: lastly,

lastly, because, without *caruleos*, to have said *piscem fluminis*, had been to imply, that they worshipped only River-fish; whereas it is acknowledged, that they worshipped both sorts.

4. The Dog whole towns, Diana none implore. *Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.* Concerning the first part of this assertion, *Plutarch, de Iside & Osyride*, says, that they ceased to worship the Dog, because a dog eat the carcase of *Apis*, which was cast out by *Cambyfes*; whereas *Herodotus* (lib. 5.) tells us, that *Apis* was buried without *Cambyfes* his knowledge, whiles he lay sick, in the Temple, of his thigh which putrified. Besides,

Diodorus and *Josephus* (lib. 2. contra *Appionem*) witness that the Dog was worshipped by the *Egyptians*; as *Pignorius* notes, *Mens. Isae. Exposit. fol. 42.* *Apuleius* also, lib. ult. *Metam.* says, — *Nunc aurea facie sublimis attollens canis cervicem arduus Anubis; lava caduceum gerens*; implying in effect, that *Mercury* was worshipped in the shape of *Anubis*; *Anubis* being represented with the ensigns of *Mercury*. Which may be confirm'd by an expression of *Mercury* from an ancient statue thus presented in *Ottavio Rossi* (an Italian Antiquary his *Memorie Bresciane*, p. 144. where he says, that (by way of Hieroglyphick) *Lo signor Ottavio in un cane con la cetra antica, & col caduceo.*



Sup. dat. XV. Illust. 4.

But concerning the latter part of this verse, our Poet is thought to have erred as much, whiles he affirms, that in *Egypt* no body worshipped *Diana*, it being noted from *Herodotus*, (lib. 2.) that she was worshipped in the City *Bubastis*, as *Pignorius* says, *de Mens. Isae. Exposit. fol. 33.* and by the name *Isis*, as the *Egyptians* term'd her, which in the Greek is the same with *Aspis* (*Diana*) as *Herodotus* says expressly in his *Euterpe*, *ἡ δὲ θεὸς Ἰσὶς καὶ ἡ δὲ θεὸς Ἀσπίς*. Which worshipping of her under another name, might easily cause our Poet to think her not to be worshipped there at all. According to which concealment of her worship, we may in a like kind farther observe, that when *Hyginus*, in *Capriocho*, says *Dianam Elaro simulatam*, *Ptolemaeus Flavius*, in his *Conjectan.* lib. 2. cap. 72. corrects it into *Elaro, qua vox, says, he, Græcis significat felem*; and that so it agrees with the known fable, which tells us that *Diana* was turned into a Cat; according to that of the Poet, *Fele soror Phæbi latuit*; and that thus, also she was by consequence worshipped by the *Egyptians*. But *Franciscus Floridus Sabinus*, in his *Lectio. Subseciv. lib. 3. cap. 1.* would clear *Juvenal* from his supposed error in this place, by saying, that in particular parts of *Egypt* they had particular Deities (as appears by the *Ombians* and *Tentyrites* in this Satyre) and so, that he did not deny that she was worshipped there at all, but

rather not by all; because by none in those parts where He was. If these helps will not give satisfaction, we may think, that though she was worshipped there in *Herodotus* his time, yet in a time so long after, as in *Juvenal*'s, her worship might be out of request, especially where they had such store of Deities. Or what if it be supposed, that *Juvenal* peradventure was ignorant, coming to *Egypt*, but like *Canis ad Nilum*, to have a lap and away; and so was not so cunning in all the *Egyptian* Deities; *Varro* himself testifying, that even all the learned were not acquainted with all the ancient Deities. Lastly, it may be said, that if in our Author this be an error, he is yet, being a Poet, as excusable as *Plutarch*, a Philosopher. And here *Britannicus* aptly notes, that the Poet wittily jeers, whiles he says, that the mad *Egyptians* worshipped Dogs, and yet not *Diana* her self, though the Hunting-Goddess, that employed them.

5.— The woolly Creature's No man's meat. — *Lanatus animalibus abstinet omnis Mensa.* — The Poet Proceeds here to mention other things, which the *Egyptians* did forbear to eat, as *Leeks*, *Onions*, and *Mutton*; the two first being, as some write, contrary to the nature of the *Moon*, decreasing when she increases; increasing when she decreases: the last being the flesh of the most lazy creature, the *Sheep*. For which cause also they hated *Wool*; as an extreme

ment of that creature, as *Pign.* notes in *Mens. Isiac. Exposit.* fol. 11. which is proportionally agreeable to *Apuleius* [in his *Apologie*] who tells us, that amongst other rules of *Orpheus* and *Pythagoras*, one was, that a garment of wooll was to be accounted Prophane.

6. Perchance some at the Fabler vex'd, some jeer'd as fast. *Bilem, aut risum fortasse quibusdam Moverit, ut mendax aretalogus*—When *Ulysses*, says the Poet, making relation of his travels to *Alcinous* King of *Phaacia* (otherwise *Corcyra*, now the Iland *Corfu*) by whom he was entertain'd, did recite the monstrous fables concerning the *Cyclopes* and *Lastrigonians*, some *Corcyraan* as yet sober might well have replied, that He would rather believe the report concerning *Scylla* and *Carybdus*, the *Cyanean* rocks at the *Thracian Bosphorus*, the Bogs, that *Aeolus* kept the Winds in; and that *Elpenor* (the companion of *Ulysses*) was with his Sea-men turn'd to hogs by *Circe's* enchantments; then that there were any Men-eaters: and that he might therefore likewise well have said, Is there no body that will throw into the Sea this lying Imposter *Ulysses*, this *Aretalogus*, seeking to please us by abusing us? Which name, *Aretalogus*, is here by some taken for a description of *Crispinus* the *Aegyptian*; who is set out also, *Sat.* 4. not without scorn. The word is by some drawn from *ἀρετα* (*gratus*) pleasing, signifying such as speak pleasing things, delighting guests and moving to laughter; so *Marcellus Donatus*: who in his *Dilucidations*, on *Sueton's Augustus*, cap. 74. says it may come likewise from *ἀρετή*, and so takes it for such as talk of virtue, but do not practice it, (like those touch'd in the Second Satyre, in which sense or near it, as *Casaubon*, on that of *Sueton*, takes it for a Parasitical Philosopher) and for this reason *Donatus* thinks that *mendax* is added. But the first interpretation is the most received; as by *Turnebus* (*Adversar. lib. 10. cap. 12.*) and Others; and so *Aretalogi* are by *Pignorius* (*de Servis*, 79.) rendred by *Narratores*, *Fablers*.

7. When *Junius* yet was Consul: lately done.—*Sed nuper Consule Junio Gesta*—Some would have it here, *Consule Junco*, some *Vinco*, though without proof and congruity: but the best Copies [the Poetry being helped by a *Synaresis*] have *Junio*, as *Pithagoras* reads, according to two *Manuscripts* which he used, and accordingly he expounds it of *Appius Junius Sabinus*, who as he says, was Colleague with *Domitian*, A. V. C. DCCCXXXVII. Which reading I likewise choose both for the like warrant of Copy and agreement of time: for though that *Tacitus* tells us of *T. Vinus*, who was Colleague with *Galba*, and so it might by conjecture be *Consule Vinio*, yet both the word *Nuper* must here somewhat guide us, and the probable time of this fact, which being at *Juvenal's* abode in *Aegypt*, cannot be better placed, then in the reign of *Domitian*. And this Reading, *Junio*, is confirm'd by two of the Copies, which I use (*Corpus Christi* & *Ben. Jonson's Manuscripts*.) Onely we a little rectifie the time of this *Junius* his Consulship, it being one year before that which *Pithagoras* assigns; namely, in the year of Rome, DCCCXXXVI. in the fourth [or, as some, in the third] year of *Domitian*, at which time *Juvenal* was in *Aegypt*, as is shew'd in his *Life*. The Poet adds, that what He himself will here relate, exceeds all Tragedies, figuratively meaning so by *symata*, which are the stately long robes worn by great persons presented in Tragedies. But whereas such facts are usually of some One, or but of Few persons, as an *Orestes*, a *Medea*, a *Thyestes*, or the like; This was the Fact and Monster of a People.

8. *Ombos* and *Tentyra*. The common Copies have here, *Combos*: but the accurate *Ortelius* following *Antoninus* has *Ombos*, aptly supposing the mistake to have been committed by the *Amanuensis*, who, when the Copy was read unto him, hearing *adnuc Ombos*, writ the last letter of the first word twice, and so writ *adnuc Combos*. As for the quarrels here described by our Author, amongst the *Aegyptians*, they are by *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 1. said to have been nourish'd by some of the *Aegyptian* Kings in policy; so to keep the People, whiles ridiculously divided, from the danger of Conspiracies: though there were other reasons also of such worship, as *Franciscus Floridus Sabinus* shews in his *Leſſion. Subſeciv. lib. 3. cap. 1.* And from these *Aegyptian* frensies in irreligion, arose afterwards amongst the *Christians* [according to some] the wretched fancies of the *Manichies*, *Gnosticks* and *Marconites*. But concerning the Combatants here spoken-of, some, as the learned *Salmasius*, deny the *Ombians* and the *Tentyrites* to have been neighbours. Indeed if we look into the *Geogr. Vet.* publish'd by the accurate *Bertius*, we shall find *Ombi* [as he has it] to be seated about 24. degrees in North-Latitude, and on the East of *Nilus*; and *Tentyra* about 26. degrees, and on the West of *Nilus*; and so about 2 degrees, or 120. miles, asunder. Yet if by these names we understand the People, as the chief of those parts in *Juvenal's* time, they may easily be admitted to have been neighbours, and in zeal to their own superstition to have been also enemies; the *Tentyrites* destroying *Crocodiles*, and the *Ombians* adoring them. But one cannot reasonably imagine, that *Juvenal* should tell so strange a story, & though he were then in *Aegypt*, mistake the names of the people, that were the Actors.

9. The Sun found Seven days after—! *Septimus interdum sol invenit*—The *Aegyptians* (as also *Pythagoras*) held the number of Seven to be Sacred; and more especially they believ'd, that whiles their feast of seven days lasted, the *Crocodiles* lost their inbred Cruelty. See *Pignorius*, in *Mens. Isiac. Exposit.* fol. 18. *Leo* after also (in his description of *Africa*, lib. 8.) says that even in *His* time (who lived but in the time of Pope *Leo* the tenth, who gave him his own name in Baptisme, upon his conversion from *Mahometanisme*) the custome of feasting seven days and so many nights was still used for the happy overflowing of *Nilus*. The Poet adds, that though the *Aegyptians* in that part where he was, were but barbarous, they were as luxurious as the *Canopians*: under which name he aims at *Crispinus*, who in the beginning of these Satyres is called *Verna Canopi*, and so base, even amongst the *Aegyptians*; their Priests being Free-men, their Crafts-men Servile, as the learned *Cunam* notes on this *Crispinus*; *de Repub. Hebr. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

10. Hence Hate gnaws These. *Hinc jejunum odium*! He speaks of the envious *Tentyrites*, who griev'd at the *Ombians* jollity, passed from Spight to a Fight, and for want of weapons, to throwing of stones, though not very great, but futeable to the size of men now-adays, says the Poet, according to the common complaint about the supposed decay of Man's stature; *Pliny* in his 7th. book, denying an increase, whiles he says, that few men are taller than their parents; of which kind of complaint and mistake, see largely and learnedly, in *Dr. Hakewill* his excellen *Apologie*. But, says the Poet; *a diverticulo repetatur fabula* (that is, to return to our relation) the *Tentyrites*, who delight in their stately palme-trees, put the *Ombians* to

to flight, and press them fore, *Terga fuga celeri praestantibus omnibus instans*: in which place one manuscript has it thus, *Terga fuga celeri praestant instantibus orbes*; by which seem to be meant *Ombiorum orbes saltatorii*, that the *Ombians* dancing in Rounds, being put to the worst, fled: but the contexture following is more agreeable to the common copies, which have—*Terga praestantibus omnibus, instat Qui vicina colunt*.—Some read—*praestant instantibus Ombis*: but then the next verse—*Qui vicina, &c.* would imply, that the *Ombians* conquer'd them that dwell at *Tentyra* (the Seat of their enemies,) *Vicina Ombosse Palme*, for which some read *Pampa*, making it the name of a Town; but this change is of small use. Where we may farther note, that *Lubin* farther expounds *terga fuga praestare*, by *exhibere terga fuga*, which I believe to be right, yet not all; the word *praestare* seeming to imply a scoff at their cowardly flight, as it, me-thinks, he said, they stoutly ran away, they made good, or maintain'd their backs to their enemies: meaning that they would never turn their faces again to fight like men. But in the flight, says the Poet, one of the *Ombians* fell; who was presently by his enemies slain, and eaten raw: and well it was, says he, that they did not dress him; for by this means the Fire was not profaned. For which, says the Poet, as some interpret it, I conceive a joy; and I think it self does so, whereby they would attribute figuratively the like joy to the Fire also: but the Poet says,—*Elemento gratulor, &c. se Exultare reor*,—which last words he speaks to his friend *Volusius*, to whom he writes this Satyre, I believe *Thou* also art glad, that the Fire was not prophand: implying, as some note, that *Volusius* was a *Pythagorean*, and so held the Fire to be sacred: and accordingly I render it,—*I'm glad for th' Element's sake; And think, Volusius, Thou like joy dost take*. But he that came, says our *Historian*, when the flesh was eaten, scoop'd up the blood with his hand, so to have a draught. In which passage, it being according to the ordinary copies,—*Ultimum autem Qui stetit absumpto jam corpore, Lubin* offers a pretty conjecture, namely, for *stetit, sicut*: implying, that he which came last, and so was yet thirsty, scoop'd up his draught with his hollow'd hand; for a guest is plausible.

11.—But could a *Vascon* be a true *Stock*, in old *Metellus's* daies?—*Sed Cantaber unde Stoicum, antiqui praefertim erant Metelli?* The *Vascons*, says our Author, did once, as Fame tells us, eat Man's flesh, but it was in extrem necessity, in a doleful siege: and though Philosophy teaches, that a man should not do All things to preserve life, yet how could a rude *Vascon* in the daies of *Metellus*, be a Philosopher? But now indeed there are Schools of learning every where: the *Britans* being thus taught by the French, and the Inhabitants even of *Thule* (Island, as *Mercator*, but *Tile-mark* a part of Norway, as *Ortelius* thinks) now entertaining Professors of Rhetorick. The *Saguntines* likewise are said to have eaten Man's flesh, but it was in a like dreadful distress: but the rage of these *Egyptians* is such, that the like is loath'd at the *Tawrick* Shrine of *Diana*; where, though men are slain for sacrifices to the Goddess, yet they are not eaten afterwards! But thus barbarously do these wretches provoke their kind *Nilus* to deny the enriching of their Countrey henceforth with his floods; they being more fierce than the *Cimbrians*, *Brutons*, and such like, though indeed but very dastards, fearing to put to Sea, unless in their perry vessels, their tile-ships, and in Them but creeping by the shoar. In which pas-

sage though the *Scholias*, and, as it seems, *Lubin* takes here the *Vascons* and the *Saguntines* for one people, and so take it but as one instance, other Interpreters do rightly distinguish them: the *Vascons* being a part of the Ancient *Cantabrians* in the North-East of Spain (their Countrey being by *Ortelius* now taken for *Navarre*) and their City, whereit they suffered the distress here mentioned, being *Calaguris*, now *Calaborra*, by the river *Iberus*: but the *Saguntines* being a people in *Hispania Paeninsula*, as *Ortelius* has it, and so in the South-East of Spain, and their City *Saguntum* being now *Morvedre*. Besides, our Author does here clearly distinguish them; shewing that the *Vascons* were equal for their fidelity to the Romans, but the *Saguntines* exceeded them for calamity; *Modis ille tamen populus, quem diximus, & par Virtute atq; fide, sed major clade Saguntus*. Story will clear this; the *Saguntines* besieged by *Hannibal*, being destroyed; but the *Vascons* though distressed, whilst besieged by *Metellus*, being notwithstanding at last delivered by *Sertorius*, who was besieged with them, as *Florus* (not the elegant Historian) relates in his *Epirome of Livy*, lib. 92. For he did not only by many sallies out of the City exceedingly dammish the besiegers (*Metellus* and *Cn. Pompeius* sent by the Romans) but by brave valour and art raise the siege, making *Metellus* glad to betake himself to the farther parts of Spain, and *Pompey* to France, as *Florus* also relates in his *Epirome of Livy*, lib. 93. Yet before this deliverance, the City *Calaguris* did indeed suffer extremest famine, as the elegant *Florus* says in his *History*, lib. 3. cap. 22. where speaking of the Cities which were recovered after the death of *Sertorius*, he says, *Ipsa quoque in Romanam fidem venire Urbes, Osca, Ferme, Tarrus, Valentia, Aunima, &c. in fame nihil non experta Calaguris*. But here to me does appear a doubt not taken notice of by the Interpreters or Others, yet necessary to be considered and resolved; and that is, with what congruity *Juvenal* can here praise the *Vascons* for their loyalty to the Romans even in this their siege, equalling them with the *Saguntines* (saying, that they were *Populus par fide*, but *minor clade*) whereas it is apparent, that they took part with *Sertorius*, who was a declared Rebell against the Romans? In the distress of this difficulty (which peradventure was the cause of error both to the *Scholias* and *Lubin*) to deliver mine own guess; I conceive thus. *Juvenal*, as it appears from divers passages of his work, was a Lover of the Liberty of his Countrey, the Roman *Commonwealth*; and in effect, thought the *Casars* themselves but Intruders upon the ancient and Roman Liberties, having but by force and fraud mastered their own Countrey; of which originally and rightly they were but private parts. According to which persuasion we may find him, *Sat. 8.* magnifying *Thraseas*, *Helvidius*, the *Bruti* and *Cassius*; and on the contrary, *Sat. 1. and 2.* speaking by name against *Sylla*, and jeering at his three disciples, as he calls them. Next we may observe, that the *Sertorian* war, in which the *Vascons* were thus distressed, was in the time of the *Syllan* faction, though after *Sylla's* death; as is clear from *Florus* in his *Epirome of Livy*; mentioning *Sylla's* death, lib. 90. and the siege of *Calaguriam* (as he there calls it) lib. 92. and the raising of it, lib. 93. But *Sylla's* Faction was continued after his death, and having prevail'd in the City of Rome, carried the name of the *Commonwealth*; *Marinus* and his partakers being some slain, some fled. In which war though *Marinus* was overthrown, yet as the more innocent,

pancorum dominatu gaudent: nam his in suffragiis utantur. Lucian (in *Bian. p. 101.* as Casaubon alludges him on that passage of *Laertius*) gives the reason thus; *ἡ δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν οἶον ἐκείνου καὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου.* To omit for civilizing the rendering of which passage, I may farther observe what he adds, that is, that if beans be boiled and let lie a few nights, they will yield a blood-like moisture. And as for those words of *Laertius*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων*, Casaubon adds that of *Porphyry*, de *Aniro Homericis*, *Τὸς ἀνδράσι δὲ ἀμύμων ἐστὶν οὐκ οἶον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου.* *Pliny* says, that Beans dull the senses and disturb the mind with Dreams. Two of the Manuscripts (*Corpus Christi* and *Ben. Jonson's*) alludge partly the like reason; as, that they are a meat which dulls the sense and puffs up the belly: besides, that in the Bean there is a secret worm. The Scholiast, not without obliquity, here says, *Aversanus ex fabam, quæ ex sanguine humano orta esset. Nam flores in sanguinem vertuntur, si sic ponatur.* Upon which words *Pilbius* adds, *—quod sequitur de flore fabæ, alibi me legisse non memini: ut apud Porphyrium quidem, qui hanc hæresim doctissimis et elegantissimis libris defendere conatus est. Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. lib. 9. says, that the Pythagoreans having wives, (as Pythagoras himself had, Theano mentioned by *Jamblichus*, in *Vit. Pythag.* cap. 27.) did abstain from Beans, because they cause barrenness in men and women. Indeed *Theophrastus*, de *causis plantarum*, says that if the husks of beans be set near the roots of trees newly planted, they will make them dry and barren. But *Galien* and other Physicians tell us, that beans, used as diet, are rather a cause of fruitfulness, than of barrenness. Yet against this received tradition concerning *Pythagoras* there is one thwart testimony in *Agellius*, lib. 4. cap. 14. where he says, that *Aristoxenus* a Musician, the Scholar of *Aristotle* and a diligent teacher into ancient learning relates in a book, which he writ of *Pythagoras*, that he used to eat beans, because they keep the body soluble; and that he likewise did eat pig and kid. Which relation, says *Agellius*, this *Aristoxenus*, it seems, heard from a friend, one *Xenophilus* a *Pythagorean*, and from some others more ancient, who lived not long after *Pythagoras* his own times. The like also concerning his eating of flesh, *Agellius* writes from the authority of one *Alexis* a Poet, in a Comedy called the *Life of Pythagoras*: adding also his own conjecture about the original of this supposed error and tradition, whiles he thinks it to have first come up, by mistaking that verse, written by *Empedocles* (who was a *Pythagorean*.) *καὶ οἱ πάντες οἶον, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἔχοντες* where some expound *καὶ αὐτὸν* by a bean, whiles others, says he, think it signifies testiculos; the *Pythagoreans* after their manner of instruction calling them *καὶ αὐτὸν*, quia sint ovis et ovium dicitur et ovium et ovium; and thus that it was only a mystical precept among Lust. But by*

his leave, though this were granted to be the mystery of the precept, it does neither deny nor weaken the common tradition. And whereas *Agellius* farther says, that *Plutarch* in his first book de *Voluptate*, says that *Aristotle* writes of the *Pythagoreans*, that they did not abstain from flesh: I think not that part of the tradition so much (though enough) confirm'd, as the other concerning Beans. Nor does the Hear-say of *Aristoxenus* seem equal to the general tradition confirm'd by *Pythagoras* his chiefest followers, and more particularly by that story of *Dionysius* before related. Wherefore I think the opinion of *Rhodigine*, lib. 27. cap. 17. to be more curious, then found; who says, that the *Pythagoreans* by *καὶ αὐτὸν* meant only an egg; *quod in eo sit animalium ovum*, h. e. *ovum*; and thus would make void the common tradition. Against which novelty may be added the Authority of *Hierocles* the Alexandrian Philosopher, a great *Pythagorean*: who in his Commentaries on *Pythagoras* his *Aurea carmina*, p. 302. mentioning his Abstinence from Beans and Flesh, makes it the rule and way of his Temperance, for the Purifying of the Mind. Besides, he does more particularly and intimately reconcile some seeming inconveniences, concerning some precepts in this argument: For, says he, whereas there may be thought to be some absurdity in these rules, *ἵνα ἀνὴρ καὶ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀνὴρ, ἵνα ἀνὴρ καὶ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀνὴρ*, and *ἵνα ἀνὴρ καὶ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀνὴρ*, and *ἵνα ἀνὴρ καὶ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀνὴρ*, as if the last were superfluous, being forbidden in the first: he answers, that these precepts are distinct, according to the progress of disciples; the one (not to eat of the heart) being taught as a part of Abstinence to Novices, the other afterwards (to abstain from feeding on Living creatures) as a rule of Perfection to Proficients. And easily may we believe his practice of such rules, they being partly drawn from the Egyptian Priests, who likewise did abstain from Beans; which it was not lawful for them to eat or sow, or look upon, as *Herodorus* relates in his *Euterpe*. *Pliny* indeed (upon the Authority of *Varro*) lib. 18. cap. 12. says in part the like of the *Flamen*; as, that he might not eat the Bean, *quoniam in flore ejus lugubres literæ reperiuntur* that is, saith the Interpreter *Dr. P. Holland*, Letters that shew heaviness and signs of death. Indeed the flower of the ordinary bean is, as the Herbalists tell us, (though there is more variety in their colours) white with black spots, or of a darkish purple. *Pliny* there gives also another reason of abstaining from the bean, saying, *—ut alii tradidere, quoniam mortuorum anima sint in ea quæ de causâ parentando hinc assumitur.* The like reasons and precepts then, it is most probable, that *Pythagoras* learned at his being in Egypt: for thither he travell'd, as *Laertius* tells us; learn'd the Language, and was intimate in their Mysteries. *Jamblichus*, also not only relates the like, but adds (lib. 1. cap. 4.) that he continued in Egypt, two and twenty years. See also *Malchus*, his *Life of Pythagoras*; and the learned *Riversius*, his annotations on it.

SATYRE. XVI.

ARGUMENT.

*Souldiers and their Camp-Freedome here
Our Poets Wit does Praise and Jeer.
Yet of his Guifts the Gen'ral shou'd
Be Free, as they are of their Blood.*

Ho, Gallus, can a Bless'd VVars Gains recite?
For, if into a Prosperous Camp I light,
Let my young fear with lucky Star its Gate
Enter. More worths one hour of courteous Fate;
Then (1) if to Mars kind Venus for me writes,
Or Juno, in Sandy Samos that delights.
Common Advantages we first may see:
Of which, that's not the least, that to strike thee
No Gown'd-man dares; if struck, he hides his woe;
Nor dares his Teeth dash'd-out to th' Pretor show;
Nor his knob'd face all black and blew, with Eies
To which All Art promise of Help denies.
Seeks he redress? (2) His Judge a Caslock cloaths:
VWhole shoes and large boots his High Seat ne're loaths:
Camillus's course we take; by th' old Camp-Laws
Beyond the Trench no Souldier pleads his Cause,
Far from his Ensigne. The Centurion sure
VWill gainst a Souldier Right me. I'll procure
Recompence too; Suppose the complaint Right.
The Regiment and Companies shall yet, with might
Conjoyn'd, Oppose. Shall the Revenge, say they,
Exceed the wrong? Thus then such causes may
Vagellius the Mutinian Lawyer plead.
Wilt thou having but two thighs, yet not dread (3)
So many thousand nail'd Boots? Art from Rome
So fled? Or, who's thy Pylades, to come
VWithin the Bulwark? Tears no more abuse,
Nor trouble Friends; who will themselves excuse.
Produce, who so'er 'tis, whom the Judge thinks meet,
That saw the stroak, and that dares say, *I see't*;
And I'll beleive him worthy of the Beard
And Hair of our Fore-fathers. Less is fear'd
Perjury gainst a Clown, then Truth to swear
Against a Souldiers State and Fame.

Lets hear

More

More Favours (4) which to these Sworn-Men belong.
 If a leud neighbour keeps from me by wrong
 Some field or vally of my ancient ground,
 Or does dig-up my sacred stone, my Bound;
 To which (5) my yearly Pulse and Cake I brought:
 Or if my Debtor says, my claim is nought,
 Denies his Hand-writing, or pretends Flaws;
 A year (6) we wait, till ev'ry body's Cause
 Thinks the Time's come. Thousand delays then lead
 Us on: Only the Seats so oft they spread.
 Fair-tongu'd *Ceditius* lays his Cloak aside:
Fuscus leaks oft. When the Cause should be tried,
 VVe part. Thus fight *We* in the Law's slow Sand.
 They, whom Arms clad, and the Belt Girds, command
 A Hearing straight. Their means ne're, without fruit,
 Are Gaul'd with the long Trigger of a Suit.
 Besides, None but your Souldier makes a Will
 His Father Living. For, what He gets still
 By War, That's no part of his Father's state.
Coranus then, that does o'rh' Standard wait,
 And still earns Pay, is by his Father, Old
 And Treinbling Sooth'd. His worth may make him bold;
 To his brave Acts He his Rewards does owe.
 Indeed the *Gen'ral* should his Guists place so,
 That the most Valiant, Happy like their Pains,
 Should ride with Trappings all, all with Gold-Chains.

Trin-Uni Deo Gloria.

ILLU.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Sixteenth Satyre.

The Sixteenth Satyre most probably shew'd to be Juvenal's, both from Ancient Authority, and divers passages in it self; against the Scholiast. Prætor, the use of the word. Bardiacus iudex. Caligarius. Caliga: the Name, Matter, Fashion and use of it; shew'd from Nigronus, Antonius Augustinus, Petrus Faber, St. Jerom and Others. Fulmentæ; Suppacta. Donativum clavarium. Clavi militares; their various Matter. Caliga, oppos'd to the City-Shoor, and so strikely the same with Calceus Castrensis. Sacramentum, taken for a Souldier. Meer-stones accounted Sacred; Sacrifice used at their placing. Comes Signorum. Annus Lirium, expounded by Servius, better by Pithæus.

T Hen if to Mars kind Venus for me writes, Or Juno, in Sandy Samos that delights. *Quam si nos Veneris commendet epistola Marti, Et Samiâ genitrix qua delectatur arenâ.* To omit the useles doubt about the order of this Satyre, as whether it be the last, as in some copies it is, or the last save one, as in others; we may more materially consider, whether or not, this Satyre be Juvenal's: it being left out of the most ancient Manuscripts, as Lubin says; according to which the Scholiast, I grant, says, *Ista a plerisq; exploditur, & dicitur non esse Juvenalis*; Rutgerius also, lib. 4. cap. 4. saying that it is—*ignoti poeta, nihil enim minus quam Juvenalis*. Yet Lubin acknowledges, that Joseph Scaliger thought it to be Juvenal's; and so indeed long before him did Priscian and Servius. Which opinion I the rather choose, because to me it seems to contain some quick passages, as exquisitely satyirical, as any thing in him. Witness, for instance, that in the beginning,—*plus etenim fati valet hora benigni, Quam si nos Veneris commendet epistola Marti, & Samiâ genitrix, qua delectatur arena*; that is, One hour of Right Luck shall more speed a Souldier, than a commendatory letter from Venus, or Juno (so honoured and delighted with the Island Samos) unto Mars the god of War in his behalf. Than which, what could be spoken with more sharpness, the One being his Sweet-heart, the Other his Sister? who is here said to delight in Samiâ

arena: by which some understand the Shews celebrated to the honour of Juno, in the arena, or Shew-place, which was sprinkled with sand, to suck up the blood of the Gladiators or combatants; though in this place it would seem a little inconvenience, in a sandy Countrey to sprinkle sand upon sand. The more receiv'd reason is, that Samos was generally and extremely sandy, yet beloved of Juno, not only because she had a Temple there, but also and especially, because it was the place of her birth. Where we may farther note, to prevent mistake, that the Samos here intended, there being more places of the same name, is that which lies off at Sea over against Ephesus; being about 55 degrees of Longitude, and about 38 in Latitude, as Mercator places it. But whereas on this passage concerning the Fortune of Souldiers Britannicus thinks, that the Poet implies the greater efficacy of the stars, according to the scheme of the heavens, at a Souldiers first entrance into the Camp, according to the Egyptian Superstition: I rather think, since he jeers at such vanity of opinion, Sar. 6. that he does here thus prefer Fate, by which the severer sort of the Heathen seem'd to understand a Deity indeed, before the supposed power of their fictitious Gods. Witness again, in defence of this Satyre, as Juvenal's, that expression of the violating the Meer-stones of one's Inheritance,—*Convallem ruris aviti Improbus, aut campum mihi si vicinus ademit, Et sacrum effodit medio de limite saxum, Quod mea cum vetulo coluit puls annua libo*; than which, what more sweetly poetical? Witness That also;

also,—*toties subsellia tantum sternuntur, jam facinorante lacernas caditis, & Fusco jam militante parati Digredimur, lentius fori paginamus arena;* than which, what more pleasantly satyrical? Witness that also, *Nec res atteritur longo suffamine litis;* as also that,—*ergo Coranum Quamvis jam tremulus caput pater,*—expressing a greedy father gaping after the estate of his own son. Lastly, witness that in the conclusion of the Satyre, *Ut laet phaleris omnes & torquibus omnes;* not only implying the duty of a General in the reward of brave Souldiers, but also, with a jeer, the neglect of such duty, in the manner of the expression; while he says, that they should have a jolly reward, and swagger it out bravely in their trappings and chains of gold, intimating, alas, that there was neither such encouragement to the Souldier, nor consequently, such justice in the General. Yet this I grant, that in this Satyre there is not such rowling eloquence, as generally flows in the rest: which yet I will not attribute to his old age [though it is clear that he writ it in his old age] because at that season of his life, he writ also the 13th. Satyre: which does not yield to any for an admirable expression of natural compassion. Wherefore I think most conveniently, that it was some first draught or design of a Satyre intended by our Author, and so a True one, not a Perfect one. The occasion of this Satyre is thought to have been our Poet's employment into *Aegypt*, whither, it is said, he was sent under the pretence and honour of some Military service, but indeed, by way of revenge, for jeering at *Paris*, though but a Player, yet *Domitian's* favourite: who, as it is said, *Sat. 8.* was able to bestow Offices, as Praefectures and the like. But whereas *Lubin* thinks that our Poet writ this, when he was fourscore years of age, I believe he much mistakes, or else he must assign unto him a very long life. For though we should suppose that he writ not, at least, not publish'd this, to avoid danger, till *Domitian's* death [which was eleven years after this Service, and *Junius* his Consulship] and not till then reckon our Poet to be 80 years of age, it would follow, that he lived an 100 years [which I know none that offer to affirm] since he himself mentions threescore years from *Fonstius* his Consulship (*Anno utbis Condita, 811.*) which number reaches from thence to the Third year of *Adrian*, *A. V. C. 871.* between which and *Domitian's* death are above 20 years, namely, the reign both of *Nerva* and *Trajan*; which should by that account be added to the former 80. Some tell us, in explication of the beginning of the 13th. Satyre, that *Juvenal* writ in the 21th. year of *Trajan* but we may remember, that *Trajan* reigned not full twenty years. *Byzantinus* somewhat more warily, thinks that *Juvenal* writ all his work in *Trajan's* time; but if he had said, that he publish'd it not till then, he had, I think, spoken neerer the truth: since it must be granted, that some of his Satyres, at least some part of them were written, and, though not divulg'd, yet discovered before: for else, how could he have been thus sent into *Aegypt*, for writing against *Paris*?

2.—His Judge a Cassock clothes, *Bardiacus judex datus hac punire volenti.* The Poet here under pretence of setting out the Privileges of Souldiers, satyrically laies open their Licentiousness, saying, that if one, who is not a Souldier, have by a Souldier his teeth beaten out, and his face made almost incurably black and blue; yet dares he not shew his wrong to the *Prator* (for that was the name for the City judge; but anciently for the

Consul also, and generally for him, that had anciently the government of the Army, as I have noted, *Sat. 10. Illustrat. 6.*) the Judge being a Souldier, and the Cause, by the old Law of *Camillus*, being to be heard within the Camp, that so the Souldier might not be drawn from his service. In which expression, the Military Judge (the *Centurio*, says the *Scholast*) is by the Poet called *Bardiacus judex*, or, as some copies have it, with little difference in the sense, *Bardiacus*, that is, *Gaulish*, or rude and barbarous, as *Turnebus* with some expounds it; or as others, a Centurion wearing the *Gaulish* Souldier's cloak, or Cassock: whom he farther describes by his seat of Judicature, at which, as he courtely sets it out, hung his boots and such ensigns. Now all causes against a Souldier being to be heard within the trench (*fossa*) or strictly the rampire or bullwork (*vallum*) which encompassed the Camp; no man, says the Poet, is so foolhardy, as to come thither to plead against a Souldier, unless it be *Vagellius*, the *Mutinian* Lawyer: who, as it seems, was one in those daies, that would venture upon desperate Causes.

3.—Yet not dread so many thousand nail'd boots? *Offendere tot caligatos Millia clavorum?* Art not afraid, says the Poet, to be kicked or trampled on by so many rude Souldiers that wear nails in their boots? Or, art thou so dully, so unacquainted with City-wit, as not to understand such danger? Can any be so fled from Rome? *Quis tam procul absit ab urbe?* Where, though *Urbs* signifies the Roman or City-wit, yet more aptly may the Poet here say, *procul ab Urbe*, though the Interpreters note it not, if with them we will suppose, that he was now in *Aegypt*; meaning, that though any were a great way from home, yet they could not lack so much old wit. For, as he says, will any be such a *Pylades*, as to venture to plead for his friend amongst so many souldiers? Or if there were any so hardy, as that with such danger he durst witness a truth, surely he deserv'd to be rank'd amongst our brave and virtuous Ancestors, which lived in the age wherein they wore long hair, and shagged beards. See concerning this custome, *Sat. 4. Illustrat. 17.* and *Sat. 9. Illustrat. 6.* and chiefly, *Sat. 6. Illustrat. 25.* but in this place we may especially take notice of his description of Souldiers by their nail'd boots. The common copies have here, *Cum duo crura habetas, offedere tot caligatos Millia clavorum?*—But *Dempster* (on *Rufinus*, lib. 10. cap. 29.) reads better from his Manuscript, though to the same sense,—*offendere tot caligas, tot Millia clavorum?* Art not afraid to offend so many boots, so many thousand nails? *Caligatus* is in use of speech a Souldier, and so used by *Umbrius* in the close of the third Satyre, where he says he will come *caligatus*, a booted, or military aid, that is, Souldier-like, to help *Juvenal*. The word comes from *Caliga*, which has usually been taken for leg harness: but it properly signifies the Souldiers shoe; as *Julius Nigrinus* shews in his learned *Dissertation, de Caliga*: from which word arose the cognomen, *Caligula*, a diminutive from the former. So *Tacitus* says, that the Emperor *Caligula* was so called, because *eo tegmine Pedum indubatur*; *Antonius Augustinus* also l. de Numism. Dial. 7. saying, *Caligula vix pedem tegi*. *Isidor.* lib. 19. *Originum*, cap. 34. would derive it a *calla pedum*, and some a *ligando calces*, i. e. imo *peda*, quasi *calciliga*; so *Salmeron.* Tom. 12. *Tract.* 35. in *Alia*, cap. 12. Some would have it the same with *Gallica*, a Military shoe used by the *Gauls*, and thence draw *Caligula*, *Calicula*, and *Caloches*: thus *Petr. Faber* (in his *agonistic.* lib.

lib. 2. cap. 34. so making *Caliga* the first name, & the next from thence *Caliga*, both used by *Tully*. It was a thick shoal without an upper Leather; having strings only to tie upon the upper part of the foot, somewhat like wooden pattens; the shoal of the foot being thus saved from the ground, but the upper part being in a manner naked. In after-times the word *Caliga* seems to have been commonly used for a shoe, according to that of *St. Jerom. epist. 47. cap. 3.* speaking of an immodest maid, that went in creaking shoes, *Caliga quoque ambulantis nigella ac nitens, stridore ad se juvenes vocat.* It came at last to be used by Country-men and Citizens; nay, by Religious persons; though most properly by Souldiers of the Meanest sort: by which Dress and Art *Caligula* thought to get into the favour of the Souldiery, The matter of the *Caliga* was wood and Leather fastned together with many nails underneath, that they might last in long Journeys, and both in stony and durty ways. The Souldiers diligence did for the surer service [as *Nigronus* notes, p. 64. &c.] set peices on them, which *Plautus* in *Trinummus*, calls *Fulmentas* [quasi fulcimenta] Others, *Suppalla*, *maxillipallia*, and the *Italians*, *tacconi*. But the nails being but small, and therefore many, the Emperours to help the Souldiers did sometimes bestow on them a *Largess of Nails*, which was called *Donativum Clavarium*, as *Dion. Gothofredus*, in his *Notes on Festus. Lit. C.* And such nails were commonly of iron, sometimes of brass: but *Antiochus* his Souldiers, as *Valerius Maximus* says, had nails of gold; and, as *Justin* has it, lib. 38. concerning the same souldiers, they had shoe-nails of Silver and Gold; treading that underfoot, as he says, for which men fight with iron. Whence we may see, that the Spanish Golden horse-shoes, in the first American Conquests, was but an Imitation with Improvement. The Author of the *Notes on Festus* tells us, that all the shoes which the Romans wore, reached to the Mid-leg. In the ancient expressions of the Roman Souldiers they are described with their shoes tied cancellatim, crosse-wise or Lattice wise, twice above the ankle about a part of the leg and *Nigronus* thinks it probable, that the *Caliga* came above the ankle to the leg, after the fashion of the Italian shoes, *Boraccini*; [see *Lorinus* on the *Alis. 12.*] yet he would not have them called tibialia, or cruralia, but calceamenta, their chief use being for the foot. Moreover [p. 25. &c.] whilst he opposes the City-shoe and the *Caliga*, he mentions *Tully* comparing himself with *Antonie*, and urging it as a disgrace to return into the City, cum caligis & lacerna; making *caliga* to be merely calceus castrensis, and that it did portend war. Yet in *Juvenal's* time, it must be acknowledged, that though the *Caliga* were not worn by the Citizens, yet it was worn in the City, wherein there were not a few souldiers, as *Juvenal* implies, Sat. 3. saying, planta calcor, — clavus mihi militis hæret. See also concerning the *Caliga*, *Marcellus*, *Donatus*, p. 313. on *Sueton's Augustus*, cap. 25.

4. —Which to these Sworn-Men belong. —Atque alia emolumenta notemus Sacramentorum—. The Poet here calls the Souldiers figuratively *Sacramenta*, from their taking the Oath of Fidelity to their General: before the taking of which Oath, if they kill'd an Enemy, it was accounted Murder, as *Dempster* shews, lib. 2. de Sacramento Militari.

5. To which my yearly Pulse & Cake I brought. Quod mea cum patulo coluit puls annua libo. The Ancients accounting their Meer-Stone Sacred, used at the placing of it to bring a Sacrifice, more particularly, as *Britannicus* notes, a Lamb, and as a God, they

adorned the stone with chaplets, and as *Juvenal* says here offer'd pulse and a cake made (as *Atbenæus* says, lib. 3.) of Milk, Sesamum and Honey. But whereas, when the Poet says in the person of one not a souldier, If some leud fellow (*improbus*) offer to wrong my Meerstone, the *Scholiast* would by *improbus* understand a Souldier, I think that he mistakes; the Poet intending only to compare the dispatch of Souldiers Law-suits and Other mens, and accordingly saying, that City-Law-suits were most tedious, but that Souldiers Law-suits were in the Campe quickly dispatched. Thus *improbus* shall here signifie one that is not a souldier yet one that does another man wrong. Besides, otherwise the Poet should speak against his own intent: for, if any man had a cause against a souldier, though it had been for taking away one's Inheritance, Expedition he should have had for the souldier's sake; and though he had not had Justice with safety enough, in respect of the danger from the Souldiers afterwards, yet the Centurion judg'd rightly, according to that, —justissima Centurionum Cognitio est igitur de milite. Besides, the Gown'd-Man here implies, that the Judges of his cause were City Judges, *Caditius* and *Fuscus*; not the Centurion. The comparison then is briefly between a Gown'd-man and a souldier's condition in respect of expedition: the Souldier having it always; but the gown'd-man only in the Campe and for the Souldier's sake, as only to dispatch a trouble; but that in City-trials with other gown'd-men, delay was an overthrow before sentence.

6. A year we wait, till ev'ry body's Cause Thinks the Time's come—. Expellendus eris, qui lites inchoet, annus Totius populi—. We, says the Poet, speaking in the Persons of such as are not souldiers, may wait a whole year, ere we can get an appointed time for the Hearing of our Cause, and when such time is come there are a thousand delays; One Judge laying down his *Lacerna*; another going out to leak. In brief, says he, rather the Seats are prepar'd, then the Judges, we being straight dismissed, the Cause being unheard: so that we are worse wasted in the slow Law-court by Delay, then are the Sword-players in the Sand of the Amphitheater. The Souldier on the contrary, says he, has not his estate worn-out with such delay, like a waggon-wheel with the trigger that stops it. Besides, says he, there are other privileges, which attend the Souldier, *Signorum Comitum* (as *Dempster* more generally, and I think, futeably enough expounds it, on *Refinus*, lib. 10. par. 15. ult. the privilege here mention'd belonging to all Souldiers) though *Pithæus*, from an interlinear gloss more especially understands by it, *Vexillarium*, a Standard-bearer a souldier, much more an eminent one, having power, whilst his Father yet lives, to make a Will; what he gets in the war being merely his own: which makes the Father of worthy *Coranus* basely flatter his Son, in an unnatural hope, that if he dies in war, he shall become his Son's Heir! Indeed, says he, worthy *Coranus* owes his rewards to his own worth; and fit it is that worth should be rewarded; and so, that brave souldiers should be bravely adorned, as deserving troopers, all with their trappings and their gold-chains. In which passage there is one troublesome doubt amongst the Interpreters about —Qui lites inchoet annus Totius populi—. Servius upon that of *Virgil. Æneid. 2.* Quidve moror? si omnes uno ordine habetis achivos, says, uno ordine, uno reatu, &c. est de antiquo tractum scientia: quia in ordine dicebantur causa, propter multitudinem vel tumultum festinan-

*sestianum, cum erat annus litium. Juvenalis, Ex-
pectandus eris, &c.* But these last words *Petrus Pi-
thaus* (in his *Adversar. Subseciv. lib. 2. cap. 20.*)
thinks to have been added to *Servius*, by some lat-
ter *Grammarians*; and perswades himself, that there
was no such *annus litium*. Some think that *annus li-
tium* implies the number of causes to have been so
great, that a cause could not come to trial that
year, in which it was first brought before the *Præ-
tor*, and so that a man was to stay till another year.
But why should that other year be call'd *annus to-
tius populi*? there being no one year, according e-
ven to this exposition, wherein all causes could be
heard, and so not *totius populi*. Some tell us, that
they used to dravv lots, and that accordingly Cau-
ses had their days with more speed or delay ap-
pointed for the Hearing. In the margin also of
one Manuscript (namely, *Corpus-Christi*) it is no-
ted, that they did anciently appoint what kind of
causes they would here every year; as whether
they would judge *De Hereditariis, an de Pupillis,
an de herede alieno, an de Terminalibus, or the like*;
but this is Said, not Proved. *Pithaus* therefore per-
swades himself (and it seems the most moderate
perswasion) that the only meaning here is; that as
the Souldier had a quick dispatch in his Law-suits;
so the *paganus* or *villager* [the Country-man] as
also *ragatus*, mention'd in the former part of this
Satyre, might stay long enough, even a year; or, till
the year [but not strictly a year] wherein every bo-

dy's Cause should be heard; Satyrically intending,
that he must wait for a late and a dispatching, but
an uncertain year; *Annus* thus signifying here, as in
that of *Terence*, — *dum comuntur, dum launtur, annus
est*; though some more wittily read there, *annus est*;
to imply, she was so long in dressing, that she grew
old, ere she had done. Lastly, when as the Poet
speaking of the irksome delay in Law-suits [which
some partly attribute to the number of the Judges,
the *Centumviri*, which were all to meet, say they,
for the dispatch of Causes] says in his Satyricat ex-
pression, *jam ponente lacernas Ceditio*; it may be ob-
served, that the use of the *lacerna* differd in differ-
ent ages; it being here the garment of *Ceditius* a
Lawier in the time of *Juvenal*: whereas by *Tully* in
His time, it is opposed to the City-garment; as is
shew'd on this Satyre. *Illustrat. 3.* See also *Sat. 1.
Illustrat. 2.* It may be farther observ'd, that some
interpret *ponente lacernas* by his gown on [when as
the words signifie his cloak being off, or laid aside]
yet the Authors of that interpretation tell us, that
Ceditius was in *quirpo*: which assertions are incon-
sistent. Besides, though his *lacerna* was off, he was
not in *Cuerpo* [for so the *Spaniard* writes the word]
but we grant, he was in his Gown; which was ac-
cording to the Custome of those times [as I have
shew'd, *Sat. 1. Ill. 2.*] wherein against rain and cold
they did abroad wear the *Lacerna* upon the Gown;
but in the Court probably for conveniency of busi-
ness & the Solemnity of the place, they laid it aside.

The End of the Illustrations of

Decimus Junius Juvenalis.

Laus Deo.

FINIS.

Aulus Persius Flaccus
H I S
S A T Y R E S :

TRANSLATED INTO
E N G L I S H

By *BARTHE HOLTDAY*, Master of Arts,
and Student of CHRIST CHURCH
In OXFORD.

And since by him reviewed and amended, as also augmented
with several Illustrations.

*Hinc trahere quæ dicas, mensamq; relinq; Mycenis
Cum capite & pedibus —*



O X F O R D,

Printed for *J. Adams*, and *F. Oxlad senior*, and *F. Oxlad junior*.
Anno Domini 1673.

Aulus Persius Flaccus

His

SATYRES:

TRANSLATED INTO

ENGLISH

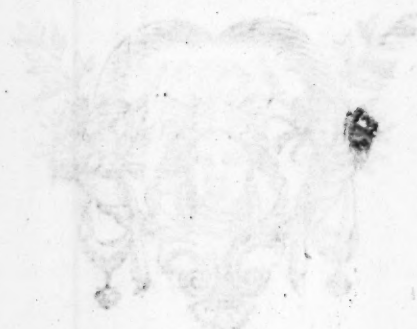
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Printed by J. Sturges, near the Temple, in London.
Cur. typogr. G. Jodice.



OXFORD

Printed for J. Sturges, near the Temple, and R. Oxley, printer,
Anne Blandin 1693.

THE PREFACE

CONCERNING

The Life of Persius.

AS the Lives of Men are not without trouble, so sometimes neither the Descriptions of them, nor the Names, as of this our Author, *Anlus Persius Flaccus*: which last has by some vainly been thought to have been assum'd by him in respect of his imitation of *Horace* in his Satyres, who was of the same Surname. But *Ascentius* and others take it for the *nomen Gentilium*, or ancient surname of our Poet, who was descended from the *Flavian* family, one of the most famous for Antiquity and Nobleness both by Blood and Affinity at *Volaterra*, the place of our Poet's birth. His father *Flaccus* (whose other names we find not mention'd) was a *Roman Knight*, as in his time our Poet also; who was born in the XXI. year of *Tiberius*, the day before the *Nones* of *December*, that is, the fourth; in the Consulship of *Lucius Vitellius* and *Fabius Persicus* (not *Priscus*, as *Helvicius* has it) as it appears in the old *Gloss*, where his Life is publish'd by the learned *Pithæus*, as also in the accurate edition of the *Fasti Consulares* publish'd by *Dionysius Gothofred*. At his father's death he was left young, not fully six years old. His Mother *Fulvia Sifennia* afterwards married one *Fusius* a *Roman Knight*, and within a few years buried Him also. Our Poet studied till he was twelve years of age at *Volaterra*; after that at *Rome*, under the instruction of *Remmius Palemon* a *Grammarian*, and *Virginus Flaccus* a *Rhetorician*. When he was XVI. years old he grew so acquainted with *Anneus Cornutus* (by Country an *African*, by profession a *Stoick Philosopher*) that he never after left his Friendship; and from him had a moderate introduction into Philosophy. His friends from his youth were *Casius Bassus* a *Lyrick Poet*; and *Calpurnius Sura*, who died a youth in *Persius* his life time. *Servilius Norianus* he revered as a father. By *Cornutus* his means he became acquainted also with *Anneus Lucanus*, one of *Cornutus* his Auditors at the same time with him. For at that time *Cornutus* was a writer of *Tragedies*, and left behind him divers Books of Philosophy. But *Lucanus* so admir'd the writings of *Flaccus*, that hearing him read his verses, he could scarce contain from crying out publicly, that they were absolute Poems. It was late ere he fell into the acquaintance of *Seneca*, but not late ere he fell into an admiration of his wit. Living with *Cornutus* he us'd the familiarity of two most learned and vertuous Men, and at that time sharp Philosophers, *Claudius Agaturnus* a *Lacedemonian Physitian*, and *Petronius Aristocrates* a *Magnesian*, whom he singularly admir'd and imitated, they being Contemporaries and *Cornutus* his juniors. He was almost for ten years highly beloved by *Pætus Thraseus*, so that sometimes he travel'd

travel'd with him; *Thraseas* having married *Persius* his Kinswoman *Arria*. As for his Poems, he writ in his Childhood a Book call'd *Prætoria*, concerning the Gown which Noblemen's Sons wore; another of his *Journies*; and (if we guess the corrupted *Gloss* into sense) some verses upon *Arria*, that kill'd her self before her Husband. All which were abolish'd by the Counsel and Persuasion of *Cornutus* to *Persius* his Mother after his Death. He writ seldom and slowly, though betimes in respect of his beginning to write, For as soon as he left his Master's School; having read the tenth Book of *Lucilius*, he did earnestly endeavor to write Satyres; the beginning of whose book he did imitate, quipping himself first, and afterwards all others, with such an insatiation of the new Poets and Orators, that he spar'd not *Nero*: against whom one verse running thus, *Midas the King has Asses ears--*, was by *Cornutus* thus only amended, *who has not Asses ears?* least *Nero* should take it as spoken against himself. But this Book he left imperfect; besides, some verses are thought to be taken away in the end of the work: yet as if it had been finish'd, it is said, he cursorily recited it to *Cornutus*, and to *Casius Bassus*, to whom at his desire, he deliver'd it to be publish'd: and as soon as it came forth, it began by all men to be admir'd and catch'd-up. As for his conditions, he was of a most gentle nature, a maidenly modesty, a discreet thrift; and for Piety towards his Mother, Sister and Aunt, enough for an Example. He died of the infirmity of his stomach, at his Country-house about eight miles from *Rome*, in the *Appian way*; on the *viii.* day of the Calends of *December*, that is, *November* the *xxiv.* in the Consulship of *Publius Marius Celsus* (not of *Rubrius Marius*, as it is in the *Gloss*) and of *Lucius Asinius Gallus*, as it is in the accurate *Gothofred's* edition (not *Publius Asinius Gallus*, as it is in *Helvicus*). Which year of these mens Consulships (and *Persius* his death) *Helvicus* places in the ninth year of *Nero*: which is strictly true, reckoning; as he must, from the beginning of *Nero's* reign, which was in *October* the *xiii.* For so *Persius* dying *November* the *xxiv.* outliv'd the eighth year of *Nero*, about six weeks. Which I the rather note, because *Gothofred* places these Consuls (and so the year of *Persius* his death must be placed) in the eighth year of *Nero*, reck'ning according to the beginning of the Consul's year, which was on *January* the first. Thus reckning from *October* the *xiii.* to *January* 1. which was the beginning of *Nero's* reign, unto the last year of *Claudius* his predecessor, he allows unto *Claudius* *xiv.* years, whereas *Helvicus* allows but *xiii.* which difference being observ'd, upon different ways of account, may save the Reader from mistake both of the exact truth, and of the learned Authors. Hence we may take notice of the error in the old *Gloss* in our Authors Life; in which it is said, towards the end, that he died in the *xxx.* year of his Age, when as it was in the *xxviii.* some few days before the end of it, according to the reckning of the Consulships in the same *Gloss*. Which may clearly thus appear; there were but *xxviii.* years between the Consuls under whom he was born, and those under whom he died, as is manifest by the *Fasti Consulares*. Now the time our Author liv'd under the first Consul, was but from *Decemb.* the *xv.* till *Jan.* 1. and the time he lived under the last Consul, was but from *Jan.* 1. till *November* *xxiv.* both which parcels of time make not up a compleat year, though but about *ix.* days less. As for the disposal of his Estate, the old *Gloss* tells us, that he left to his Mother and Sister about *H-SXX.* or *Sestertium vicies*, two millions of *Sestertii*, in *English* valew arising to 156251. (as I have by proportion shew'd on *Juvenal*, Sat. 6. *Illust.* 17.) desiring his Mother (by his Letter) to give unto *Coranus*, as some relate it, *sestertia centies*, ten Millions of *Sestertii*, that is, 781251. *English*. But the *Gloss* is in these sums too probably to be suspected of corruption; both for the valews of the sums, and

and the less seemly division, implied in his desire, by which five times as much was intended for *Cornutus*, as for his Mother and Sister. It is added indeed, that some report, he left to his Master only xx. pound weight in silver Plate (which in summe, at 3l. 2s. for one pound weight in silver comes to 627) besides 700. books, being his whole Library; but that his Master took only the Books, which I think the most probable; *Cornutus*, as *Suidas* tells us of him, being a man of a great Estate. To these Memorials of our Author, which upon examination Antiquity has left unto us, we may adde, what will not be unpleasant, the Portraiture of our Poet, as it is presented by the inquisitive diligence of the learned *Omnier* (in his *Chronographie*) and thus presented. *



Pers. prof. 1.

Stelluti (one that has publish'd his *Italian* translation of *Persius*, in the year 1630.) has also a comely expression of him from an ancient Marble, with a laurel about the head; but in the countenance with little difference, this being somewhat of a bolder aspect; that somewhat bashful: which quality, I grant, is attributed to him in the old Gloss; but the different seasons of his Life, and so riper age, might easily more man his countenance, and present him with more of the courage of the Saryrist; this therefore I retain. This learned *Stelluti* tells us more concerning the Antiquity of the *Flaccian* family, that there is yet in *Volaterra*, at the Gate of *St. Angelo*, in an Antient Marble, a memorial of one of this family, with this Inscription, *A. Persius A. F. Sever. vix. An. XIII. M. III. d. XIX.* He tells us, that he thinks, that the ancient family of the *Falconcini* (corruptly so called for *Flacconcini*) now flourishing at *Volaterra*, are descended from our Poets Ancestors: which he testifies to be the receiv'd tradition of the *Volaterrans* at this time; adding, that in memory of our Poet, they have preserv'd his name in some one of the family for

time out of mind. And for the more laſting honour of our Poet in his kindred, he relates, that at the time he publiſh'd his tranſlation (in the year abovementioned, 1630.) there were ſome eminent men living, of our Poets name and family: He mentions one *Signor Perſio Falconcini* famous for Learning and Valour, and Secretary to the Duke of Florence; as alſo a Brother of his, one *Onerato*, Prior of *Monreale*, a learned Philoſopher and Divine. He mentions alſo one *Signor Antonio Perſio*, who as he witneſſes, has written a learned Tract, *De Bever Calido*, (of the hot Draughts of the Ancients) as alſo, 18. books, *De recta ratione Philoſophandi*; which, he ſays, were ſhortly to ſee the Light; beſides 12. other books of his, *De Natura Ignis & Caloris*: which works he highly praiſes for the Induſtry, Invention and Benefit unto the Students of all Sciences, giving to the Author the large honour of a Divine, a Philoſopher, a Mathematician, a Phyſician and a Lawyer. All which he mentions to ſhew that the Deſcendents of our Poets kindred do not degenerate even to theſe times from their Anceſtors. Upon the conſideration of which relations, methinks we cannot but acknowledge the Divine Providence, in thus famously honouring the virtue of this Heathen, in cauſing his Name and Kindred to be ſtill thus ſtudiouſly and nobly preſerv'd. His Country alſo may be his honour, to which he was an honour; a Country of ſuch inquiſitive Contemplation, that the Theology of their Augury ſeem'd ſcarce more a miſtake than an excuſe. And as Heathen *Volaterra* exceeded *Rome* in this Art; ſo did a *Volaterran* prevent, and ſo exceed it, in the glory of Chriſtianity; *Linus* (not a Roman, but) a *Volaterran* being not only a Chriſtian, but, after the Apoſtles time, the firſt Biſhop of *Rome* itſelf, (which was not above five or ſix years after our Poets time) and happy *Linus* at laſt made his Death exceed his Life, by the zeal and glory of Martyrdom. And now I need not farther celebrate our Poets worth, then by mentioning ſome, by whom it has been celebrated, whiles recorded; namely *Quintilian*, *Martial*, *Cenſorinus*, *Priſcian*, *Diomedes*, *Servius*, *Lampridius*, *Cafiodore*, *Lactantius*, *Eufebius*, *St. Jerom*, and *St. Auſtin*. VVith which Elogy I leave him in a Supreme degree of Nature and Fame; having by his Virtue made himſelf a Founder and Repairer of his *Volaterra*.

Reader,

Be Courteous to thy ſelf, and let not the example of a
Heathen condemn thee, but Improve thee.

So wiſhes

Thy very friend

BARTEN HOLTDAR.

Aulus



ALLEN'S PERSIAN FLACCHS

SATYRS.

The Prologue.

ARGUMENT.

These are the Satyrs of the Persians, which were written by the author of the Persians, and are now published for the first time.

MY dear friend, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. and in reply to inform you that the manuscript of the Persians has been forwarded to the printer, and will be ready for the press in a few days. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
A. Allen.

A. Allen's Persians, 1833.

SATYRS.



AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS

H I S

SATYRES.

The Prologue.

A R G U M E N T.

Need and not Inspired skill
Makes our Author trie his quill.

M*Y* lips did neuer touch the spring
Of the wing'd horse : nor can I bring
To mind, that e're I dream'd upon
Two topt Parnassus, that thereon
I might be Inspir'd and so Vp-start
A Poet by Infused art.
And all the Muses that do dwell
'Bout pale Pirene, and the well
Of Helicon, to Those I leave,
Vnto whose statues-brows doth cleave
The Ivy-green incircling Crown.
In humbleness I half a Clown
Do only bring this my rude line,
Vnto Apollo's sacred shrine.
Yet blame me not for my bold deed :
Alas ! I write enforc'd by * need.
Who taught the Parrot his kind Haile ?
Who taught the Pie so to prevaile
To frame our words ? 'Twas but to fill
Their belly, master of their skill ;
Which skilful is to make them reach
Voices, which Nature cannot teach.
Nay, if there chance to shine but some
Hope, of deceitful Gain to come :
Crow-Poets and poetick Pies
You'd think did chaunt sweet ayries ;
And make (when as they harshly Crie)
A Pegaseian Melodie.

* A Satyrical Irony.
Persius was a Knight
of Rome of sufficient
wealth.

SATYRE

SATYRE I.

In Form of a
DIALOGUE.

The Speakers { PERSIUS.
MONITOR.

ARGUMENT.

*Inspired Poets Art and Pride
Our Satyrists doth here deride.*

P. Cares of Men! O empty Vanity
Of things! M. who'l read these wondring Satyres? P. Why?
Dost thou say so my Friend? M. Faith I think none.
P. How sayst thou? None? M. Perchance some two, or-P. none?
M. Tis hard. P. Yet why? Left Rome's Polydamas
And doury Trojans should prefer the Assle
Labo before Me? Tush; their false doom
Is but a trifle. If disturbed Rome

Proudly slight any thing, scorn to descend
To their Vain censure: neither strive to mend
The tongue of thy false (1) ballance in their scale
VWhich is as wrong: but if thou'dst never faile
Know this: To try thy secret innocence,
The surest witness is thy (2) Conscience.
For who is not at Rome? O that I might
But freely speak, yet speak no more then right.
And so I may. Then, when I cast mine eye
On those whose Faces promise Gravity:
On our sad Stoicks: on the things we do
Since we left off to play with nuts: and view
Our actions, when we labour much to be
Stern Unckles. Then! then! But, oh, pardon me,
I will not touch. Yet can I hold my peace
Urg'd thus? and from revenge so just, thus cease?

Aulus Persius Flaccus, Sat. I.

I'me of a Scoffing spleen. I Love to Flout
 At Hypocrites: therefore it now Must out.
 Then Thus. Being immur'd from each mans sight
 In some obscure retired place, we write
Some, ev'n-pac'd numbers; *Some* free-footed prose,
 Some weighty thing, which th' Author strongly blows
 From his large-winded lungs. For he rehearses
 Unto the people straight his well-pen'd verses;
 His hair being first kemb'd smooth, and then he dight,
 In a fair comely garment fresh and white,
 Wearing some precious jewel, which some friend
 On's birth-day to him for a gift did send,
 VVith moist'ning syrrope having clear'd his throat
 Apt now to sound it in a various note.
 Then is he reading in a seat on high,
 Dissolv'd unto a lustful *Asing* eye.

Where thou may'st see ev'n those that bear the name
 Of Rome's brave *Titi* (but unto their shame)
 To shake with trembling lust, and to rejoyce
 Obscenely, with a broken skreaking voice,
 VVhen a leud line their inward loins doth pierce,
 And touch them with a lust-provoking verse.

But thou Old Dorard, dost Thou strive to feed
 Other men's ears? nay, Theirs who without heed
 Or moderate discretion praise thee so,
 That (skin-peel'd Ass!) thy self dost first cry, Hoe?
 VVhy did I learn unless this leaven here
 Inbred, this strong wild-figtree should appear?
 And from it's seat the liver breaking forth
 Shew to the world its own, though unknown worth?

P. O see ambitious paleness! see Old Age!
 At such corrupted times who could not rage?
Think'st thou, thou nothing know'st, if it be so,
That others know not, that thou this dost know?
 O but 'tis brave to hear men cry, See, see?
 And pointing with their fingers, say, *That's he.*
 Say you 'had a Poem which so smoothly runs,
 That 'twere for lectures read to great mens sons,
 Brave lads with curled locks, like gold so yellow:
 Would not you think your self a pretty fellow?

P. O that's not all! See, our *Romulidans*
 Prophane our sacred Poems with tout hands!
 Reading, amidst their bowls, Poems divine,
 Being full up to the throat with flesh and wine.
 VVhere if forsooth one clad in purple cloth's,
 Snaffle some musty stuff through's muffling nose,
 Melting forth fair *Hypsipyle's* sad song
 Or *Phyllis* fortune with a moist'ned tong
 Or some such tales which Poetry affords
 His dainty palate tripping forth his words,

The Men assent! And are not th' asses then
 Of this rare Poet blest? This man of men
 Hath he not now a lighter mole of earth
 Gently pressing his bones? A gen'ral mirth
 Ensues: the Guests with hands and voices ring
 His due applause; And shall there not now spring
 Ev'n from his *Manes*, from the hollow womb
 Of his thrice happy urn-inclosing tomb
 Sweet Violets? But, oh, says one, you touch
 Too scoffingly, wrinkling your Nose too much.
 For doth there breath a man that can reject
 A gen'ral praise? and his own lines neglect?
 Lines worth immortal Cedars recompence,
 Nere fearing new-sold Fish or Frankincense?
 Well, whosoe're thou art whom I did make
 But now, the Adverse part to undertake;
 When I my self do write, if from my brain
 Do flow by greatest chance some happy strain
 (For 'tis by chance) My heart is not so hard
 So horny, as to fear the due reward
 Of deserv'd fame. Only I do deny
 The scope of vertuous actions to lie
 In thy *O brave!* *O fine!* for search but this
 Thy *O fine!* and within it what not is?
 No; in These papers know thou shalt not find
 * *Labeos* helleborated lines confin'd
 Too superstitiously to words: nor weak
 Love-Elegies, such as *Rome's* Nobles speak:
 VVhose judgment, like their overcharged maw,
 VVants strong concoctions heat, and is yet raw.
 Briefly whatsoe're on Citrean beds is writ,
 VVe hence exclude as th' excrement of wit.

Thou dost some dish of good hot meat provide
 For some poor wretch (whose belly's his tongues guide)
 Or to thy quaking foll'wer thou dost cast
 Thy thread-bare cloak (which could no longer last)
 Then thus thou speak'st. You know ev'n from my youth
 I hated lies, now therefore tell me truth.
 Of me: (*P.* Can He tell truth? Wilt let me speak?
 Thou triflest (bald-pate ass!) and thy skills weak,
 Seeing a fat-hogge-trough-panch before thee sits
 Full eighteen inches with a load of guts.
 O blessed (3) *Janus*! happy is thy luck!
 Behind thy back, whom never (4) *Storks* bill struck:
 At whom no nimble finger'd hand being fram'd
 Like Asses white ears, ever yet was aim'd:
 Nor so much tongue thrust forth in a base flour
 As an *Apulian* bitch for thirst lils out.
 You O *Patrician* blood whose heads are blind
 I'th' hinder part, prevent a scorn behind.)

VVhat

What do men say? That now your verses flow,
 In a soft number'd pace both sweet and slow,
 Whose well-smooth'd parts are so exactly join'd
 That the severest nail can never find
 The least unevenness. O says one, he makes
 A verse, as he that his true level takes,
 Shutting one eye, for to direct his line,
 VVhich drawing, with red oaker he doth signe.
 VVhether he scourge with his deep-wounding rimmes
 The delicate soft manners of the times,
 Or th' impious Banquets of revenging Kings:
 Our Poets *Muse* can well expresse great things.
 P. I, You shall see a fellow dare assay
 To write Heroick acts, who th' other day
 But trifl'd out some Fables of small worth
 In scarce true *Greek*: whose skill cannot paint forth
 A pleasant self-describing Grove's delights;
 Nor praise the full-stor'd Country, that ev'n writes
 The story of its own abundant store;
 VVhere fruits and fire-wood and the far'n'd Boar
 Are never wanting; where the shepheards feast
 Sacred to *Pales* is, t' expel the Beast
 That hates the Lamb: where shepheards on that day
 Are purged in a fire of smoaking hay.
 Whence *Remus* sprung: where (*Quintus*) thou wast born,
 And where thy Plow-share was in furrows worn;
 VVhen as thy wife trembling with joy and fear,
 Made thee the great *Dictators* roabs to wear,
 Before thine Oxen, and to leave them Now,
 Making the *Litor* carry home thy Plow.
 Behold then this brave Poet!

Some there are
 To whom *Brisean Labeo's* book seems rare:
 VVhose lines swell like full Veins. Others desire
Pacuvius, whom much they do admire,
 And love often to read, and ev'n to stay
 Upon his knotty harsh *Antiopa*;
 VVhose woful heart was nourished with grief,
 The Depth of sorrow yielding some releif.
 When thou shall see the blear-eyed father teach
 His son these things; can'st thou not quickly reach
 To know the cause how this our vile disgrace,
 This hissing Frying-pan of Speech took place!
 First, in our Tongues? And yet whetein our smooth
Trossulians vainly themselves do sooth,
 And ev'n leap in their seats, when they hear
 Old words, which please their thick false judging ears.
 VVhen th'art accus'd, art not ashamed to be
 Not able thy now-Aged head to free

From fear o'th' law, but love the luke-warm cry
 Of all thy hearers crying, *Decently?*
Pedius says one, unto thy charge I lay
 The guilt of theft. VVhat now doth *Pedius* say?
 In smooth (s) *Antisthenes*'s his fault he weighs,
 And for his learned Figures, wins much praise.
 O neat! O neat? In judging thou dost fail,
 Base fawning *Romane*, dost thou wagge thy tail?
 For think'st thou, if some ship-wrack't wretch should Sing,
 He e're from me one Half-penny should wring?
 Dost Sing, when at thy shoulder thou dost wear
 Thy self and ship, which the sharp rocks did tear?
 His tears shall be express'd through's Misery,
 Not-Studied for by Night, that would move me
 To pity. M. Yet in Numbers, O there shines
 Beauteous composure added to those lines
 Which were before but raw. P. I, so it seems;
 For one, this as the only skill esteems
 To end his verse (But, O ridiculous!)
 VVith *Berecynthian Atys*; or else, thus;
The Dolphin which did cut Cerulean Nereus.
 Ex'lent! and this our *Romans* count most serious!
 So thus another draws his numbred line,
We drew a Rib from the long Apennine.
 M. *Armes*, and the man I sing, perchance you'l dare
 To term this frothy, fat-bark'd. P. O no; spare
 Your too-quick censure, and dissolve your brow.
 This Poem as an aged well-grown bough
 Season'd with time, is with the warm Suns heat
 VVell boil'd in its own bark; grown strong and great.
 M. What then do you term soft, and to be read
 VVith a loose-bending neck, and bow'd-down head?
 P. Their wish'd hornes the *Mimallones* did fill
 With sounds, and *Bassaris* about to kill
 The scornful Calf, snatching from him his head,
 And *Manas* as the spotted *Lynx* she lead
 With Ivy-bridles, oft did *Erion* sound:
 The reparable *Escho* did rebound.
 These, these are brave! But, oh, should such lines be
 If any vein of old Nobility
 Did live in us? These weak lines in the Brim
 Of ev'ry mouth, inth' utmost spittle swim.
Manas and *Atys* or some foolish Songs
 Are always in the moisture of their tongues.
 They never Buffeted a Desk for These,
 Or Bit their Nails: such lines are writ with ease.
 M. Grant this be true: yet Sir You have no need
 With biting truth to make their soft ears bleed.

Well, look you to't; I fear; be not too bold,
Lest great mens thresholds towards you grow cold.
Methinks, th'are touched already, and I hear
The doggish letter R sound in mine ear.

P. Nay, Sir, rather then so, all's white and free

All, all is admirable well for me.

I will not hinder't. Now y' are pleas'd I think,

You'l say, Let no man make my verses stink,

Making (6) a place for urine, in a scorn,

Among my papers. *P.* See then you adorn

Your book, and paint two Serpents on't; Boyes, none

Must urine in this Sacred place: be gone:

And I'll go first.

Yet did *Lucilius* cut

Lewd *Rome*, and thee, O *Lupus*, that didst glut

Thy appetite, and thee (*Mutius*) grown weak

With lust, and did on you his Jaw-tooth break,

So Subtile *Horace* laughing with his friend

Would cunningly his vices reprehend,

And lying in his bosome, in his heart,

Would bitterly deride him with great arr.

Skillful he was basely t'esteem the rout,

Yet ne're wrinkled his nose, or seem'd to frow.

And may not I then Mutter? not to th' Dust?

Not though Alone? No where? I will; I must

Digge here, ev'n here. (My book) I speak to Thee;

I've seen, I say, I've seen; (my tongues born free)

Who has not (7) *Asses' ears*? Thou shalt not buy

This my obscure concealed mystery,

This my dear scoff, my Nothing, for whole millions

Of any base Poets long-winded *Iliads*.

Thou whoso'ere thou art, that art inspir'd

With bold *Cratinus*; or with zeal art fir'd

Like angry *Eupolis*; and art grown pale

With that old man, whose stile with a full sail

Bears strong against foul vice: vouchsafe a glance

On these my Satyres also; where by chance

If any thing more perfect thou shalt hear,

Among my lines; grow hot with a purg'd ear.

But him with deepest scorn I do detest

That basely loves to break a bitter jest

At a Philosophers poor Shooe: and winks

At him, whose sight is bad, calling him blinks:

Counting himself no mean man, bearing some

Italian honour at *Aretium*;

Cause, being Market-Clark (such was his pleasure)

He break their earthen vessels less then measure,

Nor love I him that counts the counting-table

Of deep *Arithmeticians* but a fable.

Nor him that scoffs at Figures made in dust
 By sound *Geometry*. Such are unjust,
 And Enemies to th' Arts. They much delight
 To see the bold-fac'd quean (8) *Nonaria* fight
 VVith a good honest *Cynick*; and will grin
 If that she pull his beard off from his chin.
 These, in the morning next their hearts I'll send
 To study the (9) *Edicts*, lest they offend:
 Yet after dinner (for they'll turn no more
 From vice) unto *Callirhoe* their VVhore.



ILLUSTRATIONS

Of some Passages in the

SATYRES

OF

Aulus Persius Flaccus.

In the PROLOGUE,

Paganalia Festa. Nundinae Paganæ. Spinning in High-ways, forbidden by a Law. Paganus; the various acceptions of the word. Poverty and Art, Deities.


I Half a Clown. *Ipse Semipaganus.* A Villager. There were *Paganalia festa, scilicet Rusticorum*, as *Varro* notes *lib. 5. de Ling. Lat.* and *Nundina Pagana*, as *Plin. lib. 18. cap. 3.* and *Lex Pagana*, as *Pliny* farther mentions, *lib. 28. cap. 2.* *Quâ carvetur ne mulieres in viâ torquerent fusos, quoniam frugum proventibus adversari putabantur.* Against women Spinning in High-ways, as being held hurtful to the fruits of the Earth. *Marcellus Donatus, pag. 317.* on *Suetons Augustus, cap. 27.* Who there shews that *Paganus* signifies, first a Country-man: Secondly, one that is not a Souldier; by way of Opposition; Thirdly, one that refus'd to embrace the *Christian Religion* (and still commonly call'd, A Pagan) Fourthly, one that desired to be a Souldier, but as yet was not admitted. *Theodorus Marcilius* interprets *Semipaganus* by *Satyricus*; the *Satyre* being drawn from *Satyri*, and so *Rural*: Which last though it may be admitted, yet the ordinary interpretation which I use, seems the more suitable, and is more receiv'd. *Autumnus* therefore reprehends *Marcilius*; though it be granted, that the *Satyri* were *Pagana numina*, or, as *Cluverius* aptly calls them, *Plebs Deorum.*

2. Their Belly: Master of their skill. *Magister artis-venter.* At *Cadix* in *Spain* there were anciently *Altars* erected to *Poverty* and *Art*, as to *Deities.* *Philostatus, lib. 5. cap. 1.*

ILLU.

First Satyre

The Balance and Parts of it. Statera, ζυγός, Amentum, Libra, Examen, Trutina. Claverius, his Opinion considered. The Inward and Outward Man; a manner of speech used by St. Paul and Plato. The accurate knowledge of the Tarsensians in Eucyclical Learning. A Janus with Four Faces. The Flout implied in those words,--Quem nulla Ciconia pinfit, discussed from St. Jerom, Ferrarius and Casaubon. Pinfere; Pistor; their proper sense. The Curiosity of some famous Men in their Style. Oletum; Olenticetum. Nonariæ; what they were; and the Reason of the Name. Callirhoe; variously expounded from Ovid and Pansias, by Claverius, Stelluti and Casaubon.

1.  H E tongue of thy false Balance by Their scale. — *Examenue improbum in illa Castigetur trutinâ.* — The more clearly to understand this, we may take notice of the balance, and the parts of it. Some take *statera* to be a balance which Goldsmiths use; others, for such a one as is us'd by wooll-workers, which is called a standard, only with an hook at one end, and a weight at the other, which being moved nearer to the center, as they term it, or middle, weighs more; nearer the end, less. Some take it for the balance, whiles, by the equality of the weights, the scales hang even. Some again take it only for *sydes*, or the beam. But, to deliver all upon the nearest examination, *statera* is commonly taken for the whole balance, (as also often *trutina* is) and that in respect of the civil use, it being the *set*, or *standing* size for the trial of other weights. The parts of the balance are 1. *Lanz*, the scale (and so *bilanz*, the pair of scales;) 2. *Amenum*, or as *Festus* calls it, *Apamentum*, the string by which the scale hangs; 3. *Libra*, the Beam, to the ends of which the strings are fastened; 4. *Examen* (*χαίτη*) the Needle (or Tongue) that arises from the middle of the beam. By some it is called *scapus*, though some take *scapus* for the beam. 5. *Statera*, by such as take it for a *part* of the balance, is that iron or wood (used in smaller balance, as the handle) which by a pinn passing through the bottom of it, sustains the beam, to which it reaches. 6. *Trutina*, the Eye, in which the needle (or, as it is commonly called, the tongue) moves. Whereas then the learned *Claverius* presents in his Annota-

tions on this Author, a pair of scales with only a ring above the beam *without a tongue*, from an ancient coin of *Claudius Cæsar*, as an expression here of this our Poet, I think it may not be here applicable; since the Poet says expressly, *examen in ruina*. So that it must be *such a balance*, as has a *needle* moving through the *eye* above the beam. As for *examen* and *ruina*, *Stelluti* also thus expounds them, in his *Italian Notes*.

2.—The surest witness is thy Conscience.—*Nec te quaeritis extra.* An intimate speech excluding Fame, intending Conscience. St. Paul speaks of the *Inward man*, and the *Outward*. Plato spake in this phrase, lib. 9. de Republica, p. 589. of H. Stephani's Edition, ἡ εἰς ἑαυτὸν, and ἡ εἰς ἄλλους. St. Paul calls the Inward man, the *Sanctified man*, the *Outward*, the *Natural man*, one led by his Affections. And it is likely that *Persius* might be acquainted with this Philosophical phrase; but especially St. Paul, might probably have lighted upon this passage of *Plato*, and so used this phrase, but in a higher and purer way. Specially we may think thus, if we consider what *Sirabo* writes of the *Tarsensians* (St. Paul's Country-men) that they were so cunning in the learning, which they call *Encyclical* (in effect, universal) that they surpassed *Alexandria* and *Athens*; as H. stephanus learnedly observes, in his *Schediasmat.* lib. 1. cap. 2.

3. O blessed *Janus*. *Janus* was usually expressed by two faces; as is commonly known: but sometimes with four faces, as the more curious *Du Choul* shews, *De la Religion des Anciens Romains*. p. 20. and 21.

4. Whom never stork's bill struck, &c. — *Quem nulla Ciconia pinxit, &c.* This flour was made with the hand: so *Sr. Jerom, ad Rusticum monachum, E-*

Q q 3

pist.

pist. 4. Si subito respexeris, ciconiarum deprehendes post colla curvari, &c. Upon occasion of which words, Ferrarius, de Veter. Acclam. lib. 2. 21. reprehends the learned Casaubon, (whose accurate diligence not usually slips) for affirming that St. Jerom by these words implied, that his flout was made with the neck. He might have as well excepted against Marcellus, who says, Pinere autem D. Hieronymus, Epist. iv. intellexit colli incurvatione exprimi gestum ciconie. But in the words following, Marcellus does alledge the Glosse, taking it for an expression made by the hand: which by Ferrarius is thus describ'd, (in effect, the same with Cornutus his exposition) Manus digitis omnibus collectis in unum, & ad ciconi colli similitudinem curvatis, inq; eum directis, qui irridebatur, pinentem rostro ciconiam frequenti & stata motione exprimebant. Pinere signifies properly to bray, as in a mortar; which was at the first the manner of preparing corn for bread, as now grinding is in use; and from hence pistor is now taken for a baker, yet but in a second sense, it properly signifying one that brays in a mortar. Here it is used figuratively, to express the repeated motion of the hand in this kind of flout, in imitation of the stork, that so repeatedly strikes with the bill.

5. In smooth Antitheta's his fault he weighs.—Crimina vasis Librat in Antithetis.—In case of Fame, or Life, to come with affected figures of speech, instead of a Defence, is here reprehended by the Poet. For otherwise great has been the diligence of style in the most famous men: as may appear by Muret, in his Var. Lection. lib. 18. cap. 8. where he instances in the Curiosity of some famous men in the Choice and Order of their words, as in Lysias; in whom any change in the order of his words makes it worse: and yet as they now stand, they seem to have been written without any study. He tells also of Aristot., that he laboured incredibly in making the two first verses of his great work; and that Petrarch did as much vex himself in making the second verse of his work, as appears in a copy written by Petrarch himself, which Petrus Bembus had. Muret remembers also the like (or more to be marvell'd at) in Plato; in whose vvritten tables, vvich vvere found after his death, vv as seen how often he had alter'd the beginning of his book De Republica; than vv which beginning, nothing seems more plain, using the same vvords, but often altering only their order. So Halicarnassens, and Quintilian, in his Institut. lib. 8. report of Plato.

6. Making a place for urine.—Vero quisquam faxit oletum. Some interpret it more rankly by *stercus humanum*; so Lubin. But Scoppa, in his Collectan. lib. 1. cap. 17. says, significare stercus humanum nusquam legitur, yet why he should deliver such a negative, I know not; since Festus also the old Grammarian testifies; though Lubin cites him not

for his defence; but that of Veranius, Sacerdotula quedam in sacratio fecit oletum; but this is of an ambiguous signification; as also in olenticetum, as Nebrissenfis notes. Being therefore at liberty, Civility gives the choice, by which I render it, I may also add, that in Cato it signifies olivetum; if there be not a corruption in the Copy, to write Oletum, for olivetum.

7. Who has not ass's ears?—Auriculas asini quis non habet? Some would make the sense of this place to be, that even the greatest are flouted; so Cornutus the old Grammarian, whiles he says, appositis temporibus pollice, imitantur aures asini aliis digitis, quasi sannam facientes: thus also Ferrarius, but from Cornutus. Who tells us also, but without alledging any authority, that this was a scoff at Claudius and Nero; who, as he says, had large ears. But the most receiv'd interpretation makes it an allusion to Midas.

8. Nonaria. Such women might not be resorted to, untill the ninth hour (with us, is at three in the afternoon) as the Old Scholiast shews, on Juvenal, Sat. 6. v. 115. (Ausa Palatino) and from thence were called, Nonaria. Stelluti mentions two other reasons, as that they might be called so from Nona (the Nones) which were counted infauſta; as this sort of women was to young men: or, as some, from Nona, which anciently was called Parca, the end of the ninth moneth, being the season of man's birth, and so implied they were fatal women.

9. To study the Edicts. His name Edictum.—Marcellus here understands by Edictum, not the Prator's edict, but a programma, or Bill put up by Nero, to signify, that after dinner he would sing Callirhoe, according, as he says, to the intent of Persius in this Satyre, which he conceives to be principally intended against Nero. But this is spoken without warrant; and though Claverius mentions it, yet I do not see him approve it. This which I use is most receiv'd, and approved by the learned Casaubon and others. I may only add, that some take Callirhoe here to be the name of some famous harlot in Persius his time; and that some think it to signify some Comedy of Callirhoe, whose story is in Ovid's Metamorphosis, lib. 8. others of another Callirhoe mentioned in Pausanias, lib. 7. or take it for a fountain to bath in, so called; and so by this all baths and such effeminate places to be understood, as afternoon-exercises for such idle ones, as he desires not to read his Satyres; thus the Italian Commentator Stelluti; and concerning Callirhoe as a fountain Claverius also. But the use of baths being so ordinary a business amongst the Romans, it seems not to me, to have any Satyre in it, to make but a bare recital of it: wherefore I adhere to the first interpretation.



SATYRE. II.

UNTO HIS FRIEND

Plotius Macrinus,

ARGUMENT.

Profane desires : true sacrifice :

Bold sins : our Poet here describes.

Signe This day (*Macrine*) with a purer stone
Which doth present to thee times long since gone.
Pour wine unto thy *Genius* ; for thy care
Is not to win *Jove* with a bribing Prayer.
Nor crav'st thou, what thou sham'st to name for fear.
Except *Jove's* drawn aside that none may hear.
Though no small part of *Romes* cheif Nobles can
Sacrifice with a Low-voic'd Incense-pan.

'Tis not an easy thing to take away
The murmur'd whisperings of those that pray
From the Gods Temples. 'Tis no easie thing
To live with known desires. They use to sing
Aloud, that strangers and the standers-by
May hear 'hem, when they pray for honesty
Or a good mind, good fame. But for the rest
Of their desires, inwardly th'are suppress'd
Under their murmuring tongues ; such as are these
Profane requests ; O that some strong disease
Would make my *Unkles* brave rich funeral
To bubble up. O that my rake would fall,
As I were working, on some founding pot
Of silver ; *Hercules* blessing my lot,
Or would I might expunge this young rich *VVard*,
By whom from great possessions I am bar'd
Being the next heir ; for he's with scabs perplex'd,
And is with swelling choller sharply vex'd.

There's

Aulus Persius Flaccus, Sat. II.

There's (1) *Nereus* too, has bury'd yet three wives,
And I scarce---! O such men lead Happy lives!

That these things thou religiously may'st crave
Of *Jove*, in swelling *Tyber's* silver wave
Early thou wassest twice or thrice thy head,
Purging the night pollutions of thy bed.

Dost hear? answer me this: and but disclose
Thy thought in one small question I'll propose.
What think'st of *Jove*? think'st he may be prefer'd
Fore some? VVhom? be't ev'n *Stains*; art afraid?
And doubt'st thou whether is the fittest Guard
And juster Judge for a young guidless Ward?
This then, wherewith thou dar'st to press *Jove's* eare,
Tell but to *Stains*: would he not ev'n fear
To hear thee Speak? and casting up his eye
Cry, O good *Jove*! and shall not *Jove* then cry
Unto himself for vengeance? VVhat? dost think
Thou art Forgiv'n, because he's pleas'd to wink
At thy black deeds, and sooner strikes a Tree,
VVith horrid Sulphure, then Thy house and Thee,
VVhen with his roaring thunder he doth chide
The proud high-mounting aire? Dar'st thou deride
The pow'r of Heav'n, and play with *Joves* Fond-beard,
As if th' hadst Leave, because thou ne're was't fear'd
VVith some strange judgment? or ne're yet did'st lye
A woful spectacle to each mans eye,

Unholy, to be shun'd in some sad grove,
Then ceasing to be sacred unto *Jove*,
Or th' other Gods, until with sacrifice
Th' *Aruspex* great *Hygenia* purifies
The same, by offering th' entrails of two (2) sheep?
Or else, what is't? with what reward dost keep
The bribed ears of the corrupted Gods
That they should only give indulgent nods
At thy vast crimes? is't thy fat offering
VVhich to their sacred altars thou dost bring?

Now you shall see some grandames, or fond Aunts,
VVhom womens Fury, Superstition haunts,
Take up a tender Infant in their Armes,
And being skilful to depel the harms
Of an effascinating eye, they'l speer
Upon their middle finger, and then wet
VVith this their purging spetle, the child's brow
And pretty lips. Then with a humble vow
Dauncing him in their armes, they'l vainly spend
Their poor lean hope, in praying *Jove* to send
This Babe in time to come such happiness
As once wealthy *Licinius* did possess
In fruitful lands: or such as *Crassus* held,
VVho for brave houses, *Romes* cheif Lords excell'd.

They

They with that Kings and Queens may be at strife
To make ev'n their best daughter His best wife.
And as for Maids (say they) Ye Gods above!
O let them strongly, strangely fall in-love
VVith his rare beauty: and that wherefoe're
He treads, a crimson rose may spring up there.

Brave! brave! But yet I will not bid my Nurse
Pray so: or if she do; then Good Jove Curse
Her Prayers; Though cloath'd-white she strongly Cry,
Yet for thine *Own* sake, strongly still Deny.

Thou wishest for firm Nerves, and for a sure
Sound body, that would healthfully endure
Until Old Age; why be it, that thy wish
Is Granted by the Gods; yet thy large dish
And full fat salage make the Gods Delay
To bless thee, and do force good Jove to stay.

Thou'd'st fain grow rich: yet dost thou sacrifice
An Oxe, (is that the way in wealth to rise?)
Then upon Mercury the God of Gain
VVith this thy offering, thus thou cry'st amain;
Let my *Domestick* Gods (*great Mercury*)
Make all things happy in my family!
Bless thou my *Heards* of *Beasts*, bless thou my *Lambs*,
And make my tender *Tews* the happy *Dams*
Of many young-ones. Mad-man! wilt thou see?
This is impossible! It cannot be!
VVhen as so many *Heifers* fats do fry
In flames of Sacrifice? Yet doth he cry,
And with his *Entrals* and his dainty *Cake*
Strives to o'recome, and forcingly will make
The Gods to hear; nor yet will hold his peace.
Now doth my field, now doth my fold encrease:
Now 'twill be giv'n: now, now, until at last
Deceiv'd, his great hope proving but a blast:
His *Mony* in his *Chest* may make its moan
For want of company; yet sigh alone.

If for a gift to Thee some friend presents
A silver Goblet, or rich ornaments
Curiously graven in a massy Bowl
Of purest gold: straightway thy very soul
Is touch'd with a strong passion: and thou shak'st
Ev'n Drops from thy *left* brest (Vain heart that quak'st
Thus with a trembling joy!) Now because gold
Thus pleaseth Thee; hence 'tis that thou dost hold,
The Gods are pleas'd so to, and overlay'st
Their Statues faces (that thereby thou may'st
Procure their favour) with gold purchased
From th'enemy, which was in triumph led.
For those brass-brother-gods that send a dream
Most true, and purg'd from thick, corrupted fleam,

R r

VVhereby

Aulus Persius Flaccus, Sat. II.

VWhereby in sleep men are disturb'd, or fear'd,
Let those be cheif, and wear a golden beard.

Gold hath the pots of earth, and brass disdain'd;
Though us'd when *Numa*, and good *Saturne* raig'n'd.

Gold likewise hath expel'd the *Vestal Urn*:

Gold doth the *Thuscan* Earth to Gold now turn.

Bafe stooping Souls, that grovel on the Earth,
In whom ther's Nothing testifies their birth
To be from Heav'n!

Yet, doth not this suffice?

But we must bring these our iniquities,
To the Gods Temples, where their pow'rs divine
Do dwell; and ev'n profane their holy Shrine?

As if there could be any thing in these
Infected Carcasses, the Gods to please?

This Flesh of ours makes us in vain to spoil
Sweet *Cassa*, by mixing it with oyle

To make us ointments. This doth make us stain

The soft *Calabrian* Fleece in (3) Purple grain,

This makes us with much art to pollish well

Mother of Pearl, drawn from the fishes shell.

This from th' unpurg'd Earth made us desire

To strain out veins of gold by purging fire.

This sins; and sins; yet perseveres in sin.

But you great (4) Priests, tell; what doth gold within

The holy Temples? sure, no greater thing

Then puppets, which to *Venus* Virgins bring.

No; let us strive to bring to th' Gods, that which

Messala's blear-eyed of-spring, from his rich

Large Incense-bason ne're could give; A mind

By Law and by Religion well confin'd;

A retir'd soul; a heart not stained by

Foul lust, concoct in Noble honesty.

This let me bring to th' Gods, and I'll obtain

Offering but a small Cake of some course grain.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Second Satyre

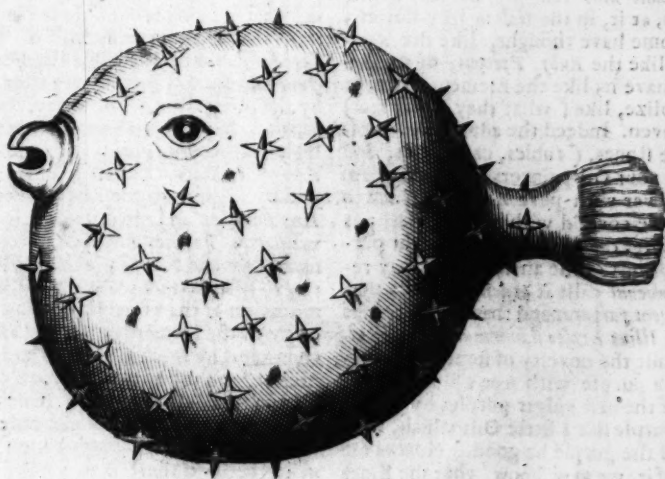
Bidental; the sundrie acceptions of the Word. **Murex**; the form of the fish. **Murices**. **Muricati gressus**. **Purpura**; the form of the fish. **Purple**; the Distinction, Excellency, and Ancient use of it. **Pontifex**; the reason of the Name Examined, from Varro, Q. Scævola, and Stelluti. A Deity in Rivers anciently believ'd.

1. Here's *Nereus* to, has buried
ye three wives. *Nerio jam*
tertia conditur uxor. Perfius
Nerionem pro nouâ nuptâ, &c.
So *Jacob. Dur. Casellius, va-*
riar. lib. 1. cap. 13. but ab-
surdly and coldly. Truly
Satyirical it is, as it is ordi-
narily expounded; and a
passion surable to such a
wretch as *Nerius*, who is ex-

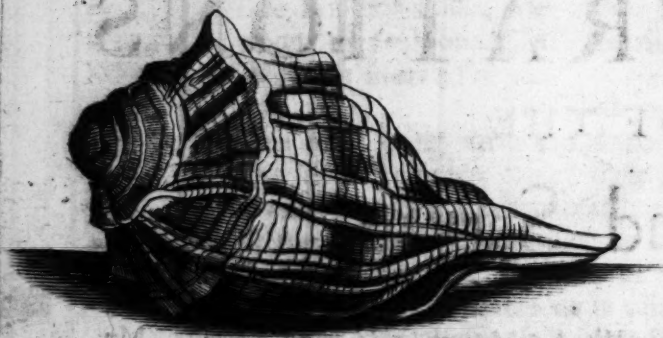
pressed as a userer, by *Horace, Sat. 4. lib. 2.*

2. *Bidental*. This Signifies sometimes the Expiatory Sacrifice, for one that was struck with Lightning; which was two sheep; Sometime the Place, where such calamity happen'd; and sometimes that, which was so struck; as here, the Person. Concerning which argument, see *Juvenal. Satyre 6. Illust. 72.*

3. In purple grain. *Vitiato murice vellus.* The *Murex* was a Shell-fish, with whose juice they died the Purple Colour: the form of which was this. * 21



which may express unto us the reason, why caltrops, or three-pointed irons used in war, against horsemen, were call'd *murices*; as also why the sharpness of a rock was call'd *murex*; and why *muricati gressus* signified dangerous steps. It must be farther observ'd, that anciently they died purple with the blood also of the *Purpura*, a fish though of a like use, yet of *this* different form. * b. Besides,



Pers. Sat. II. Illust. 3. b.

it is deliver'd for an experiment, that the *African* purple, as nearer to the *Sun*, was of a violet colour, whose ingredients are much white, and a little red; vulgar purple being a mixture, as the best Artists tell us, of much red and a little black. But the *Tyrian* purple is held to have been more inclining to a red, (which is a mixture of white and black) or, rather to a Scarlet. So *Lomazzo*, in his *Art of Painting*, lib. 3. chap. 3. The *Armorists* indeed slight your common purple made of Grocer's Turnesol, a mixture of Vermilion and blew byffe, or Cynnaber, or the colour of Violets; but count the right purple bright and admirable: which since the fishing for the shell-fish that yield it, has by the taking of *Tyre*, come into the power of the *Turk*, is utterly unknown; nor for the want of the materials, the fish being still found, but because the art of ordering of it is lost. Yet *Pancirollus* tells us, we may guess, though only guess, at it, in the *Italian* July-flower; it being not, as some have thought, like the *Amythyst*; but rather like the *Ruby*, *Pyropus*, or *Carbuncle*; or, as some have it, like the Elemental fire, or as others hyperbolize, like (what they never saw) the *Empyrean* Heaven. Indeed the admirable transparencies of those stones, (rubies, carbuncles, and the like) may by your Oil-painters, by mixture of colours laxeer'd-over with pure *Lake*, be made to look, as if they were cover'd with burning glass; as *Lomazzo* shews, lib. 3. cap. 9. To guess at right purple by the descriptions of the ancients, we may remember, that *Juvenal* calls it *ardens purpura*; that *Cicero* says, *qui fulgent purpura*; and that *Statius* speaks more advanc'dly, *Illius è roseo flammatur purpura vultu*. We may not omit the novelty of some, that mention the dying of a purple with Ape's blood; nor the *Italian* trial of the best vulgar purple; by casting upon a peice of purple silk a little Oil; which, they say, stains not, if the purple be good. Now as for the ancient use of it, we may know, that the Kings of *Troy* and the most noble did wear, on the several days of the week several colours, of which purple was a cheif; as, on Sunday they wore yellow, on Monday white, on Tuesday red, on Wednesday

blew, or Thursday green, on Friday purple, and on Saturday black, as *Lomazzo* observes, lib. 3. chap. 19. The reason of which Friday-dress I suppose to have been, because *Venus*, to whom that day was consecrated, is said to have used red buskins, which colour was not so much different from the purple, as *Lomazzo* says, lib. 3. chap. 14. He might more fitly have attributed to her, as to a Deity, the purple buskin; this being the wear of Princes; but red (pantofles) of harlots. In like manner the Kings of *Troy* did on the Festivals of several Months wear several Colours: as in *January* white; in *February* Ash-colour; in *March* tawny; in *April* dark-green; in *May* light-green; in *June* Carnation; in *July* red; in *August* yellow; in *September* blew; in *October* violet; in *November* purple; and in *December* black; as *Lomazzo* notes, lib. 3. chap. 19. Now the Month *November* was in the protection of *Diana*, amongst the *Romans* (who counted themselves the Off-spring of the *Trojans*) and she also, like *Venus*, wore red (or rather purple) buskins: and therefore for a like cause, we may probably conjecture, they wore purple in the festivals of this month. Besides, in this month there was a feast dedicated to *Jupiter*; properly therefore in this month & in this festival they might go cloath'd in purple; the *Roman* Customs being probably in a great part deriv'd, as their pretended Original also, from the *Trojans*. Lastly, we may take notice, that in after-times the Standard, which was carried when the Emperour was present in the field, was of a purple colour; as the excellent *Lomazzo* observes, lib. 3. chap. 14.

4. *Dicte Pontifices*. The Name is commonly said to have been given to the Priests, in respect of their oversight of the *Pons sublicius*, which was made of wood [by *Ancus Martius*] without any arch, and upheld only with piles of wood. It is sometimes call'd the *Horatian* bridge, from *Horatius Cocles*, who there withstood the *Tuscan*. It was the first bridge, which at *Rome* was built over *Tiber*, as *Andres Palladius* notes in his *Antiquedades de Roma* [p. 3.] who there sums-up the story of it; telling us, that it being broken-down in the time of *Horatius*, it was afterwards built of stone by *Emilius Lepidus* [and thence call'd the *Emilian* bridge, by *Juvenal*, Sat. 6.] that it was after that again ruin'd by the inundation of the River, but repair'd by *Tiberius*: that lastly it was built of marble, and very high by *Antoninus Pius*; but is now destroy'd. But *Varro* [de *Lingua Latina*] thinks the name *Pontifices* to be given to the Priests, because, as he says, *They Built it, and often repair'd it*. Yet *Q. Scaevola*, who was *Pontifex Maximus*, would have it come from *Posse* and *Facere*; from his Power or Authority to offer sacrifice; which last is one ancient signification of the word *facere*. But some not satisfied with the former reasons add a further conjecture mention'd by *Stellius*, the *Italian* Interpreter of this Author, and think it may come from *Pons* and *Facio* Us'd in the last-mention'd sense; the Priest performing at Bridges many and Solemn Ceremonies, in respect of the ancient opinion of the Heathen, who believ'd there was a Deity in Rivers; and therefore, because they built over them, they used reverent solemnities. Which is indeed agreeable to that of *Juvenal*, Sat. 3. where speaking of a fountain, he says, *Numen aquæ*. See there, *Illustr. 4.*

SATYRE. III.

ARGUMENT.

*Young Gallants Sloth, and their Neglect
Of Arts, this Satyre doth detect.*

♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ Hat ev'ry day thus long? fie, fie, arise:
♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ See how the clear light shamefully describes
♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦♦♦ W ♦♦♦♦♦ Thy sloth; and through thy windows shining bright
♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦♦♦ Stretcheth the narrow chinks with his broad light.
♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦♦♦ We snort till the (1) Fifth shadow touch the line,
♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦♦♦ Enough ev'n to digest strong *Falerne* wine.

Now what dost do? The furious dog-stars heat
Upon the parched corn hath long since beat
With its fierce scalding influence, and made
The Beasts to seek the spreading *Elmes* cool shade.
Thus the companion of some slothful youth
Does freely chide him. Then saith he, in truth
And is't so late? indeed? some body then
Come presently and reach my cloaths: why when?
If then no body come: Oh how he swells,
And breaks with glass-like choller; and then yells
With such a foul loud noise, that you would say
Surely some great *Arcadian* Ass did bray.

At last, with much adoe he doth begin
To take his Book in hand, and some fair skin
Of smooth two-colour'd parchment he takes then
Some paper and his knotty Reed-like pen.
Then he complains how that his Ink doth stick
In clots at his Pens nose, it is so thick.
Pour water then to his black (2) *Sepian* juice,
He cries, now 'tis too white. Ha's a device
For ev'ry thing. So sometimes he doth plead
His pen writes double, or his ink doth spread.
Wretched, unhappy man! yet growing still
More wretched! Think'st we re born to take our fill
Of sloth? Why dost not then like the soft Dove
Or great mens little children, rather love
In delicatest wantonness to lap
Some soft sweet spoon-mear, as, a little pap?

Aulus Persius Flaccus, Sat. III.

Or angry with the teat, why dost not cry,
Refusing to be still'd with Lullaby.

Why can I study, Sir, with such a quill?

Alas! whom dost thou mock? why plead'st thou still
Such vain ambages? wretched man to flout
Thy self! Th'art broken! loe, thou leakest out!
And know thou shalt be scorn'd! strike but a pot
Of some raw earth half-boyl'd, and will it not
Tell its own fault, yielding a dull craz'd sound?
Well; Yet th'art soft moist clay, and may'st be wound
To any form: Now therefore, now make hast
To vertue: Present time must be embrac'd.
Now like the Potters clay, now thou must feel
Sharp disciplines effigiating wheel.

But, oh, thy father left thee Land enough,
And a clean Salt-seller, with household stuff
Sufficient, need'st thou then fear any thing?
So th' hast a secure pan wherein to bring
Incense to thy protecting *Lares*. VVell;
But think'st thou this enough? wilt therefore swell,
And break thy lungs with an ambitious wind,
Because that thou the thousandth off, dost find
Thy branch to be perchance drawn from a tree
Of some high *Thuscan* true nobility?

Or that because clad in thy Purple grain
Meeting *Romes Censour* with his pompous train
Thou canst salute him, by the name of *Cuzze*;
And arrogantly ask him how he does?

Away: go prance before the multitude
In these thy trappings: seek not to delude
My judgment: for I know thy soul within,
And see thy faules writ in thy outmost skin.

Art not ashamed to live like dissolute
Loose *Natta*? but (alas!) he's destitute
Of sense! He stands Amaz'd in vice! the deep
Fat brawn of Sin makes his heart soundly sleep
That now he doth not sin! No, he's so gross,
So stupid, that he's senseless of his loss!
And sunk down to the depth of vice, he'l swim
No more again up to the waters brim!

Great father of the Gods! when cruel lust
Touch'd with inflaming venome, moves th' unjust
Corrupted disposition of fierce Kings,
To act unworthy and unkingly things:
Punish them only thus; *Let them but see*
Fair Vertue, and their lost felicity.

Then shall their bowels yearn, and they shall cry
In secret, and wax pale, and pine, and die.

Did ever the *Sicilian* brazen Bull
Roar out his torments with a throat more full?

Or did the sword hung by a slender thread
Up in the golden roof over the head
Of the crown'd flatterer, more terrify
His soul, then when a man shall truly cry
Unto himself, *I fall, Oh, I do fall*
Down head-long; and shall know he's past recall;
And inwardly grow pale (O wretched life!)
VVhich he's afraid to tell his near dear wife?

Indeed, when I was Young, I like a fool
VVould 'noint my eyes with oyle to stay from school;
VVhen I'de not learn, through sloth, the stately part
Of dying *Cato*, though 'twere pen'd with art.
And my too careful-Master prais'd it much:
And my glad father being mov'd with such
His praises, brought his friends to hear his boy
Bravely act *Cato*, and would sweat for joy.
For then I car'd not to know any thing:
Except how much the lucky Sice would bring;
Or what the loosing Ace would scrape away
Or that my fellow might not put false play
Upon me, neatly cogg'g forth a die
Out of the small-neck'd casting-box. This I
Did learn: and for the scourg-stick I did strive,
That none his top with greater art might drive.

But now, Thou art not at this age to learn
Between good and bad manners to discern.
No; thou hast learn'd the Precepts that are taught
In the wise porch, where curiously are wrought
By *Polygnotus* skill, the conquer'd *Medes*
In their short slopes: whose story overspreads
The VValls: and where in searching hidden truths
The little-sleeping close-shorn Stoick youths,
That feed on husks and a course Barly cake,
Early and late industriously do wake.
And unto Thee the *Samian* letter *T*
VVhose spreading branches teach Philosophy,
Hath marked out ev'n as it were with chaulk,
The high-rear'd right-hand path, wherein to walk.

And snort'st thou yet? what? is thy head grown slack?
Art jaw-faln? Doth their frame begin to crack?
Lye'st yawning, to evaporate th' excess
Of yesterdays oppressing drunkenness?
Hast thou propos'd thy self a certain end?
And with thy best endeavor dost thou bend
Thy bow at that? Or, careless of thy hurt,
Dost throw at Crows, with stones and clots of dirt
Neglecting where thou run'st? Hast thou no drift,
But only for the present how to shift?
VVell, yet be provident; when our sick skin
Doth with the puffing dropsie once begin

To swell, 'tis then, thou know'st, but vain to cry
 For *Hellebore*; when a disease draws nigh;
 And yet but threaten thee; Then, then prevent
 And meet a danger that is imminent.
 But if thou dost delay, till't be too late,
 And that thy sickness once grow desperate:
 Then would'st thou give *Craterus* half thy wealth
 Yet can he not restore thee to thy health.

Learn then, O wretched youths, the mystery
 Of Nature in profound Philosophy.
 Learn who we are: why we were born: th' estate
 Wherein we're set; And know that not by fate
 But wisdom, we may turn our ship with ease
 About high-virtues (3) mark plac'd in the Seas
 Of this our life. Temperately desire
 Silver: learn what 'tis lawful to require
 In prayer: and the perfect use, aright,
 Of Money: for which, men so sharply fight:
 What likewise to thy Country thou dost owe,
 And what to thy dear Kinsmen; Learn to know
Whom God hath made thee, and in what degree
And state of life, he here hath placed thee.

Learn: neither envy thou at the full store
 Of the greas'd Lawyer, though he have much more
 Provision, then his family can spend
 Whil'st it is sweet: which the fat *Vmbrians* send,
 As gifts to bribe his tongue. Nor grutch to see
 His *Marsian* Client bring him for a fee,
 Pepper, gammons of Bacon, or such kind
 Remembrances. Nor let it vex thy mind,
 Because he hath fresh Pilchards to him sent,
 Before the former barrel be quite spent.

But here, methinks, I hear some boistrous tough
 Centurion say; Tush, I have wit enough
 To serve mine own turn; And I'll never care
 To be *Arcefilas*, or to impair
 My health, like *Solon*: who do lean awry
 Their heads, peering the earth with a fixt eye:
 When by themselves they gnaw their murmuring
 And furious silence, as 'twere ballancing
 Each word upon their out-stretch'd lip: And when
 They meditate the dreams of old sick men,
 As, *Out of nothing, nothing can be brought:*
And that which is, can ne're be turn'd to nought.
 Is it for this they're pale? and that they miss
 Their dinner ostentimes, is it for This?
 Why yet they are but scorn'd ev'n by the Rout;
 The people: and our Lusty Lads but flout
 Them, and with crisped noses aloof off,
 Strongly ingeminate a trembling scoff.

Yet,

Yet, scorn not learning: lest thy falling state
Prove such, as this which here I will relate.

One said to his Physician, Pray Sir see;
Methinks I am not as I use to be.
My heart doth quake as if it boaded death:
And my sick jaws send forth a loathsome breath;
Pray good Sir feel my Pulse: and play your part.
VWell, the Physician us'd his chiefeft art,
And bid him rest four days. But when each vaine
Began composedly to flow again,
On the third night: he bid his servant take
A little thirsting flaggon, and straight make
All speed, to the great house of such a friend,
And tell him, he desir'd him for to send
Some of his mild *Surrentine* wine: and so
Having drank that, unto the Baths he'd go.
When being there, thither did come by chance
His own Physician: who straight cast a glance
On this his patient, and to him said,
Why you are Pale, and are you not afraid?
Tush man, saith he, that's nothing. Yet beware;
Said his Physician, and pray have a care,
What e're this Nothing is. For I do see,
Your yellow sickly skin swells secretly.
Well, prethee now, said he, do not thou rail
At Me: for thou thy self dost look more pale
And worse: be not a Tutor unto Me,
One I have had, and bury'd: now for Thee,
Thou yet remain'st. On then, and do not cease,
Said his Physician, and I'll hold my peace.

This gallant then (4) swelling with dainty cheer,
Bathes his pale Belly, and without all fear:
His throat half stop't with gross corrupted fleam,
Leisurely breathing a sulphureous steam.
But mid'st his wines a suddain trembling seiz'd
Upon each joint of him, that his diseas'd
VWeak hand could not his luke-warm bowl retain:
And his uncover'd teeth ev'n gnasht again:
And then through his loose lips, his fine-oyl'd meat
He vomits, which he greedily had eat.
Then were prepared for his Funeral
The (5) Trumpet, and the Lights: and last of all,
This seeming-happy man, that would not doubt,
His health, being composedly laid out
On his high bed, his biere; and now daub'd o're
And ev'n bedurted with th' abundant store
Of ointments; stretcheth tow'rd the City-gate
His cold dead heels; and those whose best estate
But yesterday, was but to be his slave,
Now wear their caps, and bear him to his grave.

S f

What?

What? then belike y' apply this same to me?
 But (wretched fool!) th'art out. For know, I'm free,
 Touch but my veins: feel how my heart doth beat:
 There's but a wonted moderated heart.
 Or feel the bottoms of my feet: or hold
 My hands: thou shalt perceive they are not cold.
 'Tis true. But know, seduced man, there stick
 Diseases in thy Soul, 'tis that is sick.
 For if thou see by chance much gold: or spie
 Thy neighbours smooth-cheek'd wench to cast an eye
 Upon thee, smiling with a wanton glance:
 Speak true: doth Then thy heart orderly daunce?
 There's set before thee on thy board, to eat,
 In a cold dish hard hearbs, somewhat rough meat;
 And course bread sifted in the people's searce:
 Let's try your chaps. Oh are ye now averse?
 In thy soft mouth there's hid a putrid soar,
 Which touch'd with Common hearbs, would make thee roar.
 So thy hearts cold, when pale fear doth affright
 Thy hair like ears of Corn standing upright.
 Again, fierce anger makes thy blood grow hot,
 Ev'n as a fire-brand doth a seething pot;
 And then thy flaring eies sparkling forth fire,
 Thou say'st and do'st So in thy furious ire;
 That mad *Orestes* dares swear, such a fact
 None but a man stark mad, e're durst to act.

 ILL UE

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

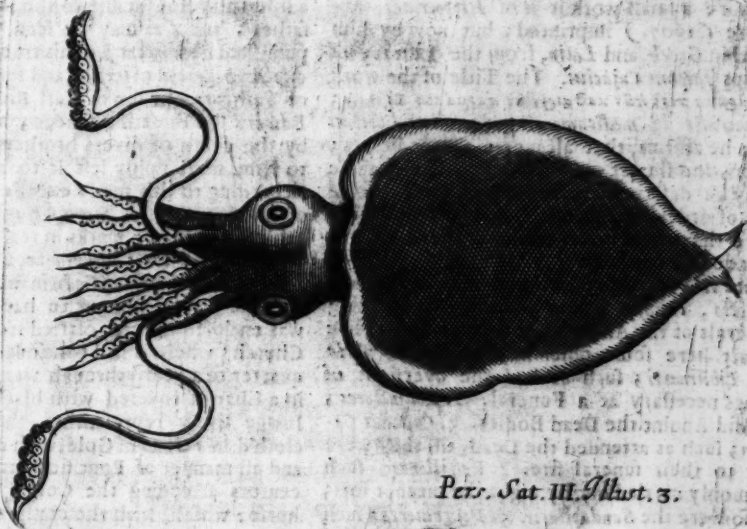
Third Satyre.

Quinta Umbra; what Time it signified. *Sepia*; the form of the fish. *Stringere metam*, and *Evitare metam*, what. Some Disorders about Bathing, noted. *Thermarum calices*. *Post-cenium*. *Laconicum*. *Cella asfa*. *Balnearia*. *Insolatio*; *Apricatio*. Several Officers at Funerals. *Anomum*. Candles used at Funerals, and sometimes in the Monuments of the Dead. Images on beds in Chariots carried before the Corps of Honourable Persons; and some proportion of it shew'd in latter times.

1. **Q**uinta dum linea tangitur umbra. This was at our Eleven of the clock (before Noon.) See *Juvenal*, Sat. 1. *Illustrat.* 23. and Sat. 11. *Illustrat.* 18. at large; and Necessarily, to prevent mistake in

Some, and in Some to mend it.

2. The *Sepia*, or Cuttle-fish (whose blood some anciently used for Ink) for the less usual form of it, it will be peradventure not unpleasant to present; which was this. *



Perr. Sat. III. Illust. 3:

3. *Et Unde*. Some understand this of the *Meta* in the *Circus*: which to touch with the Inward or Neerer (that is, the Left) wheel of the Chariot, yet so, as but to touch it, was the choice art of the Chariotier. This they called, *stringere metam*; as, to scape the danger in the performance of it, they called *evitare metam*. For, if they perform'd it not very cunningly, by reining somewhat hard with the

left hand, and somewhat slackly with the right; they were in danger to be cast from the Chariot, and to have the Chariot and themselves torn in pieces. But others read *unde*; alluding to the *Naumachia*; there being the like contention for glory, in the water also: wherein there were likewise placed *Meta*; and the chief art was, when they came to the *Meta*, to tack about with their

ship suddenly. This not only as the more feasible, but also as agreeing with copy, and with the word *mollis* here used (though the other reading may be admitted) I with others think to be here intended.

4. *Turgidus hic epulis atq; albo ventre lavatur.* The Custom was to bath before supper; see *Juvenal*, Sat. 6. *Illustrat.* 42. and Sat. 1. *Illustrat.* 23. and Sat. 11. *Illustrat.* 18. But the Riotous and Gluttons used to bath also after supper; and both in the going in, and in the Bath it self, they drank large draughts, and very hot, to provoke sweat, as *Seneca* complains, *Epist.* 122. Such *Juvenal*, Sat. 8. calls *Thermarum calices*: and sometimes, instead of Baths, they used *Laconica*; wherein, by the heat of the place, without water, they procur'd Sweat, to the same purpose: which was to procure sudden digestion (by the direction of their Physicians, who often humoured them.) See *Plin.* lib. 29. cap. 1. But the Physician here mentioned by *Persius* was more honest; this course being most pernicious to their health, as *Juvenal* also notes, Sat. 1. in those words, *Pena tamen praesens, cum tu deponis amictus Turgidus, Et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.* We may farther note, that at the Baths there were three Cells, the Cold, the Warm, the Hot; and in most, by way of Addition, a fourth, which they called *Laconicum*, or *cella assa*, that is, *sicca sine lotione, et tepidior*: and, where these were, the places were called rather *balnearia*, than *balnea*; according to the property that *Tully* speaks in, (*as Marcellus* notes,) lib. 3. ad *Q. Frat.* *Epist.* 1. *Assa in balneariis.* The riotous had also another way of digestion, which was *Insolatio* and *Apricatio*, an Heating themselves in the Sun, and sometimes Anointing themselves. Of which *Persius* speaks, Sat. 4. upon occasion (as I suppose) of this danger from disorderly diet in this young gallant here reprehended by *Persius*, the learned *Claverius* adds to his *Annotations*, a little book conducting, as he says, to the better understanding of some passages in this our Author: a small work it is of *Hippocrates*, never before (1607.) imprinted; but now by him published in Greek and Latin, from the Library of the famous *Jacobus Cujacius*. The Title of the work is, *Ἱπποκράτους περὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν φαρμάκων βιβλίον*; or, *Hippocratis de medicamentis purgantibus libellus*. Wherein he affirms, that all meats are medicines; but of less, and slower operation; yet that by abuse they may be destructive; and gives some choice cautions of ordering a man in a Fever; by which may here the better be understood the disorders reprehended by our Poet.

5. *Hinc tuba, candela: tandemq; beatulus alto Composuit lecto, crassiq; lutatus amomis.* Concerning the Funerals of the Ancients, it may be instructive to impart here some observations. There were then, 1. *Libitinarii*; such as had the oversight of All things necessary at a Funeral. 2. *Polliniflores*; such as did Anoint the Dead Bodies. 3. *Custodes Cadaverum*; such as attended the Dead, till they were carried to their funeral fire. 4. *Vespillones*; such as commonly carried out by night the meaner sort; such also were the *Sandapilarii*. 5. *Designatores*; such as did marshal every man according to his due place. 6. *Præfica*; Women-mourners, that went before the corps, singing a doleful song, (to invite others to sorrow) which was called *namia*; as some would have it, from the noise which is made in weeping. 7. *Vffores*; Those which burnt the bo-

dies of the dead; the meanest officers under the *Libitinarii*. See *Claude Guichard Dr. of Law, De Funerailles*, lib. 1. chap. 2. There were, at the funerals of the Rich, Trumpets used, as, at the poorer funerals, Pipes. The body was wash'd and Anointed; the Rich with costly ointments, such as *amomum* yielded; which was a shrub growing in *Armenia*, and some other Eastern parts; from the use of which, in the embalming of the dead, some think the word *Mummy* to be deriv'd. The body was decently covered, and laid upon an high bier, and placed ready to be carried forth; and a coronet of flowers set upon it. Wax-candles also were carried before it to the funeral fire. See *Pliny*, lib. 16. cap. 38. *Seneca, de Tranquil.* lib. 1. cap. 11. and *Lucian, de Luctu*. And here I may remember what *Claverius* tells us in his *Annotations* on this place (published, 1607.) that at *Tholose* he himself saw, upon an accidental cleaving of the earth, a grave open, and the body of a Religious woman cloth'd with a long garment, and beset with little Candles. Before the Corps of an Honourable Person there went anciently in order many Chariots, according to the number of their famous Progenitors: on each of which was a bed with an Image of one of them; and oftentimes they were no small number; there being at the funeral of *Marcellus*, the son of *Octavia Augustus* his sister, no fewer than six hundred such beds placed on so many Chariots with so many Images on them, as *Marcellus* here notes. But the Corps it self was not carried on a Chariot, but on the shoulders of some of the Great man's servants made free. Before all these went *Lictors* carrying the *fascæ* (the rod and axe) with such other ornaments as belong'd to such Honourable Offices, as in their life they had enjoyed. This may aptly remember us of a less, yet a great Instance, of the stately funeral of *Stephen Gardiner*, sometimes Bishop of *Winchester*, a man of shrewd wisdom, and excellent learning (I intend only his Civil Abilities;) a solemnity not futable to the son of his pretended father; but (as may be seen in *Brook's Catalogue* published by *Vincent*) of his true father *Lionel Woodville Arch-deacon of Oxford*, and for some years Bishop of *Salisbury*, the son of *Earl Rivers*, and brother to *Edward the Fourth's Queen*; a Man, that, when by the death of divers brothers the *Earldome* fell to Him, most nobly left it to a younger brother. According to this man's excellency was the funeral of his natural son *Stephen Gardiner*: who leaving behind him 40000 marks in ready money, & for Executors, the *Vicount Mountague*, and the Bishop of *Ely* [as the worthy Bishop *Godwin* in his *Catalogue* relates] had the happy honour to have his body, which was enclosed in lead, carried from *St. Mary Overies Church* [where it had continued in a vault about a quarter of a year] through *Southwark* to *Winchester*, in a Chariot covered with black, having on it an Image lively representing the person deceased, cloth'd in a Goap of Gold, with a Miter on the head, and all manner of Pontifical attire, his Great Executors attending the Corps with two hundred horse: which, with the consideration of the length of the journey, may rank it, though a late one, amongst Magnificent and Ancient solemnities. Concerning funeral Antiquities, see *Juvenal* also, Sat. 1. *Illustrat.* 51. and 42. and Sat. 10. *Illustrat.* 36. and *Persius*, Sat. 6. *Illustrat.* 4.

SATYRE IV.

ARGUMENT.

*Young Rulers : The complaint of Lust
On Avarice, unfit though just.*

♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ Rt thou a Common-wealths cheif Governor ?
♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ (Suppose the bearded grave Philosopher,
♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ A ♦♦♦♦♦ Whom the cold draught of Hemlock forc'd to dye;
♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ Thus to demand) On what dost thou rely ?
♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ VVhat are thy grounds ? speak *Alcibiades*,
♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ Pupil unto the famous *Pericles*.

Oh, wit and grave discretion, I have heard
Indeed, do many times prevent a Beard !
And so Thou knowest no doubt, though th'art but young,
Both when to speak, and when to hold thy tongue.
VVhen therefore the vext multitude grow hot
VVith choller, and their duty have forgot :
Thou dost but lift up thy Majestick hand,
And straight a general silence doth command
O're the tumultuous rout. Then what dost say ?
O ye *Quirilians* (if prevail I may)
I think this is not just that's done by you :
Nor This : 'twere better if you Thus did do.
For thou canst weigh truth in the double scale
Of the most doubtful ballance. If it fail,
Straightways thou know'st it : yea, though hid it lye
Between a double crooked falsity :
Of if a Rule (so perfect is thy sight)
Measure not ev'ry thing exactly right.
And the (1) black Theta signe of deadly shame
Thou canst prefix 'fore an offenders name.

Thou canst do this. Oh, 'twere a crime to Doubt.
Come, come : Thou being fair only without
And in the skin, in vain : leave off to shake
Thy tail, before the flatt'ring rout, or make
Suit for great offices, 'till age and cares
Have made thee Fit to manage such affairs.
Thou being fitter yet to drink good store
Of pure unmixt brain-purging *Hellebore*.

Wherein consists thy last, thy greatest wish?

In having ev'ry day a full fat dish:

Then with sweet oyl to 'noint my skin, and lye

In the Suns pleasant warmth till it be dry.

VVhy had'st thou with the self same question try'd

This poor old woman; she had so reply'd.

Go now and boast how thy Nobilitie

Comes from th' Illustrious *Dinomache*.

Puff out thy vaunts, and say, I'me comely, fair,

To grant thee such vain praises I'll not care.

When ragged gran'ame *Baucis*, that does cry

Unto the looser servants, *Will ye (2) buy*

Any sweet herbs; has as much wit as thee,

That thus doth boast of thy vain pedigree.

That no man will descend to his own heart,

And search the secrets of that hidden part!

No man! But have their eies fixt evermore

Upon his back and bagg that goes before!

For do but ask a man, by chance; d'ye know

Vesidius farmes? He'll say, *Vesidius*? Who?

The Chuff of *Cures*, he whose grounds they say

A kite can scarce fly o're in a whole day?

Him ev'n the Gods oppose and the sure fate

Of an unlucky *Genius*. Who (the date

Of time, bringing again the Plow-mens feast,

VVhen from their painful labors they have ceas'd,

And now hung up their weary Oxens yoke

By the worn path upon some aged oke)

When he should freely laugh, and make good chear

For other Plow-men ('tis but once a year)

Most basely fearing to pull off the clay

From his small Wine-veffel; he'll sigh, and say,

Pray *Jove*, that this my Prodigality

Bring me not in the end, to beggery!

A coated oignon then with salt he eats;

(His servants much applauding such brave meats:

Nay, and rejoycing for their happy lot

And for the Barly-pudding in the pot)

Then sparingly he sups instead of Beer,

The cloathy dregs of dying Vineger.

But straight replies the other, If Thou 'noint'st

VVith supple oile thy soul lubberly joints

And ly'st in the hot Sun letting it beat

Upon thy skin, with its strong parching heat:

There's one whom thou scarce know'st, stands here hardby,

Ev'n at thine elbow, that could likewise cry

Against thy Manners, and thy lewder art,

The depilation of thy modest part,

And of thy lungs, to prostitute thereby

Unto a barren lust thy pathick thigh.

Thy Cheeks bearing a kemb'd, oil'd beard : Elsewhere
 VWhere dost thou too-unjustly smooth appear ?
 Scrape on : but though (3) five lusty wrastlers would
 Root up these springing Plants : yea, though they should
 VWith crooked pinfers, by their tugging oft,
 Weaken thy parts of shame, though first made soft
 VWith Barbers soapy water, so to yield
 The better, to the Plowers of this Field :
 Yet this o're-spreading fearn will never bow
 Unto the deepest furrow-making Plow.

Thus we wound others and do yield agen
 Our thighs unto the darts of other men.
 And thus we know mans life pursu'd to be
 By this too-much-assumed Libertie.

Yet some mens faults, because they hidden lie
 From the Enquiry of their Enemy,
 Are not objected to them ; yet are known
 To him, to whom they cry, We are thine Own.
 Thou hast a secer wound under thy side :
 But thy broad gold-boss'd girdle doth it hide :
 So though thou make Men say, Th'art well (in Vain :)
 VWill thy Side say so too, that feels the pain ?

Thou'lt here perchance reply, VWhat ? when as all
 My neighbours Me an ex'lent fellow, call ;
 And say, I am not as your Common men :
 Shall I, ah, Can I not believe 'hem then ?

Alas, blind wretch ! if at the sight of gold
 VWith avaricious love thou waxest cold
 And pale : if ev'ry thing thou likewise do,
 VWhich greif-procuring Lust provokes thee to :
 If on the Table of thy Usury,
 By most oppressing heavy cruelty,
 As by a strong deep-wounding scourge, thou make
 Many a sure-imprinted grievous strake :
 To the false-praising People thou may'st lend
 Thy spongy, sucking ears ; but to no end.


Seem not more then thou art : neither believe
 The ignorant applause base Coblers give.
 Live with thy self, and quickly thou shalt see
 The curtail'd store of thy bare poverty.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Fourth Satyre.

C. and @, letters of condemnation: X and LL. letters of approbation. Different businesses anciently expressed in writings, by wax of different colours. Ocyma; the various interpretations of it examin'd. Quinq; palæstricæ; Stelluti's opinion concerning the number; Farther conjecture propos'd. Cæstus, the description of it presented, from Du Choul. Δεμ@. Discus, what it was. Salrus. Lucta. Quinquertium. Πένταδος. The Roman use of the number, Five, in ordinary expressions.

1.  *Ignem Thesa.* When the Romans gave the sentence of condemnation, they expressed it on a Lot inscribed with the letter C. which was cast into an urn; as I have shewed on *Juvenal, Sat. 13.* Illustr. 1. expressing it therefore here by the letter @ (for @ad@) it is not spoken after the *Latine* Custome, but as the *Græcians* expressed it; as is rightly noted by *Marcellus Donatus* in his *Declinations* on *Livy, lib. 43. p. 106.* The Ancients had also, as may be farther observed, notes of Approbation, as the letter X signifying *Xpistm* or *Xristm*, as *Jo. Woverius* notes in his *Polymatheia, cap. xvii. p. 142.* and (double) LL. for *Laudabiles Loci*, and *L. Sent.* for *Laudabilis Sententia.* *Georgius Longus, de Annulis Signat. cap. 9.* tells us of some other differences, according to the variety of the business, in the varieties of seals; as that in the dispatch of the *Brevé Apostolicum*, as it is called, the Seal was with red wax; but in the dispatch of the businesses of *Favour*, it was with green. So in the *Rescripts* of *Favour* there hung at the Seal a *Silken string (fasciculus)* as at the Seal to *Executory Sentences* an *Hempen string (cannabaceus)* in the like manner. The first observation is out of *Rebuffus, de Praxi, iii. de brevi Apostolico.* The second observation is from, *cap. Licet de Crim. Falsi.*

2. *Cantaverit ocyma verna.* In this place plentiful is the phantse of Interpreters. First, some would have the word *ocymum* here, to signifie an unprofitable herb, as they say it is; and so would have it by the repetition to be as a reproach to an unprofitable servant. Secondly, some think that *ocymum* called so from the quickness of it in growing, implies the upbraiding of a servant with his sloath. Thirdly, Others take it to signifie *Basil*, which some tell us, was anciently sowed with *Cursing*: (so *Pliny* says,

lib. 19. cap. 7. and *Theophrastus, de Plantis, lib. 8.* says the like of *Cumin*;) and thus to imply the woman here spoken of, railing at an evil servant. Fourthly, some think, that *ocymum* being the same with *Basilicum*, which signifies *Kingly*, or *Lordly*, was for this cause a word odious to servants, as by the remembrance upbraiding them with their servitude; and that therefore *ocymum*, or *basilicum*, is called *maledictor*. Fifthly, others think the word *salad-herbs*; but in that sense it seems not so convenient, the most taking it for *Basil*. Sixthly, *Jo. Baptista Pins. Anotat. Posterior. cap. 169.* reads *ocyma*, which he takes to be *herba odorata*, from *ωω, redolere*. Which Interpretation is in effect the same with the best, if the Reading be warranted by copy. Seventhly, some do hear read, *Oria*; and so according to a former opinion, make it an upbraiding of a lazy servant. But the most receiv'd Reading, is that which we first mentioned, *ocyma, Basil*; which being a sweet herb, figuratively implies others of the like kind. According to which the Poet implies, that even a poor woman, which but cries strewing-herbs, thus performs her daily business in so low a life, better than the Great Ones of the World in their high condition, whiles they neglect their life, or worse, abuse it.

3. *Quinq; palæstricæ.* While the Poet speaks here against some covetous wretch, he makes him reply, by objecting Lust (even the foulest) against him that reprehends him; twitting him with his trim beard; but jeering him for not being so smooth as he would in some other parts, adding, that for all his lustful desire, he was elsewhere of such an incorrigible roughness, that five strong wrestlers were not able to grub up his roughness to a smoothness. In which passage, the Interpreters (except *Stelluti*) passing by in silence the chief difficulty, which is, why the Poet says here, *five*, rather than uses any other number; I think it necessary to declare,

clare, at least aim at, the reason. Indeed *Stellus*, the Italian Interpreter, being it seems troubled at it, as I myself was, thinks it is said so in respect of the number of the fingers upon the hand; and so to imply, that even a strong wrestler, with all the strength and art of his five fingers, were not sufficient to perform this task. This phantasm I admit as pretty, rather than satisfying; since the Poet speaks not of the fingers, but of the persons. I may with a like liberty propose a farther guess. We know that *palæstra*, properly a wrestler, may figuratively be extended to signify also other combatants; of which there were divers kinds, according

to the varieties of the Exercises. Of which the *Cestus* was one: which some describe to have been a kind of club, having plummets of lead fastened to it, which some call a whorle-bar: the use and form of which is somewhat expressed in those phrases, *induere cestus*, used by *Valerius Flaccus*, and *librare cestus*, by *Virgil*. And so *Du Roule*, *Des Rains de Antiques Exercitar*. p. 19. says, that they did array their arms and hands with the *Cestes*, which were made of the hide of the Buffle (or wild Oxe, as some render it) fill'd with lead within; and from an ancient expression presents it thus, *



setting forth the fight at the *Cestus*, between *Dares* and *Entellus*, as it is delivered by *Virgil*. *Æneid.* 5. Another exercise was the *Cursus*, *ῥεῖσμα*, or Race. A third was called *Discus*, which some render a *quoit*; but, I think, less properly, this seeming but a trifling exercise: when as the *discus* was (not a flat, though round, but) an *Orb* of stone, or the like weighty substance, which the *Combatants*, being naked, and anointed with oil, did *conterquere* and *rotare*, as some express it, and but according to that of *Propertius*, *Missile nunc disci pondus in orbe rotat*. Another exercise was the *Saltus*, Jumping or Leaping. A fifth was the *Lucta*, *ῥάκη*, *ἀδύα*, wrestling, the *Combatant* being called *Luctator*, and (in this place) *Palestrita*; the first being deriv'd from *λύω*, *solvo*, as some think; because, in wrestling, each strives, by victory, to be quit from his adversary; and the greek they draw from *ῥάκη*, *configo*, or *ῥάκη* *ῥάκη* *ῥάκη* *ῥάκη*, from the agitation of the body. Now, all these exercises; which were all often practised in the same day, were from their number called *Quinquertium*, and the *Combatants*, by *Livy*, *Quinquertiones* (though by others the exercises are also thus called) and *ἀδύαται*, men skil-

ful at the five exercises. But here one especial kind of wrestling we may not omit, called *pancratium volutatorium*, perform'd in a tumbling fashion, and by *Mercurialis* in his *Gymnastica*, excellently express'd, p. 106. Now, by a liberty of conjecture, we might here guess, that this number from these exercises might be here intended by the Poet, and so the sense to be, that even five *Combatants* [for of persons he speaks] though skill'd in the variety of Exercises, were not sufficient to make smother this impure wretch. Yet, not to advance phan- sie against judgement, I prefer not this my conjecture, but think the Poet in this place to speak only after the ordinary manner of the *Romans*; to whom the number of five may seem to have been usual, as with us in a like readiness of speech, ten, a dozen, a score, and the like. And in this persuasion I rest satisfied, from that of *Juvenal*, *Sat.* 9. vers. 41. — *numera sefertia quinq; Omnibus in rebus*; — and from that also, *Sat.* 11. in the close of which he says after this manner [in another argument] — *facere hoc non possis quinque diebus Continuis*, — using this certain number [of five] for an uncertain; as *Persius* here five for many or divers.

SATYRE

SATYRE V.

IN FORM OF A DIALOGUE.

The Speakers, } PERSIUS.
 } CORNUTUS.

ARGUMENT.

*Cornutus praise : Philosophy :
Oppos'd desires : true Liberty.*

P. ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ Ur Poets use to wish they had large lungs :
♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ And a whole hundred voices, mouths and tongues :
♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦♦♦ When they would write a buskin'd Tragedy,
♦♦♦♦♦ Ⓞ ♦♦♦♦♦ To be yawn'd out with the sad Majesty
♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦♦♦ Of a Tragedian : or describe the high
♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦♦♦ Brave-minded *Parthian* pulling from his thigh
A hook-like bearded dart. C. Why speak'st thou thus ?
And heapest up such vast robustious
And swelling lines, that Thou thy Self dost need
A hundred throats, if thou'dst attain indeed
The end which such endeavours tend to ? Rather
Let them, who'l write some lofty matter, gather
Clouds off of *Helicon*, to whom the pot
Of *Progne*, or *Thyestes* shall grow hot ;
Of which, the fond Tragedian *Glyco* must
Oft make his supper. But Thou neither dost
Puff from thy mouths full bellows much vain wind
The whilst the matters boyling in thy mind,
Thy forge : nor with an inward murmuring
Hoarsly Crow-like caw'st out some idle thing,
I know not what : nor dost Thou strive to stuff
Thy swelling cheeks, to break 'hem with a puff.

Thy words are words of peace, and accurate
 Thy stile; thy mouth not swoln, but moderate
 Smooth out thy numbers; thou canst touch to th' quick;
 Pale manners: and with an ingenious trick
 Strike a Crime through; And hence indeed from Crimes
 Do thou draw still the subject of thy rimes;
 And leave the feast made with the Feet and Head
 Of *Phythes* wofully Murthered,
 At sad *Mycene*: and do Thou descry
 The Peoples Banquets, full of Luxury.
 P. Surely, I strive not that my leaf may rise
 VVith swelling bubbles of vain fopperies,
 Fit to give weight to smoak. VVe speak retir'd:
 And inwardly I by my Muse inspir'd
 Here offer ev'n my secret heart to be
 By thee try'd fully. For I'de have thee see
Cornutus, dearest Friend, how great a part
 Of my dear, yet divided Soul thou art.
 Knock on my brest: for thou hast skill to know
 VVhat soundeth solid, and the cover'd shew
 Of a gilt tongue. And oh here I could crave
 A hundred voices: that how much I have
 Fixt thee within my many-seated brest,
 In a pure fluent stile might be express'd:
 And that which now ineffable doth dwell
 VVithin my heart, in words I here could tell.
 VVhen first I did begin to leave to fear
 Under a Master: and left off to wear
 My Purple-Coat, that still preserved free
 From violating my weak infancie:
 And when my (1) Golden Bos I newly had
 Hung up to my succinct House-Gods: when bad,
 And flattering companions guarded me:
 VVhen now my (2) white Sheild granted Libertie
 Unto mine eyes freely to rove throughout
 The leud *Suburra*: when I was in doubt
 VVhich way to take: and when my trembling mind
 VVas by pernicious error almost blind,
 Mis-led into divided paths: I then
 Offer'd my self to thy Instruction. VVhen
 Thou straightway didst embrace my tender youth
 In thy *Socratick* bosome: and the truth
 Of thy rule well apply'd, skilful to draw
 Feeble inclining minds to reasons Law,
 Shew'd me intorted manners: and my mind
 VVas press'd by reason, throughly confin'd
 To learned Precepts, strove to be o'recome;
 And took a fair Form from thy skilful thumb.
 For I remember oft I with delight
 Have spent long days with Thee: and of the Night

Have borrow'd the first hours, feasting with thee
 On the choise dainties of Philosophie.
 One work we wrought: we rested both one rest:
 Mixing severenels with a modest jest.
 For doubt not, both our birth-days joyn'd in one
 Sure league, drawn from (3) one constellation:
 Or the unchanged *Parca* weigh'd our time
 VVith an ev'n ballance: or that first, that prime
 Birth-hour of us true friends did blessedly
 Place our embracing fates in *Gemini*:
 And heavy *Saturnes* stern malignity
 VVas broke by our good *Joves* benignity:
 I know not what, but sure some Star I see;
 VVhich inwardly disposes me towards Thee.

Yet there's a thousand sorts of men: and strange
 Variety doth humane actions change.
 Each hath his severall will: nor do all live
 VVith one desire. For, one his mind doth give
 To Merchandizing, and with care doth run
 Out to the East under the rising Sun;
 To get rough Pepper, and pale Cummin-seed
 For *Roman* wares. Another loves to feed
 His panch, and then swell with destilling sleep;
 A third doth *Mars*-field wrastringe duly keep;
 A fourth turns Bank-rupt by the desperate die;
 A fift grows rotten by damnd Venerie.
 But when the knotty hand-gout has once broke
 Their joynts, as th' boughs of some decay'd oke:
 Anger and greif do then begin a strife
 Within them, for their bale and durty life.
 Now spent: when now, but now too late, they look
 Upon the life they wretchedly forlook.
 But Thou in learned writings dost by night
 Grow pale. Thou makest it thy cheif delight
 To sow young purged ears with fruitful truths,
 With good *Cleanthes* fruit. Draw hence ye youths,
 Ye old men, for your selves, some certain end:
 Some helps from cares your old age to defend.
 To Morrow we'll do this. Alas! you'll do
 The same, to-morrow. Why ask we of you
 So much, to wit, only one day? But when
 The third day comes, we have consumed then
 To-morrow's Yesterday: and thus to borrow
 Of time, though yet to come, still one To-morrow:
 Will secretly drive out our Years at last,
 VVhen ev'ry day a New day will be past,
 Never to be recover'd. For thou wheel
 VVhich dost about the second Axle reel
 Hindermost, may'st in vain strive to o'rtake
 The first still turning forward, which doth make

Aulus Persius Flaccus, Sat. V.

Like hast, with equal swiftness: though thou be
Hard by it plac'd under the self-same Tree.

VVhos'ever then True Liberty would gain,
Let him embrace Philosophy: for vain
Is other freedom; Such, to wit, whereby
Any new *Publius* may familiarly
In his (the *Veline*) tribe course Corn demand
By bringing but his Token in his hand.
O men barrain of truth, that think they can
Make, with a Turning, a *Quiritian*!
Here's *Dama* a base horse-keeper not worth
Three half-pence, a meer Sot that can't look forth
From out the mist of *Ignorance*, and one
VVho'l lye ev'n for the least occasion,
For horse-bread; whom if's Master turn about,
I'th' moment of the whirling he goes out
Straight, *Marcus Dama*. The Gods! Dar'st deny
To trust one, *Marcus* being surety?
Or, *Marcus* being judge, art pale with fear
Of wrong? *Marcus* said it: then thou may'st swear
'Tis true. Now *Marcus* seal the Bond. Oh, here's
Brave Liberty and true, which our Cap wears
As well as we! VVhy is there any free,
But he; the which doth live at Liberty?

I live at liberty, and am not I
More free then *Brutus* then? Oh here stands by
A well-taught *Stoick*, whose more purged ear
Is wash'd, as 'twere, with Truths sharp Vineger;
That says, I grant the First; but where you say,
I live at Liberty, take that away.
VVhy? since I came from th' *Pretors* rod mine own
Free-man, I'll now be subject unto none;
And why may n't I do with full liberty
Whats'ere *Masurius* doth not deny?
Oh, learn: but this thine anger first depose,
And let fall from thy too-much-wrinkled nose,
Thy rugged scoff? whil'st from thy lungs I pull
These old VVives tales, of which thy breast's yet full!
It was not in the *Pretors* pow'r to give
Pure wisdom unto Fools, or make them live
By Reasons rule. No; thou shalt sooner fir
Unto the Harp, a rough rude Souldiers wit.
'Gainst which Reason doth stand, and secretly
VVhispers him in the ear, and says, Fie, Fie:
Never attempt what thou can'st ne're reach to,
And only spoil, whil'st thou dost strive to do.
The law of man and nature both deny
VVeak Ignorance the priviledge to try
Forbidden things. Dost thou mix *Hellebore*
For a sick Patient, who ne're trid'st before

To weigh't it exactly to a Dram? The art
 Of Physick bids thee not dare act This part.
 If a rude high-shooed Clown offer to steer
 A Ship, not knowing his guide *Lucifer*:
 The Sea-God *Melicerta* may exclaim.
The brow of modesty has lost all shame?
 Has vertues Art taught thee to walk upright?
 And can'st thou with a perspicacious sight
 Discern the shew of Truth from truth? Dost know
 Counterfit Gold by th' Sound? and can'st thou shew
 VVhat things to follow, what things to decline,
 The first with chaulk, the last with Coal to signe?
 Art of confin'd desires? hast thou a small
 And pretty well trim'd house? art kind to all
 Thy friends? can'st wisely sometimes shut thy store,
 Sometimes open thy garners to the poor,
 And with a pure affection unhurt
 Can'st thou pass over many fixt i' th' durt?
 Not, as a greedy glutton, love to lick
 Mercurial spittle, which doth use to stick
 Upon the lips of Niggards? VVhen as all
 These things thou may'st thine own most truly call;
 Then, Oh be wise, enjoy true Libertie,
 The *Prators*, yea, and great *Jove* blessing thee,
 But thou but th' other day of our degree,
 Retaining still thy Old skin, being free
 Only in a smooth brow, that outward part,
 Deep subtilty lurking in thy foul heart:
 The Liberty I gave thee, I again
 Recall, and do tie shorter now thy chain.
 For Reason unto thee doth Nothing lend:
 Lift but thy finger up, thou dost offend;
 And what's so small? But thou shalt ne're obtain
 By any Frankincense that the least Grain
 Of wisdom shall e're rest within a fool:
 To mix these two, is against Natures rule.
 Nor shalt thou, thou remaining a Clown still,
 E're daunce three measures with *Bathyllus* skill.
 I'm Free. How can'st thou say so, thy affection
 Being invassal'd to the worst subjection?
 Know'st thou no other Master, but he whom
 The Manumitting rod did free thee from?
 Indeed if Now, one say imperiously
 To's slave; Go, Sirra, carry presently
 This linnen to *Crispinus* Baths; dost stand
 Still, Lazy knave? This his severe command
 Doth move thee nothing: because now no whip
 May scourge thy Lazy sides, to make The skip.
 But if within, in thy sick lungs do spring
 Head-strong desires, art Thou in any thing

Less servile then, then is such a poor knave,
Whom th' whip and fear of's Master made a slave?

Thou lying long in bed, avarice cries,
Up, up, Not yet, say'st thou: For shame arise,
Cries she; I can't thou dost reply: Why so,
Says she again? Rise, Rise; dost thou not know
What thou shouldst do? Why go to th' Sea, bring thence
Fish, Beaver-oile, Flax, Eben, Frankincense,
And loosning VVines of Co; and be the first
To fetch from th' Camel, whilest he yet doth thirst,
Fresh pepper: exchange somewhat, and forswear
For Gain. O but (alas!) then Jove will hear.
VVhy, fool, if thou wilt dwell with Jove, thou shalt
Striving but to get out one tast of Salt,
Bore a hole through thy oit-lick'd Salt-seller.
VVell; being got up, thou dost (not to defer
To execute her will) provide thy men
Bags for to lay their cloaths in, and then
Lay'st in wine, with such other things thou know'st
Are fit for Navigation: then straight go'st
To Ship; where nothing hinders thee to sail
O're the *Aegean* Sea with a full gail,
But Luxury. That doth seduce thy weak
Unstaydness, and thus with Art doth speak.

VVhither, Oh whither Madman, dost thou run?
Whither? what lack'st thou? what wouldst thou have done?
(And now thy hot brest with strong ire doth swell,
VVhich a whole pot of Hemlock can scarce quell.)
VVilt thou pass o're the Seas? VVilt thou e're eat
Thy Supper, making a stretch'd Rope thy seat?
Shall a broad-bottom'd tankard that does stink
Of pitch, fume out the wine that thou must drink?
Nay, vile ruddy *Veientane* wine? striv'st thou
To make thy lab'ring mony sweat forth now
Elev'n in twelve, the which did here obtain
Ne're above Five in Twelve, a modest gain?
Come, come: cherish thy *Genius*: let's be free
T'enjoy a full delight: for without Me
Life is Not: and remember that e're long,
Thou shalt be but a Ghost, Dust, and the Song
O'th' People. Think how thou by death shalt pass
Away, like Time. This which I've Spoke, It was.
VVhat dost thou now? Two hooks a double way
Now draw thee; Wilt thou this, or This obey?
Thou must be slave to both alternately:
Now serving Avarice, now Luxury.
Nor may'st thou, if thou dost for once withstand
Their instant and importunate command,
Say straight, I've broke their bands; For, loe,
A Dog by tugging breaks his knot, just so,

VVho

Who, though he run away and bite and strain,
Yet at his neck doth trail much of his chain.

Charesstratus in serious meditation

Biting his nail to th' quick through deep vexation
Saies to his man; *Davus*, I now intend
All my fore-passed greifs and Love to end;
Believe me. For shall I be still a shame,
Unto my sober careful friends good name?
Shall I spend all my stock with infamy
At the lewd threshold of a Stews? Shall I
Drunk before *Chrysis* nointed moist doors stand
Singing, my torch extinguish'd in my hand?
O rare young *Master*! Be hence-forward wise:
And offer up a Lamb in Sacrifice,
To thy protecting Gods. But dost believe
Davus, if I forsake her, that she'l grieve?
Dost trifle, Idle boy? Then she shall break
Thy pate with her red pantofle, and wreak
Her spight upon thee, that thou shalt not dare
To quake, nor bite her fast-entangling snare.
Th'art Now averse and violent; but when
Shee shall perchance but call thee: thou'lt say then,
I come straightways; for, why? what should I do?
Shan't I go to my Love, when She doth woe,
And sends for me? But if thou can'st Now, Now
Redeem thy self All and Entire; Thou, Thou
Art that thrise-happy man, that only He
VVhom only, we judge to be truly free.
Not he, o're whom the foolish *Lisitor* wags
His rod, and of him, as his Freeman brags.
For, oh, can he be truly call'd his own,
VVhom Candidate Chaulky Ambition
Draws gaping to Her lure? To whom she cries,
Unto her Clients salutations rise
By time, and give a lib'ral deal to pease
Unto the scrambling multitude: that these
Our large *Floralia* may be made the talk
Of Aged men hereafter as they walk
In the warm Sun; For what can be more brave?
And art not Superstitious to have
On (4.5) *Herods* birth-day, many candles plac'd
In order i'th' oyl'd window much defac'd
By the fat cloud the which they vomit out,
Though with sweet violets th'are deck'd about;
And t'have a Tunies tail, as 'twere to swim
In a red dish, thy white bowl full to th' brim
VVith wine, yet dost not fast till night, and pray
All the *Jews* circumcised Sabbath-day?
Then with Hobgoblins, and the feigned fear
Of danger from a crackt egge, and th' austere

U u

Grave

Grave Priests of *Cybel*, and the one-eyed Maid
 Of *Isis* with her *Timbrel*, th' art *Uismaid*.
 And think'st the Gods will puff with some disease
 Thy swelling skin: if thou shalt them displease:
 Refusing by their grave rules to be led,
 To taste each morn three times a *Garlick-head*.

And sayest thou yet, thou liv'st at liberty,
 Being subject to th' extreamest vanity?

Yet speak this, which the Gods do know, is true,
 'Mongst full-vein'd souldiers: what would straight ensue?
 Some vast *Volpenius* with a full deep throat
 Would bellow out a laugh, in a base note:
 And ten times ten Philosophers of *Greece*
 Would scarcely prize at a clipt *Ten-groats* peice.

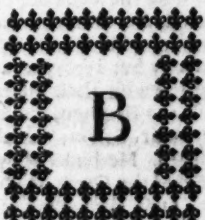
 ILLU-

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Fifth Satyre.

Little Statues of wood, wool and hay, placed, for Sons and Servants in families, about their Lares. Bulla; the form, derivation and purpose of it. Umbo; the knot in the Roman Gown. Horoscopus. Genius. Herodias dies. Sabbata. What Herod is here intended by the Poet. Herodians; who they were. Ludi Quinquenales. Lights us'd at festivals, in sign of Joy. פִּנְאוֹת, and Vincamus, expressions anciently used at the lighting of candles. The Jews preparing of lights against the Sabbath. Recutiti; the Jews, why so called.

1.  *Ullaque sub cineris Laribus donata pendit.* In every familie there were so many little statues of wood (or the like matter) placed about their Lares, as there were Sons in the house: and when any of them was out of the years of his childhood (which was at sixteen compleat) and was to leave off the bulla, it was hang'd about the neck of the child's statue, as Festus tells us. Servants also in every familie had statues also of wood, or hay, made for them, and placed about the Lares. Virgins likewise that were to be married offer'd their puppers, or babies, unto Venus, as I have noted on *Perfium*, Sat. 2. in the margin towards the end. We may farther take notice, that the bulla was made in the form of a heart, and hang'd on the left breast of the child, that at the sight of it, they might consider they were men, if they had a wife heart. As for the word *Bulla*, some derive the word from βουλή, Counsel; some from βόλοναι, To Will; some from βόμιαι, by a figure taken from Archers, intimating the good purpose, as a mark, that youth should aim at.

2. *Candidus umbo.* Some take this literally, & that from the authority of *Virgil*: others for a knot in the Roman Toga, which sometimes coming under the right arm was clos'd on the left shoulder, (like the boss in a shield) all the pleats or folds of it meeting there, as some describe; more particularly *Claverius* thinks that the knot or closure was adorn'd with some bright gemme; alleading to this purpose the authority of *Pliny*, l. 37. c. 6. *Rhodigine* thinks the toga to be call'd umbo, because, as a shield it protect'd a young man from the reprehensions of overseers.

3. — *Et ab uno fidere duci.* *Stelluti* says here that *Perfium* had said better, if he had said, that his Master *Cornutus* and he had been born under a like con-

stellation, rather than under the same: but had he spoken so, it had been more flat, though more true. For who may not see, that the speech is not proper, but figurative and so more elegant? his purpose being to express, that though his master and he were of different ages, and consequently not born under the same constellation, yet their dispositions might seem to have been derived from the same celestial influences, as *Horace* feigned of himself and *Mecenas*. But one more material exception I may here move against our Author (though not observ'd by the Criticks) who, whiles he seems to approve of the Astrologers doctrines, may seem to forget himself, when in the Sixth Satyre he says — *Geminis Horoscope varo Producis Genio* — ; which is quite contrary to this assertion. Wherefore to reconcile these places, I think he speaks thus in this place, rather to shew his skill, than his Belief; and thus speaks here according to the common opinion; but in the Sixth Satyre does in part reprehend, at least weaken, that opinion. Wherefore in that place I render it, *For Oft the same Birth-day Hath an Ascendant strangely influent Producing ev'n in twins a different, yea, an oppos'd Genius*; mitigating so the absoluteness of the speech, though the particle of such moderation, *Oft* (or sometimes) be not expressly in the Poet. The Ascendant is that part of heaven, which arises in the East in the moment, wherein a child is born: it is called the first house, containing 30. degrees; and the Astrologers observe in that point the posture of the celestial constellations, that is, the state of the Planets amongst themselves, as also the fixed stars, placing the said planets and the signs of the Zodiac in a figure divided into 12 houses, representing the circumference of the heaven, the first of which is *Angulus Orientis* (by some, the *Horoscope*) or Ascendant, as is said, shewing the life and quality of the body, that is the complexion & form of the child: and so to the rest are attributed their several significations. The Poet then in the

Sixt Satyre says, it is no marvel, if they that are born under diverse constellations have diverse natures, when sometimes (contrary to Astrologers) they that are born under the same *Ascendens*, have different dispositions, one being covetous, another prodigal. But in this Fifth Satyre he seems to speak according to the ordinary canons of Astrologie, and from the agreement of his and his Master's dispositions, thinks they were both born under *Libra* or *Genius* [some add *Aquarius*] as *Martius* and Others imply; as those that are born under *Pisces* are of more uncertainty and difference of affections in respect of one another. We may yet farther more, that when the Poet says in the Sixth Satyre, that the *Horoscope* does produce men with a different *Genius*, he speaks according to the doctrine and practice of the Heathen Astrologers; who in the casting of Nativities, did not only hold that the *Genius* of every man was the Companion of his *Horoscope*, but also that the *Horoscope* was temper'd by it, and that between whom there was a union of minds, there was a friendship also between their *Genii*. For which cause they studied to tell the nature and power of every one's *Genius*, and with what things it might be offended or pleased; and particularly what agreement there was between such and such a man's *Genius*. This may appear from *Plutarch*, in his *Antonie*, concerning the *Genii* of *Antony* and *C. Octavian*; as also from *Apollonius*, in his *Parthicks*. Concerning the validity of Astrological Traditions (for it were a task to promote them to the title of Demonstrations) the more curious may please themselves with *Ptolemeus*, *Alcabitus*, *Albo Hali*, *Guido Bonati*, *Valentine Nabod*, *Talsner*, and multitudes of others: as the more temperate with the writings of *St. Augustin*. *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 9. cap. 9. On whom also he may there see *Coquams*; and *Vires* acutely disputing against *Julius Firmicus*. I might omit *Picus Mirandula*, because no body will omit him: in which authors he shall find singular wit and Wisdom.

4. *Hanc nobis pilea donant*. At the manumission of *Servant*, his Head was Shaven, and then he wore the cappe of liberty, The colour of it was white. Then he wore also the Roman Gown, and Shoes. Some add, that on the cap he had also a Coronet of flowers, or of olive-branch, or the like.

5. *At cum Herodis venere dies — Tunc alba fidelis vino; Labra moves tacitus, recumbitque Sabbata pallas*. In the explication of this passage there is great difference amongst the Interpreters, some taking *Herodis dies* and *Sabbata* for the same; but the most take the first for *Herod's Birthday*, as some for the day of his Inauguration. But if we take the first in either of these last senses, for a Civil Festival, it must needs signify a Time of great Joy, and so little agreeing with a Religious Festival, such as the Jewish Sabbath; which was observ'd with singular severity, as the Poet implies saying — *Sabbata Pallas*: on which word I may farther add, what *Claverius* notes; *alludit ad jejunia fastida Sabbatariorum, qui tota illa die famelicis, pallorem praeferunt, ut vidimus olim Francofurti, dum in Synagoga sua ejularent*. Besides, the Poet says that on *Herod's* day they did for ornament use violets; which to attribute to every Sabbath were ridiculous, but for *Herod's* feast seasonable; because being mention'd straight after the *Floralia*, which were celebrated the 28th. of April, it may seem congruously to be intended that *Herod's* festival was not long after. But the chief difficulty is here to judge, what *Herod* is here intended. The most understand it of *Herod the Great* (called *Ascalonita*) who new built the Temple at

Jerusalem, and for his great power with the Roman Emperor, who made him King, was flatter'd by the Jews. According to which they think, that the Jews which did thus celebrate his festival, were they which were called the *Herodians*; whom some make to be a Sect of Hereticks amongst the Jews, which, as they say, held *Herod the Great* to be the *Messiah*, because at that time, he being a stranger, the Scepter was depared from *Judah*, which was the time, according to prophesie, of the *Messiah* his coming. But it may seem strangely improbable, that any Jews, who were so acquainted with the doctrine of the Prophets, should be so vain, as to entertain one not of the tribe of *Judah*, nay a stranger to *Israel*, for their *Messiah*; to omit his cruelty in the slaughter of the Infants, and his odious actions in his own family. Besides, that there were any such Hereticks, is not sufficiently prov'd; and some understand by the *Herodians*, Court Flatterers; others more particularly *Herod's* Souldiers. *St. Jerom* thinks them to be such as stood earnestly for the payment of tribute unto *Cesar*. *Pignatarius* takes them for *Herod's* Servants (de Servis, p. 41.) such potentates of the World having vast multitudes of servants; and so the *Herodians* to be understood, *Matt. 22*. Others not finding, as they say, in ancient Authors any mention of *Herod the Great* his birth-day, think it may rather be understood of *Herod Antipas* [the Son of *Herod the Great*] who upon his own birth-day, as the scripture testifies, caused *St. John the Baptist* to be beheaded. But if we remember that season, as it has been anciently observ'd by the Church [on the 24th. of June] they would scarce have celebrated it, as our Poet describes it, with violets. But the Inauguration of Kings is usually but a temporary festival during their Reign, as likewise their birth-day; as it was also amongst the Heathen, being perform'd with Sacrifices to their *Genius*, which concern'd them not after death. Methinks they, who would here understand *Herod the Great*, might rather have remembered the *Ludi Quinquennales*, which were festivals dedicated by the Colledge of the *Quindecimviri*, to the honour of *Augustus*, and afterwards in *Judaea*, by *Herod*, as *Eusebius* witnesses. Only against these festivals I may object, that these cannot so fitly be called *Herodis dies*, as *Augusti*, to whose honour they were instituted. But after this needful examination, to come nearer the decision of the business, we must chiefly consider the intent of our Poet, who here reprehends, after other vices in the Romans, superstition, particularly the Jewish; saying, that some were so superstitious, that they sided with the Jews not only in their Sabbaths, but also in their Civil festivals, as in the Celebration of the birth-day, or the day of Inauguration of *Herod King of Judaea*; and thus he seems to speak of a Person in his own time, and a Rite then in practice. If then we look upon the race of the *Herods*, which bare rule in the Eastern parts at that time, we shall find a man, the last of that race in authority, in high favour with the *Cæsars*, in *Persius* his time; a man also of such eminent desert, though a *Herod*, that he did with great felicity obtain much safety and favour for the Jews under diverse Emperors, till their sedition overthrew them; although they requir'd his merits with some affronts. This man was the great Grand-child of *Herod the great*; from whom in order descended *Herod Antipas*; from him *Herod Agrippa*, of whose horrible death we read, *Act. 12*. and from him this *Herod*, whom we intend, called by the same name *Herod Agrippa*, but by way of distinction commonly

monly Agrippa Junior; this was he before whom St. Paul pleaded, *Act. 26*. Now this man was made King of Judæa in the 9th. year of Claudius, which was in the 16th. year of Persius his life, whom he out-liv'd by many years, reigning under Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan, about the space of fifty years; and thus reigned both before and long after the destruction of Jerusalem. Josephus testifies his great favour with the Romans; and Photius (*Cod. XXXIII.*) out of *Justus Tiberianus*, the Continuance of his reign; telling us that he died in the third year of Trajan. So that if we reckon even from the beginning of the honour of Antipater the Father of Herod the great to the end of this man, which was about 150. years, we may see that this man reigned the last third part of all the time of the Herodian glory. And of this man I judge, that our Poet here speaks, as of a business in his own time and sight. And as for the Herodians, we need not here so much as inquire what they were; they that perform'd this honour to Agrippa (or, this Herod Agrippa Junior King of Judæa) being his Subjects, with whom some Romans that were addicted to the Jewish religion did partake both in their severities and in their Joies. And this I think to be the most natural and easie meaning of our Poet in this passage; leaving my opinion to the Reader's judgment. As for the Lights mention'd in this passage in these words—*unâque fenestra Disposita pinguem nebulam vomuere lucerna, Portantes violas*—; it was the manner of the Gracians to express the celebration of festival days by these words, *quæ n. separantur*, by Lights and Coronets of flowers and branches; and it was the custome of most nations to express their joy by making of fires. Indeed, in ordinary life the Gracians at the first lighting of candles were wont to cry *εὖ: ἀγαθόν, bonum lumen*, and the Spaniards *Vincamus*, which was a wishing for Light, Light being the

conquest of darkness; And so the Gracians call Victory *εὖ*; as is shew'd, in *Græca Lingue Thesaurus, verbo εὖ*, out of Eustathius on Homer's *Iliad* s. 2. *circa principium*. More particularly concerning the placing of Lights for the celebration of the Sabbath, *unâ fenestra*, as the Poet here says, *Stellius* tells us, that on the Friday (the Jew's Sabbath-Eve) the Jews set their candles ready lighted in some window near the door, to have them ready against the Sabbath; to which he applies that of Juvenal, *Sat. 12. cuncta nitent, longes exivit janua ramos, Et matutinis operitur festa Lucernis*. See that *Saïre, Illustrat. 10*. Here is yet in this passage of Persius one doubt more, concerning *recutita Sabbata*, that is, *recutitorum Sabbata*, or the Sabbaths of the Jews, so call'd, because cut *recisi*, or *circumcisi*, as it is usually expounded; according to which sense I also expound it. But surely I never thought that to be the meaning of the word; yet since it truly expresses the persons intended by the Poet, the Jews, I chose rather to be modest, then exact, *ut* but one could be chosen. But finding the *Italian* Interpreters to give at the same meaning that I did, I may with the veil of civility imply his conjecture: who thinks it signifies the Jews, that sought by art to recover from the mark of circumcision; which being disgraceful amongst the Romans, they labour'd to conceal. This is clearly agreeable to the etymologie of the word *recutitus*. The common interpretation I grant to be true, and for civility still retain it; but the other I acknowledge to be exact; and the rather, because the mark of circumcision was often dangerous unto the Jews, especially to those that lived at Rome; as I have shew'd out of *Suïon*, from a story of base inhumanity offer'd to an aged Jew; in the explication of that passage in Juvenal, *coppinus senumq; suppellex*; *Sat. 3. Illustrat. 3.*

SATYRE VI.

TO HIS FRIEND

Cæsius Bassus a Lyrick Poet.

ARGUMENT.

*The pining Niggards fruitless care,
To feed the Lust of his lewd Heir.*

♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ Ow, Bassus, hath the cold made thee retire
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ Thy self, this winter, to the Sabine fire?
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ N ♦♦♦ Do thy old (1) Harp and strings live to thee still,
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦ Sounding lowd Musick with a stiffer quill?
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦ Great workman! whose blest Muse sweet lines affords,
 ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ ♦♦♦ Full of the Native beaurty of Old words:
 And on the Roman harp with happines
 Of skill, a masculine, strong sound r' express:
 Now playing young mens sports, now playing some
 Brave Old mens actions, with an honest thumb.
 The warm Ligurian shoar grows hot to Me:
 And I'm now winter'd at my Native Sea;
 Where the rocks yeild a shoar to them that saile,
 And where the Haven into a large vale
 Retires it self. 'Tis fairly worth the sight,
 The Port of Luna, full of much delight.
 Thus said wise Ennius aft'r h'had dream'd he was
 Homer, (2) the fift form'd by Pythagoras
 His Peacocks soul. Here I retir'd live free
 From caring what the People think of me:
 And what the unlucky South-wind doth prepare
 For Cattle; Nor do I take greif or care
 If that my Neighbours field's more fat then mine.
 Let all poor-born grow rich, I'll never pine

With

With stooping age; for that or want good cheer:
 Or touch the (3) signe of dreggy sealed beer
 In a hoar'd flaggon. Yet another may
 Dissent from this. For oft the same birth-day
 Hath an Ascendant strongly influent
 Producing ev'n in Twins a different
 Yea an oppos'd *Genius*. For the one
 Warily with great circumspection,
 And on his Birth-day only, dips his dry
 Course hearbs in brinish sauce, which he doth buy
 In a small cup, His own self sprinkling
 His Dish with Pepper as a Holy thing.
 The other a brave boy courageously
 Spends a large portion in Luxury
 On his consuming tooth. But as for Mine,
 I'll Use it: yet ne're let my Freedmen dine
 With Turbets: nor be curious mouth'd to know
 But by the taste, if't be a Thrush or no.
 Proportion thy expences by thy gain:
 And grind out freely (for thou may'st) thy grain
 Laid up within thy Barnes. What should'st thou fear?
 But harrow, and behold straight will appear
 Another Harvest. VVhy, I would thus spend,
 But Duty hinders me. For my poor friend,
 His Ship being split, held by the *Brutian*
 Sharp Rocks; and bury'd in the *Ionian*
 Rough waves all his Estate, and his deaf cries
 Neglected by the Gods: and himself lies
 Upon the shoar with his great Gods, which he
 Caught from his broken Ship, whose ribs now be
 Expos'd unto the Cormorant. Nay, Now
 Give him some of thy Land: and do not thou
 Think thou can'st be too free; Let him not lack,
 VVandering with a Green Table at his back.
 But if thou impair thy wealth, thy angred Heir
 Of thy last Funeral-feast will take small care:
 And with neglect into thy Urn will throw
 Thy bones without perfumes, careless to know
 VVhether he buy dull-smelling Cinnamon,
 Or Casia corrupt with Cherry-gumme.
 He'll say, what dost thou idly spend thy wealth,
 My portion, being in thy perfect Health?
 But more; I'm sure there's thrifty *Bestius*
 Doth press your Learned'st *Grecian* Doctors, thus;
 Thus 'tis, since your Bond Liberality,
 Rather emasculate soft Luxury,
 VVith Pepper, Dates, and other ware hath come
 From your leud *Greece* unto our City *Rome*,
 Our very Mowers do with too much oyl
 Their ancient wholesome meat Sawcily spoil.

But

But fear'st these things beyond thy grave? Draw near;
 Thou whoso'er'st shalt be my Heir, and hear:
 And that into our talk none may intrude;
 Let us retire from the thick multitude.
 My friend, know'st not the news? *Cæsar* (5) hath sent
 A Laurel for a sign and ornament
 Of his great conquest over *Germany*:
 And the cold ashes which before did lie
 Upon the Altars, are now swept away:
 And with great care and joy *Cæsonia*
 Fixeth the conquer'd Kings armour of proof
 And all their weapons to the Temples roof:
 Clads all the Captives in a durt-brown freize:
 Placeth the *Rheni* of a huge vast size:
 And orders all their Coaches: VVherefore I
 VVill bring for this so happy victory
 To th' Gods and our great Captains *Genius*
 A hundred pair of Fencers. I being thus
 Freely dispos'd, who doth forbid? Dar'st thou?
 VVo; if thou yield'st not. Say, that I'm pleas'd now
 Upon the people to bestow a doal
 Of oile and flesh-pies: dost thou dare controul?
 Speak out, and plainly. VVhy, your land, thou'lt say,
 Is not so fat, so boneless, but I may,
 For any cause I see, not greatly care,
 VVhether or no, you do make Me your Heir.
 VVell then, scorn Thou my Love; yet thus much know:
 Enow will be my Heir, and thank me too.
 For were none of my Fathers Sisters left:
 No Cousin-germane: or were I bereft
 Of all my Unkles Neeces daughters: say,
 My Mothers Sister had di'd Barrain: nay,
 That none sprung from my Grandame did survive:
 Briefly, that not one Kinsman were alive:
 I'll go but to *Boville*, or the hill
 Of *Virbius*, where standeth ready still,
 Poor *Mannius*: He shall be my Heir. VVhat He?
 A son o'th' Earth? Obscure? VVhy ask of Me,
 VVho was my fourth Forefather, I can't well
 And readily declare, though I can tell.
 But if you'd know his Father, and again
 That fathers father: sure you must remain
 Satisfied thus; That He did draw his birth
 Immediately from his Mother Earth;
 And so at last, you'll find *Mannius* to be
 By right of Kin, great Unkle unto Me.
 Yet why at all should'st Thou indeed desire
 To be my Heir, when thou might'st be my Sire
 For Age? and why should'st thou demand of Me
 My torch, when I in course run after Thee?


Yet if thou be my Heir, methinks thou ought'st
 To be content, with what thou never bought'st.
 I am *Mercury*, and come, to Thee, a God,
 As he is Painted. VVith a churlish nod
 Scorn'st my free offer? VVilt not thou be glad
 For what is left? VVhy, here's not all you had
 Left to You by Your Father. True indeed,
 Much I did spend on my own proper need.
 But, briefly, this is all is left: which All
 I'll give to thee; And do not thou now brawl
 Unkindly with me: neither ask me where
 Is that which *Tadius* left me: and ne're
 Give me hard words, as fathers drawing nigh
 Their end, do give their sons before they die;
 Saying, See thou put out the Principal:
 And spend but of the Use: let that be all.
 But yet, what's Left? what's left? Now lib'rally
 Pow'r, Boy, pow'r oyl upon my hearbs. Shall I
 Upon a high Festival day, be fed
 With a sod Nettle, and a lean Swines head
 Hung up i'th' smoak by th' ear; unto the end
 This leud Knave may my goods hereafter spend?
 And fill'd with dainty Jiblets, without shame
 Lewdly embrace a soft *Patrician* Dame;
 When as his way-ward, full-swolne, chiding vein:
 VVith an uncertain lust doth sob again?
 Shall I be like the warp of bare cloth, that
 To him a strutting panch may quagge with fat?
 Oh, sell thy Soul for Gain, to leave thy Heir
 Wealthy: and so thou gettest by thy wate,
 Ne're care how honestly. Sift ev'ry coast
 Of the whole world, that thou may'st truly boast;
 No man feeds fatter *Cappadocian* knaves
 In a rough cage, then are thy lusty slaves.
 Double thy wealth. 'Tis done; nay't has increas'd
 Three, four, ten-fold as much. Yet scarce is ceas'd.
 And now, where likewise I may rest, designe,
Chrysippus, thou that did'st thy heap (6) confine.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

Sixt Satyre.

The matter and form of the ancient Harp, according to Titius, Philostratus and Pignorius. Quintus pavone ex Pythagoræo, differently expounded against some Criticks; and Persius excused. Ennius his Age, Poverty and Honour. Knots used anciently, according to some, instead of seals; sometimes both. Funeral Rites. Coena feralis. Necis sumus. Silicernium, Nundinalis coquus. Epulum Novendiale. Litteræ laureatæ. Fipitor acervi; some differences about it, composed.

1.  *Lyra* *Ly tetrico vivunt tibi pæ-*
line chorda. The *Lyra* (as
Robertus Titius says, *Lo-*
cor. Controvers. lib. 1. cap. 2.)
was made *ex boum cornibus*
à Mercurio, jugo addito. Phi-
lostratus, in *Amphione*, says
it was made of goats horns;
both which assertions might
be truth, in several instru-
ments. The form of the

Lyra is with some variety expressed in Titius his
assertions, *lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 10.* and in Pignorius, *de*
Servis, p. 86. as is noted on *Juvenal*, *Sat. 6. Illu-*
strat. 40. Titius expresses a bow with three arrows
in it like the strings of an instrument, and occa-
sionally alleadges out of *Zozimus* (towards the
end of his second book) that one *Menelaus* a fa-
mous *Armenian* Leader would thus shoot three ar-
rows at once out of a bow, and not miss with any
of them.

2. *Quintus pavone ex Pythagoræo.* The Poet hav-
ing occasion to mention the place of his winter-
ing, tells us that it was in *Liguria* at the Port of
Luna, so call'd as some think from the form of it.
The Town was not big, but the haven was very
large and exquisitely delightful, being half-encom-
pass'd with high hills yielding a fair prospect
even to *Sardinia*; it is describ'd by *Strabo*; but
it is now ruinated. But as it was, *Persius* com-
mends it, not only from it self, but also from
the authority of *Ennius*, whom he here des-
cribes to be *Quintus pavone ex Pythagoræo*. But
some thus point this and the former verse of
our Author, *Cor jubet hoc Enni, postquam deſer-*
ruit eſſe Mæonides Quintus, pavone ex Pythagoræo,

making the sense to be this; Thus did wise *En-*
nius commend the port of *Luna*, when *Quintus*
was awaked from his dream, in which he fan-
cied himself to be *Homer*, and to have in him
the same form, which was once in *Pythagoras*,
and afterwards in a *Peacock*: so that they take
here *Quintus* for the *Protagonist* of *Ennius*. And
the reason of this their interpretation is, be-
cause it is a great anachronisme to make *Ennius*
the fifth from *Pythagoras*, by taking *Quintus* to sig-
nific number, and so to make *Pythagoras* more
ancient then *Homer*, when as *Homer* is by *Chro-*
nologers plac'd about the year of the world 3000,
or by some about the year 3250. but *Pytha-*
goras about the year, 3360. which I find in-
deed to be agreeable enough to *Iamblichus*, who
in his *Life* (*cap. 2. p. 27.*) says, that he was
the Scholar of *Pherecydes* the *Syrian*, who is pla-
c'd about the year, 3340. This that I have cal-
culated I take to be truth, and that it may not
be defended, to say that *Pythagoras* was before
Homer, and so to say that *Ennius* was the fifth
from *Pythagoras*. Yet do I render it by the
number, the fifth from *Pythagoras*, and so against
this Chronological truth, yet not without just
reasons, as shall appear. That this then is a
truth, I grant: that *Persius* intended this truth,
I deny. For an Interpreter to retain the er-
rour of an Author, is not an errour: to dis-
cover it, is Truth and happiness. Now that
our Poet speaks here according to opinion and
vulgar error, it may be probable from these
considerations. First, from the Affectation of
the Expression, if he speak according to truth:
for, to say that *Ennius* was of this judgment,
after that *Quintus* had done dreaming that he
was

was *Homer* (the Son of *Maon*) seems to me a harsh and filling construction. For, what a vanity and overplus is it, to say *Ennius*, and then presently and unnecessarily to call him *Quintus*; when as it had been sufficient only to have said, *Cor jubet hoc Enni, postquam destituit esse Maonides*, without *Quintus*, unless in reference to what follows, besides the inconvenient and ridiculous transposition of the words, saying, *Maonides Quintus*. Secondly, from the Rascals and society of the mistake. For, was this the Opinion only of *Persius*? of young *Persius* and not of others also since his time? of others of greater practice and experience in study? If we consult with the old Commentatour upon our Authour (*Annas Cornelius the Grammarian*) does he not alludge, that *Ennius* himself in the beginning of his *Annals* relates how he saw *Homer* in his dream, who told him that he was once a peacock; and that the form (or soul) of that bird passed, into him? (for such was the doctrine of the Pythagorical *transmigration*) And does he not add, Therefore it is said *quintus*, because of that opinion, which says, that the soul of *Pythagoras* passed into a Peacock, from the Peacock into *Euphorbus*, from *Euphorbus* into *Homer*, from *Homer* into *Ennius*? Is not here clearly the same anachronisme, and avouched as the mind of *Persius*? Is it not also in *Lactantius* (as he is vulgarly call'd) the Commentatour on *Statius*? who on the 3d. of the *Thebais*, has the same error against Chronologie in respect of *Homer* and *Pythagoras*, though he somewhat differ in ordering the rest, making the descent thus; *Euphorbus, Pythagoras, parus, Homerus, Ennius*. Nay, does not *Tertullian* (*lib. de resurrectione carnis*) a Grande in learning, and one who lived within a hundred and fifty years after *Persius*, place them in the same last recited order? Thirdly it is probable from the comparison of others mistakes; for is it not a foul anachronisme in *Virgil*, to make *Aeneas* and *Dido* contemporaries, when as *Aeneas* came into *Italie* above 300. years before the building of *Carthage*; as I have shew'd on *Juvenal. Sat. 6. Illustrat. 45*. I may therefore say, that Truth made the Interpreters here mistake, *Quintus* being the *Prænomen* of *Ennius*. And therefore *Stellius* might have spar'd his exception in this place; as also before him *Hieronymus Columna* (on *Ennius* his *Fragments*) doubting of this order; 1. *Pavo*. 2. *Euphorbus*. 3. *Pythagoras*. 4. *Homerus*. 5. *Ennius*. Not for the least want of Learning or Judgment in his exception, but rather for the exactness. Wherefore I render this passage not according to truth, but according to *Persius* his mind: from whom to expect Chronological severity, were more to erre from discretion, then he does from truth. Moreover, that *Quintus* here does not signifie a Name, but a Number, may be probable from the receiv'd tradition of the *Pythagoreans*, mention'd by *St. Jerom*, in his third *Apologetic* against *Ruffinus*, where he says, only with variation of the persons, that *Pythagoras* beleiv'd, *Se primum fuisse Euphorbum, secundo Callidem, tertio Hermotimum, quarto Pyrrum, ad extremum Pythagoram*; in like manner implying the same Number of changes. Concerning *Ennius*, whom our Poet here honours, I may add somewhat remarkable; *Varrô* telling us (*lib. de poetis*) that he writ the 12th. book of his *Annals*, when he was 67. years of age. It is related of him also,

that he liv'd to great Age and Poverty, which he did bear with a brave spirit; as also that he was buried in the monument of *Scipio Africanus major*, whose wars he writ; and had a statue erected for him together with *Scipio's*, as *Livie* tells, *lib. 38*. That little, which he had, he left to *Pacuvius* the Tragick Poet, his Sister's, or as some say, his daughter's Son. See the learned *Columna* in his Life.

3. *Signum*—in *lagenâ*. A reprehension of the unworthy niggardliness of some of the ancients, who would seal-up even the dreggs of wine: yet in the times more ancient, as particularly in the *Trojan* times, *Pliny* (*lib. 33. cap. 1.*) tells us, there were no rings, using *Homer* as a witness; and says, that they tied knots for safety, instead of fixing seals, upon their most precious goods. But this his opinion is rejected by *Longus*, *de Annulis signatoris*, *cap. 2.* denying any such thing to be in *Homer*; unless, as he says, *Pliny* did peradventure build his opinion upon the knots, which *Ulysses* tied upon the chest, wherein he put the guilts of *Arete*: but that was, as he says, only upon a special occasion, *Ulysses* having been before so taught by *Circe* the witch, as it appears, *Odys. 8*. *Longus* therefore marvels, that *Pliny* a man of such reading, could be so ignorant of the writings of *Moses*, who *Exod. 33.* makes such clear mention of rings, being the offerings of the Women there. *Longus* also, *cap. 6. de Ann. Sign.* shews the fashion of keyes with seals, as also *Lipsius* does. See more of this argument, in *Juvenal. Sat. 6. Illustrat. 3*. See also *Laurentius Pignorius* of wedding rings with two right hands holding each other, expres'd on ancient coins; in his *Symbol. Epist. Ep. 1. and 19*. We may only observe, in reference to what was said before concerning the making things safe by knots, the use of tying letters with a thread, and then sealing upon it: which custome *Robertus Titius*, *Locor. Controvers. lib. 10. cap. 14.* shews from that of *Plautus*; *Effer cito Stylum, ceras & tabellas & linum*; and a little after, *Cedo tu ceram, ac linum altissimum*; age oblige, obsequia cito.

4. —*Canam funeris hares Negliget iratus*—*Ossa inodora dabit*. To the funeral observations which I deliver'd on *Persius*, *Sat. 3. Illustrat. 5.* add these. When one died he was kept seven days, the eighth day the body was burn'd, the ninth buried; so *Servius* on that of *Virgil*, *Præterea si nona diem mortalibus alnum Extulerit*. The fire (*bestium*) was quench'd with wine; as *Nic. Loensis* in his *Miscell. Epiphyl. lib. 5. cap. 19.* shews out of *Propertius*. The bones were gather'd together, sprinkled with wine, wash'd with milk till they were separated from the ashes, and then perfumed, put into an urne and so buried. The sepulcher was sprinkled with wine. The bones were gather'd, as *Loensis* more particularly observes, either by their kinsfolk, or by the Pontifices, if they were famous warriors or Princes. The *Ludi* at such funerals were called *Ludi Novendiales*. There were suppers also prepar'd at funerals, and of diverse sorts, as *Marcilius* does diligently and learnedly distinguish them. One was *cena feralis* (from *fera*, anciently the same with *Mars*) which was but a sorry one; the cook that dressed it is called by *Plautus*, *Nundinalis coquus*, as *Loensis* observes; and this was usually sent by the friends of the Dead, and cast into the funeral fire to the *Di Manes*, and

burn'd with the body? A Second was *abstinentia*, a Drinking prepar'd for those that return'd from the funeral to the house of the mourning. A third was *Silicernium*, *invenio d'ignos, singulis d'ignos*; and this was set down at the grave of the dead; The fourth was the more solemn entertainment and was call'd *Epulum Novendiale*.

5. — *Missa est a Cesare laurus*. The Roman Generals after a victory did use to send unto the Senate *littera laureata*, letters wrapt in a branch of Bays; as Appian says in his *Mithridaticks*; *ἀνέμεινον δὲ τῶν δὲ Περσέων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν ἑσθλῶν*; clearly expressing the custome and the manner. See also *Juvenal. Sat. 4. Illust. 72*.

6. — *Finitor acervi*. Some make this sophisme an example of this *acervus*; I say that I lie, and I lie; I say true then, and do not lie. But by *acervus* is generally understood the *Sorites*, said to be invented by *Chrysippus*. But here *Stelluti* excepts against *Casaubon*, who says here, that *Persius* speaking to the Covetous man, says *Depinge* (or *depunge*, as some have it) *ubi fittam*, that is, teach me to set an end to thy Covetousness: but, alas, thou canst no more set bounds to That, then *Chrysippus* could

of old set an end to his *Sorites*; implying he could not. But then, says *Stelluti*, *Casaubon* shews not how we shall understand the next verse, which plainly says the contrary, *Inventus Chrysippe sui finitor acervi*. *Stelluti* therefore to save this, thinks that *Persius* here flouts also at *Chrysippus* his invention, and turns his speech from the covetous heir to *Chrysippus*, saying ironically, O *Chrysippus*, come Thou and set an end to this covetous man's heap, thou that art so skillful at the setting bounds to an heap; no doubt but thou canst do it; but implying that he could do neither. But is not this in effect the same that the learned *Casaubon* said, a man generally of accurate diligence and judgment? And what more common then for a speech to be deliver'd positively, but in the intension ironically? Wherefore not to trouble our selves with these round-about, the old and ordinary exposition which I first chose and still retain, seems to me most easy, and so most natural; with this advantage that I deliver it as the Poet does, in words positively, but at the liberty of the reader ironically;

And now, where likewise I may rest, design, *Chrysippus*, thou that didst Thy heap confine.

The end of the Illustrations of

Aulus Persius Flaccus.

Laus Deo.

AN



AN APOSTROPHE

OF THE TRANSLATOR

TO HIS AUTHOR

P E R S I U S.

THou art Redeem'd ; Nor has the Fate of Time
 And Vice seiz'd on thy glory. The worst Crime
 Which does o'recloud the Guilty, adds to thee
 A Lustre, which outshines obscurity.
 Who thought not, that the Great-born Spirit of Rome
 Had lyen o'rewhelm'd in her last Brutus Tomb ?
 Tet did it Not : but did at last bring forth
 Thee the Example of Her Ancient worth.
 In whom, had Vesta's fire by which Rome stood,
 'Been out, there might have yet been found as good.
 Mount then, thou purer Fire, and let thy heat
 Strongly exhale from their Infectious Seat
 Th' envenom'd foggs of Vice ; And then inflame
 Them, that they may be lights to their own shame ;
 Which, as a Comet, may affright the Earth
 With horror, at its own prodigious birth ;
 And, with its darting tail threatening dread
 Vengeance, point-out to wrath each guilty head.
 Be thou the Vestal fire, thy Priest I'll be,
 And Consecrate my Vigilance to Thee.
 Be thou th' enlivening Sun, I'll be the Earth,
 And offer up to Thee this grateful Birth
 Of thanks : which thus now giv'n, though straight it Die,
 It has liv'd Ages in it's Infancie.
 Action, not Time, does number age. Who gives
 A just praise to great Vertues Patron, lives
 Himself by his just Gratitude. Let Spight
 Then do its worst, and with eternal night
 Labour to cloud my Name ; Obscure to lie
 With Vertue, is an Immortalitie.

F I N I S.

Dr Holyday on Juvenal,

